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THE GIZEH ROAD FROM CAIRO TO THE PYRAMIDS.

ALLYN AND BACON'S SERIES OF SCHOOL HISTORIES

THE STORY OF
MAN'S EARLY PROGRESS

BY

WILLIS MASON WEST

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DEPARTMENT IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

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THE ANCIENT WORLD
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SOURCE BOOK IN AMERICAN HISTORY
THE STORY OF MAN'S EARLY PROGRESS
THE STORY OF MODERN PROGRESS

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FOREWORD

The World War has made advisable a new distribution of time in the high-school study of history. Recent events bulk big. To get due space for them we must shorten the period formerly given to second-year history, beginning it at a later date. This means that we must lengthen the period formerly given to first-year study by moving forward, several centuries, the division point between "Ancient" and "Modern" history.

Accordingly I have rewritten my two-book series, the *Ancient World* and the *Modern World*, in this new series, the *Story of Man's Early Progress* and the *Story of Modern Progress*. Schools do not yet agree as to just where the division point shall be placed. This series meets this condition by the device of overlapping chapters. The *Modern Progress*, after an introductory survey, begins with Columbus and Luther; but those schools that prefer to begin at the French Revolution will find material enough for a year's work of more intensive study accompanied by more library work. This volume, the *Early Progress*, comes down to 1789; but the school that chooses to close the year's work at 1520 will find its work a unit, and will have more time for library work on selected periods.

The addition of a thousand years to the first year's work compels condensation and elimination somewhere. In this treatment, the elimination is mainly in the details of the Dark Ages and in political details of the Continental countries in later centuries. The space given to Greece and Rome is not greatly decreased, and there is little abridgment of the stress given to English history — so supremely important to the American student. Industrial conditions and home life receive attention at the expense, when necessary, of the political history; and a rather full treatment is given to the beginnings of American

history — in the chapters upon the expansion of Europe into the New World in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In general, I have tried to keep in mind the principle that a book like this should give room only to incidents and movements which the student — with the teacher's aid — can articulate with the life of to-day, or which are essential to the understanding of conditions that can be so articulated.

WILLIS MASON WEST.

WINDAGO FARM,
June 1, 1920.

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THE STORY OF MAN'S EARLY PROGRESS

THE STORY OF MAN'S EARLY PROGRESS

Through the ages one increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns.
— TENNYSON.

PART I—THE WORLD BEFORE THE GREEKS

CHAPTER I

MEN BEFORE WRITING

November 11, 1918, at an early morning hour, the representatives of Germany accepted the terms of armistice dictated by Marshal Foch, commander-in-chief of the Allies. Within three hours, nearly every steam whistle in America was sounding the glad tidings of Germany's surrender. Only a few miles from General Foch's headquarters where the armistice was signed is the city of Ghent. There, about a hundred years before (December 24, 1814), a peace was signed between England and the United States. *More than two weeks after the signing of that peace,* many gallant lives were sacrificed in the Battle of New Orleans because *the news of Ghent had not reached America.* Indeed the War of 1812 would not have been fought except for misunderstandings which steamships and electric cables would have cleared up promptly.

Rapid change during the last century

In everyday matters, too, the changes of the last hundred years or so are quite as marked. When George Washington journeyed from Mount Vernon to New York, in 1789, to take up his duties as President, he made the wearisome twelve-day

trip on horse-back. At Philadelphia he might have taken the slow, jolting stage-coach for the rest of the way; but both for speed and comfort, he chose to keep to his horse. To-day we make that journey in a night, resting in a cozy compartment of a sleeper or reading at ease by brilliant electric lamps.

The tallow candle and the pine-knot fire on the hearth were the best artificial lights in the days of Washington. Abraham Lincoln knew no better light until late in his life, when kerosene lamps came into use. No woman in Lincoln's presidency ever cooked by a gas range, and no woman in Washington's time ever cooked by any sort of iron stove. Washington was one of the leading farmers of his day, but a wooden plow and a clumsy harrow were the only farm machinery drawn by horses that he ever saw. Even the small reapers and threshers of Lincoln's time are now fit only for some museum of curiosities.

Carpenters and masons now work eight hours a day; but until long after Washington no laborer ever dreamed of working less than fourteen hours in summer — and for a much smaller wage than for our shorter laboring day. The palaces of kings a century ago had fewer actual comforts and conveniences than the modest homes of well-paid laborers to-day.

Like change, though slower, during two hundred centuries

At first it is hard to understand that such changes had been going on for long ages before Lincoln and Washington. Twenty thousand years ago no one traveled even in Washington's way. There were no coaches, for no one had found how to make a wheel; and, though the wild horse was hunted for food, no one had tamed it. Indeed there was no need to travel. No man could possibly want to go from the Potomac to the Hudson. If two men living a score of miles apart met at all, the stronger killed and plundered the weaker.

History defined

History is the story of human progress from that early savagery to our present civilization. To raise regular food crops, instead of living wholly by hunting, was a great step upward. To learn to use oar and sail, to build roads, to exchange products of one region for those of another, to in-

vent the bow, spinning wheel, telephone, dynamo, — all these things were steps. But *civilization* has to do also with art, literature, home life, religion, laws, education. The civilization of a people is the sum of its advances in all that makes life better and happier.

The first men

The first men were more helpless than the lowest savages in the world to-day. They had neither fire nor knife, — no tools or weapons except their hands and chance clubs or stones. We do not know a great deal about the earliest steps upward toward civilization; but they must have been very slow. The first marked gain was the discovery by some savage that he could chip off flakes from a flint stone by striking it with other stones, so as to give it a sharp edge, a keen point, and a convenient shape for the hand to grasp. This invention lifted man into the first Stone Age.

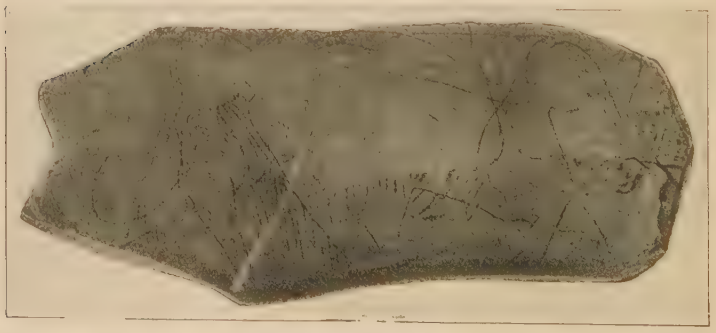
FLINT FIST-HATCHET from Kent's Cave in Southern England, found in the lowest of several distinct layers of deposits, some twenty-five feet below the present surface. The implement is about six inches long. — From Parkyn's *Prehistoric Art.*

The first Stone Age, 100,000 years ago

In Europe the Stone Age began at least 100,000 years ago. The mighty rivers of still earlier times had washed out many caverns in their limestone banks. As the waters cut down a deeper bed, such caves were left dry, above the new water level; and they became the favorite shelter of the early Stone-age man — though he often had to fight for them with the ferocious cave-bear. By digging in these caves to-day, we find stone tools of the "cave-man" where he dropped them on the earth floor — perhaps thirty or forty feet below the present floor.

There too we find remains of great heaps of the bones of the animals he ate. Some of these animals are now extinct, like the terrible saber-toothed tiger and the huge mammoth; and many of the rest, like the reindeer, wolf, hippopotamus, wooly

CLIFF CAVES on the Vezère, overlooking the modern village Le Moustier in Southern France. From some of the caves whose dark mouths show in this cut have come the oldest remains pictured in this book. One can make out two terraces in the illustration. The second of these also is rich in remains, because here the ancient hunters had a station, out in the sun, to fashion their flint weapons. — From Osborn's *Men of the Old Stone Age*.

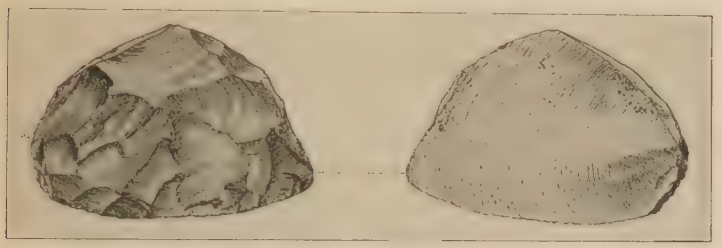


MAMMOTH engraved by an Old Stone Age artist on a piece of ivory tusk. Found in a cave in Southern France. See p. 8. — From Parkyn's *Prehistoric Art*. The student should examine that work, or Mr. Osborn's book referred to above, for Cave-Men drawings of the Saber-Toothed Tiger and of the Cave-Bear, and especially for the *colored* representations of Stone Age *paintings*, such as cannot be adequately reproduced in this book.

rhinoceros, and horse are no longer found wild in central Europe. In one cave in Switzerland, the bones show that generations of cave-men had eaten more than 1000 cave-bears; and a cave in Sicily held remains of 2000 hippopotamuses.

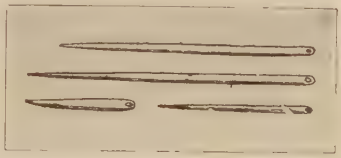
The fire-makers

In almost the lowest deposits many pieces of charred bone and wood, and some solid layers of ashes, show that men learned



FLINT SCRAPER, front and back, found in the lower deposits of the cave of Le Moustier in Southern France, one of the oldest homes of man. — From Parkyn's *Prehistoric Art.*

to use *fire* soon after reaching the Stone Age. With their *stone knives*, they could shape sticks so as to make fire by friction. With his knife, too, the cave-man could remove the hides from the animals he killed; and while he dozed by the fire after gorging on their flesh, his cave-woman worked on these skins with *stone scrapers*. Then when they were cleaned and dried and softened, she sewed them into clothing with *bone needles* — which now and then she lost on the dimly lighted floor. The early deposits contain no spindles, with which thread could have been spun from vegetable fiber, and so these needles must have been threaded with finely divided sinew such as the Eskimo woman uses to-day.

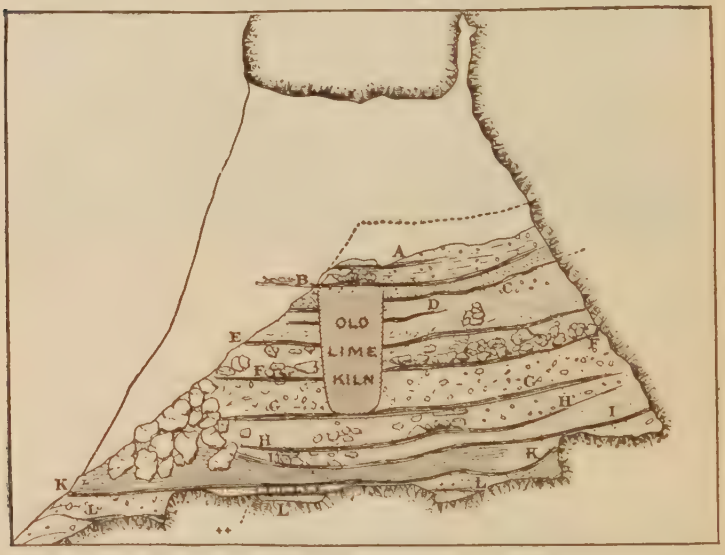


IVORY NEEDLES of the Old Stone Age. Europe had no better needles until some three hundred years ago.

Tools of the cave-man

As we examine the layers of deposits *from the bottom upward*, we find better tools and more kinds of them, until we have a great variety of shapely *flint knives, spear-heads, daggers,*

scrapers, chisels, and *drills* fine enough to make the delicate eyes in the bone needles. Toward the close of the age, the cave dwellers learned to make *clay pots,* in which to cook their food in new ways, and to make *earthenware lamps,* with wicks swimming in fat. Next, bone and stone *arrow-heads* show that the



VERTICAL SECTION OF THE "CAVE OF THE CHILDREN," on the south coast of France, so named from the two prehistoric infants whose skeletons were found in layer *A*. Three others of the eleven distinct layers contained prehistoric skeletons buried by ancient hearths. And the others contain hearth-ashes and other proofs of human habitation, with bones of wild animals, ranging from rhinoceros and lion to recent European animals. Tools in the bottom layers are like those in the Moustier Caves. — From Osborn's *Men of the Old Stone Age.*

bow had been invented, to lengthen man's arm, and soon afterward we find ingenious bone *straighteners,* like those used now by many savage peoples, to give the arrow-shaft its proper shape. Man began, too, to make living animals serve him. He tamed the young of wolf or jackal into *the first dog;* and his drawings show that *he taught the reindeer to draw his sled.*

And his domestic animals

But through all their tens of thousands of years, the Chipped

Stone men were hunters merely. They never learned to farm. Besides the animals they killed, they had for food only the nuts and roots and seeds the women and children gathered. Their homes were littered with loathsome heaps of rotting refuse. Their numbers must have been scanty, and their

Hunters, not farmers

REINDEER graven on stone by a Stone Age artist. Note the remarkable spirit and accurate detail. The drawing is full life size. From a cave in Southern France — where the reindeer has been extinct for many thousand years.

tribal unions very small — if indeed they had advanced far enough to have tribes and chiefs at all.

The earliest cave-man, however, must have *believed in a life after death;* for he buried the bodies of those he loved and honored under the hearth before which they had rested in life, and in the shallow grave he placed food and precious weapons ready for use when the dead should awake in the spirit world. The cave-man, too, had *a keen interest in the world about him,* and felt much of its beauty. In stormy seasons he amused himself by carving on the walls of his cavern or on flat bones;

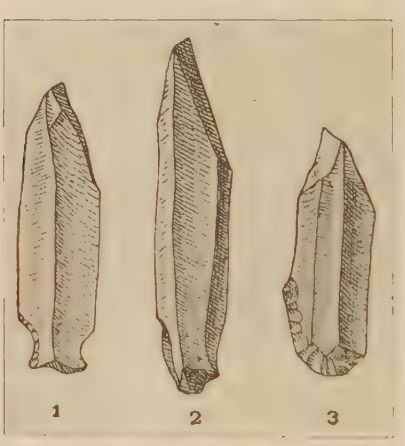
Ideas of a future life

Cave-artists

and he reproduced with amazing accuracy the fierce wild-boar in the charge, the mare nourishing her foal, a herd of deer browsing by a peaceful pool, and countless other animal forms. As Kipling writes, —

> "Later he pictured an aurochs — later he pictured a bear —
> Pictured the saber-toothed tiger dragging a man to his lair —
> Pictured the mountainous mammoth, hairy, abhorrent, alone —
> *Out of the love that he bore them,* scribing them clearly on bone."

The cave-artist learned even to *paint* these forms. For his colors he ground fine the red oxide of iron and similar clays of other colors, and then packed them into hollow horns as "paint tubes," or pressed them into crayons.



GRAVERS used in cutting designs on stone by Old Stone Age men; found in Southern France. Number 3 is a combined graver and scraper. — From Parkyn's *Prehistoric Art.*

The Second Stone Age

Finally, some ten thousand years ago, some ingenious barbarian discovered that he could *grind* his stone knife with certain stones, and so get keener edge and sharper point than merely by chipping at it. This invention began a new era. The "Old Stone Age," or age of chipped stone, gave way to the "New Stone Age." The ground implements are more beautiful in finish than those of the older age, and much more effective. A ground flint ax, even in the hands of a modern workman, unused to it, will cut down a large tree with fair dispatch; and the new flint arrow-heads, after these ten thousand years, are found still embedded in the bones of men and beasts.

The "New Stone" men made gains more rapidly than had been possible to their predecessors. They soon became *herds-*

men, with cows, asses, sheep, and goats; and some races among them grew into *farmers*. Seeds gathered by the women for food must often have dropped near the home, and some of these

The first farmers

VIEWS OF A PREHISTORIC PAINT TUBE, made of reindeer bone. Found, with ochre still in it, in a cave of Southern France. — From Parkyn.

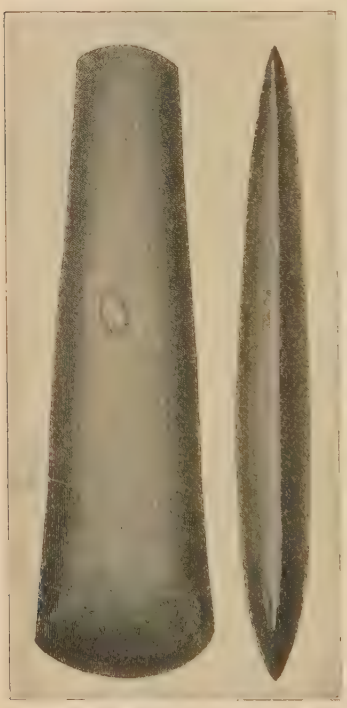
ARROW-HEADS OF THE NEW STONE AGE IN BRITAIN.

must now and then have grown into plants and produced new seed. The convenience of so gathering seeds at the door, instead of searching for them through the forest, would suggest to some thoughtful woman the idea of "planting" seed, and finally of preparing a patch of ground by stirring it with a crooked stick. Such a woman with such a "hoe" was probably the first "farmer." Wheat, barley, and millet were among the grains first cultivated in Europe. Oats and rye came in later.

Thousands of farmers, even in a rude stage of agriculture,

Beginning of trade

can live in a territory that could furnish food for only a few score of hunters; and so the New Stone "barbarians" dwelt no longer in isolated caves, but in villages and towns of simple one-room huts of clay or wood. With their improved weapons, they conquered widely, especially among the backward tribes that had remained in the "savagery" of the Chipped Stone Age; and so they formed *larger* societies with some trade between one and another.



Polished Stone Ax, or Celt, showing side and edges. Found in Southern Scotland.

Woman's part in early industry

Stone "whorls"[1] among the deposits show that women now spun flax or wool into thread or yarn; and no doubt they then wove the yarn into cloth on rude looms such as some American Indians used when this hemisphere was discovered. (Our word *wife* (like the German *weib*) is from the same root as *web* and *weave*, and means *the weaver*. In all this early society, man was essentially a *fighter:* woman, first with her bone needle and perhaps with her crooked hoe, and later with her spindle and loom, represents the *industrial side* of human life — the side that has developed into our industrial civilization.

Now that captives could be used to watch herds and till the soil, the vanquished in war were no longer killed or tortured to

[1] The spinner placed a pile of flax before her, fastened one end of a fiber to her "whorl," drew out a convenient length from the pile, and twisted it by giving the whorl a whirling motion. Then the twisted thread was wound up and another length was drawn out, to be treated in like manner.

death as formerly, but were merely made *slaves*. And as the growing populations called for larger grain fields than women could till with their stick "hoes," the hoe handle was enlarged into a "beam" to which cows could be harnessed, and two new handles were added to guide *the "plow."*

PRIMITIVE HOE AND PLOW. — From early Egyptian monuments, showing the evolution of the plow as described in the text above.

The Lake Dwellers

The best known of the New Stone men in Europe were the Swiss "Lake Dwellers" — the first men who are known positively to have built wooden houses. Each house rested on a platform supported several feet above the water by a group of immense piles, — twenty-foot logs sharpened at one end and driven firmly into the lake bottom. Many a lake contained extensive villages of such houses, far enough from land to be safe from hostile surprise, and built in curving lines to follow the trend of the shore. It is not uncommon for savage peoples to build in like fashion to-day, on a smaller scale, in shallow lakes or in morasses.

Some seventy years ago a sudden lowering of the water revealed ruins of these ancient villages at various places in Switzerland, and the sediment of the lake bottoms has yielded up many remains that show how these peculiar people lived. The hundred bushels of wheat that had fallen through the floors of one village prove that the villagers must have farmed the neighboring shores industriously. A stone whorl still wound with flax, many fragments of rotting cloth, pieces of tanned leather, wooden shoe-lasts like those our shoemakers use, all tell their story. Bronze tools in the upper sediment, on top of deep layers containing only stone tools, show that these settlements lived on into the beginning of the "Age of Metals" (p. 13 below).

Stonehenge and like structures

In other parts of Europe, — Denmark, England, France, — the towns of the New Stone men were protected by earth walls or by *artificial* lakes or moats. In those districts the people also quarried huge blocks of rough, undressed stone, weighing fifty tons or even *three hundred tons* apiece, moved them long distances, and raised them into tombs and sometimes into great circles for temples or for religious "games." Near such a ruin

STONEHENGE. These are four of the sixty such huge pillars, some 30 feet high, forming a circle 100 feet across, on Salisbury Plain in South England. Some of the pillars have fallen, along with most of the slabs reaching from pillar to pillar. Two miles away is the site of a Stone Age town, and, near by, the traces of the ancient race course mentioned in the text.

at Stonehenge, there can still be traced a two-mile chariot course, about which, no doubt, shouting multitudes crowded to see the races. Certainly these men had tamed the horse and invented wheeled carriages.

The Age of Copper in the Nile valley

The next great advance was begun, not in Europe, but in the Nile valley in Africa. Pieces of malachite, a kind of copper ore, are found there in a loose state. No doubt many a campfire melted ("reduced") the metal from such scattered stones

into shining copper globules; and finally some observant hunter found that the bright metal could be worked more easily than stone, and into better tools. So men passed from the Stone Age to the Age of Metals, *about seven thousand years ago.*

The Bronze Age

Copper implements, it is true, were soft, and soon lost their edge; but before long, perhaps again by happy accident, men learned to mix a little tin with the copper in the fire. This formed the metal we call *bronze.* Bronze is easily worked; but, after cooling, it is much harder than either of its parts. The "Bronze Age" men equipped themselves with weapons of keener and more lasting edge, and more convenient form, than had ever been known. With these they conquered widely among the Stone Age men about them, and also added greatly to their command over nature. The use of bronze entered southeastern Europe some 5000 years ago — about 3000 B.C. — and spread slowly westward to the Atlantic during the next thousand years.

POTTERY (⅛ size) from the Robenhausen Lake Dwelling in Switzerland. These pieces are remarkable in their simplicity and plainness. Usually the Stone Age pottery is marked by a profusion of ornament — dots, zigzags, curves, in complicated designs.

The student must remember that when we speak of a Stone Age *followed* by an Age of Metals, we refer always to some given part of the world. When Columbus discovered America, Europeans had long been in the *Iron* Age; but the American natives were mainly in the Stone Age, though some of them were growing into the Age of Copper. Remote tribes in the Philippines and in parts of South America and Australia are still in the Stone Age. Even among the same people the different "ages" overlap. Chiefs and

nobles used bronze a long time before the poorer classes could replace their stone implements with better ones.

"Prehistoric" and "historic" man

Soon after the Age of Metals began, men came to use *some method of writing*. With that invention we enter the "historic" period. All this earlier progress is called "prehistoric."[1] We are now about to leave Europe for a while, to study the earliest "historic" men in Egypt and in the neighboring parts of Asia; but first let us sum up four supreme contributions made by prehistoric man — contributions upon which all later civilization rests. Man to-day is "the heir of all the ages," and as we read history we "take stock" of our inheritance.

VIEWS OF A SMALL "MORTAR" hollowed out of stone, in which paint was probably ground up. Found in an Old Stone Age deposit in Southern France.

SOME STAGES IN FIRE-MAKING. — From Tylor.

1. *The use of fire* made it possible to advance beyond raw food and finally beyond stone tools. All wild animals fear flame;

[1] In late years we have learned so much of early man that this term *prehistoric* is an unhappy one. But it had come into general use many years ago, when we knew almost nothing of man before he left written records, and scholars have thought best not to abandon it. Properly speaking, however, everything that we know about the past life of man is part of human history.

Contributions from prehistoric man

but, at some early period of the Old Stone Age, man had come to know it for his truest friend. The old Greeks had a fable that the divine Prometheus stole fire from the gods for the service of man. Modern scholars think it probable that the first source of fire for men was some tree ablaze from lightning — a thing that happens thousands of times every year in our forests to-day. As the "Stone Age" man chipped at his stone knife, or as he worked on his wooden tools, much heat must sometimes have been developed; and this would suggest friction as a source of fire. The methods of making fire which are pictured on the opposite page were all invented by prehistoric man; and no other way was known, except striking two stones together, down to very recent times.

2. *Most of the domestic animals* familiar to us in our barnyards had been tamed by prehistoric man. One reason why the Western Hemisphere remained backward until discovered by Europeans is found in the lack of animals in it suited for domestication.

3. *Wheat, barley, rice, and nearly all our other important food grains and garden vegetables*, were selected from the myriads of wild plants, and cultivated and developed. Modern science has failed to find one other plant in the Old World so useful to man as these which prehistoric man there selected. Their only rivals are the potato and maize ("corn"), which the "Stone Age" men in America had learned to cultivate.

The invention of writing

4. *The invention of writing* multiplied the value of language. Writing is an "artificial memory," and it also makes it possible for us to speak to those who are far away, and even to those not yet born. Many early peoples used a *picture writing* such as is common still among North American Indians. In this kind of writing, a picture represents either an object or some *idea* connected with that object. A drawing of an animal with wings may stand for a *bird* or for *flying;* or a character like this ⊙ stands for either the *sun* or for *light*. At first such pictures are true drawings: later they are simplified, for easier writing, into forms agreed upon. Thus in ancient Chinese,

man was represented by , and in modern Chinese by . Numerals are probably the earliest picture writing; and even in our Arabic numerals, especially in , we can still see the one, two, three, or five lines that stood for numbers.

The rebus stage of writing

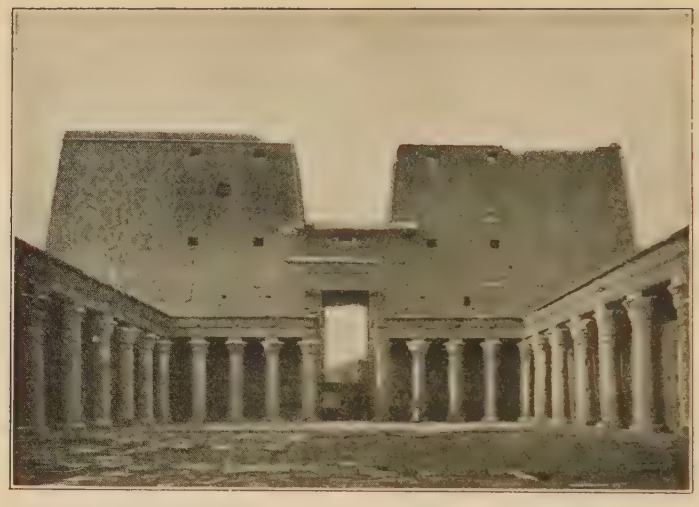
Vastly important is the advance to a *rebus stage of writing*. Here a symbol has come to have a *sound value* wholly apart from the original object, as if the symbol above were used with D (D) to make the word *delight*. So in early Egyptian writing, , the symbol for "mouth," was pronounced *rû*. Therefore it was used as the last syllable in writing the word *khopirû*, which meant "to be," while symbols of other objects in like manner stood for the other syllables.

This representation of *syllables* by pictures of objects is the first stage in *sound writing*, as distinguished from picture writing proper. Finally, some of these characters are used to represent not whole syllables, but *single sounds*. Such a character we call a *letter*. One of Kipling's *Just So* stories tries to show how such a change might come about. Then, if these letters are kept, and all other characters dropped, we have a *true alphabet*.

Picture writing, such as that of the Chinese, requires many thousand symbols. Several hundred characters are necessary for even simple syllabic writing. But a score or so of letters are enough for an alphabet.

No further reading is suggested at this stage *in connection with class work* on the preceding topics. But students who wish to read for pleasure will enjoy any of the following books: Myres' *Dawn of History*, 13–28; Clodd's *Story of Primitive Man*, 35–76; Clodd's *Story of the Alphabet;* Holbrook's *Cave, Mound, and Lake Dwellers;* Waterloo's *Story of Ab* (fiction). A very interesting larger book, handsomely illustrated, is Solas' *Ancient Hunters*.

Recent Excavations in the "Valley of the Kings." — The royal author of the hymn to Aten (p. 38) was succeeded by his son *Tût-Ankh-Amen*, under whom Egypt returned to the older polytheism. Recently Lord Carnarvon discovered the tomb of this monarch, and its contents confirm in remarkable degree our earlier knowledge of Egyptian culture. The upper picture shows the entrance to the tomb in the center, and about it fruitless shafts sunk in the exploration. The lower photo shows Lord Carnarvon entering the tomb, *February 27, 1923*, while visitors above await to see what may be brought to light.



THE TEMPLE OF THE GODS HORUS AND HATHOR AT EDFU (a village south of Thebes), one of the best preserved Egyptian temples. In the first view we look toward the *pylon*, or entrance (corresponding to the triumphal arch of the Romans). The second view is taken from the pylon, and shows the ruins of much of the structure.

CHAPTER II

"BRONZE AGE" MEN IN EGYPT

I. LAND AND PEOPLE

Egypt is the gift of the Nile. — HERODOTUS.

The Nile and Egypt

Ancient Egypt, by the map, is as large as Colorado; but seven eighths of it is only a sandy border to the real Egypt. That real Egypt is smaller than Maryland, and consists of *the valley* of the Nile and of *its delta*.

The valley proper forms *Upper Egypt*. It is a strip of rich soil about 600 miles long and 20 miles wide — a slim oasis between parallel ranges of desolate limestone hills which once formed the banks of a mightier Nile. While yet a hundred miles from the sea, the narrow valley broadens suddenly into the delta. This *Lower Egypt* has been built up out in the sea from the mud carried there by the river. It is a squat triangle resting on a two-hundred mile base of curving, marshy coast.

And the Nile keeps Egypt alive. Rain falls rarely in the valley; and toward the close of the eight cloudless months between the annual overflows, there is a short time when the land seems gasping for water. Then the river begins to rise (in July), swollen by tropical rains at its upper course in distant Abyssinia; and it does not fully recede into its regular channel until November. During the days while the flood is at its height, Egypt is a sheet of turbid water, spreading between two lines of rock and sand. The waters are dotted with towns and villages, and marked off into compartments by raised roads, running from town to town. As the water retires, the rich loam dressing, brought down from the hills of Ethiopia, is

left spread over the fields, renewing their wonderful fertility from year to year; while the long soaking supplies moisture to the soil for the dry months to come.

The oldest records yet found in Egypt reach back to about *5000* B.C. The use of bronze was already well advanced, but remains in the soil show that there had been earlier dwellers in the valley using rude stone implements and practicing savage customs. Food was abundant there, — not only fish and waterfowl, but also the wonderful date palm and various wild grains. This wealth of food attracted tribes from all the neighboring regions at an early date; and the struggles of these peoples, and the intermingling of the strongest of them, at length produced *the vigorous Egyptian race* of history — a type which has lasted to the present day.

The first Egyptians

The first inhabitants lived by fishing along the streams and hunting fowl in the marshes. When they began to take advantage of their rare opportunity for agriculture, new problems arose. Before that time, each tribe or village could be a

law to itself. But now it became necessary for whole districts to combine in order to drain marshes, to create systems of ditches for the distribution of the water, and to build reservoirs for the surplus.

The Nile makes for union

Thus the Nile, which had made the land, *played a part in making Egypt into one state*.[1] To control the overflow was the first *common* interest of all the people. At first, no doubt

PHOTOGRAPH OF A MODERN EGYPTIAN WOMAN SITTING BY A SCULPTURED HEAD OF AN ANCIENT KING. — From Maspero's *Dawn of Civilization*. Notice the likeness of feature. The skulls of the modern peasants and of the ancient nobles are remarkably alike in form.

through wasteful centuries, separate villages strove only to get each its needful share of water, without attention to the needs of others. The engravings on early monuments show neighboring villages waging bloody wars along the dikes, or on the canals, before they learned the costly lesson of coöperation. Such hostile action, cutting the dams and destroying

[1] The word "state" is commonly used in history not in the sense in which we call Massachusetts a state, but rather in that sense in which we call England or the whole United States a state. That is, the word means *a people, living in some definite place, with a supreme government of its own.*

the reservoirs year by year, was ruinous. From an early period, men in the Nile valley must have felt the need of agreement and of political union — as men the world over are beginning to feel it now.

Accordingly, before history begins, the multitudes of villages had combined into about forty petty states. Each one extended from side to side of the valley and a few miles up and down the river; and each was ruled by a "king." Then the same forces which had worked to unite villages into states tended to combine the many small states into a few larger ones. After centuries of conflict, *Menes*, prince of *Memphis*, united

BOATMEN FIGHTING ON THE NILE. — Egyptian Relief;[1] from Maspero.

Memphis and Thebes

the petty principalities around him into the kingdom of Lower Egypt. In like manner *Thebes* became the capital of a kingdom of Upper Egypt. About the year 3400 before Christ, the two kingdoms were united into one.

The king

The king was worshiped as a god by the mass of the people. His title, *Pharaoh*, means The Great House, — as the title of the supreme ruler of Turkey in modern times has been The Sublime Porte (Gate). The title implied that the ruler was to be a refuge for his people.

The pharaoh became the absolute owner of the soil, in return for protecting it by dikes and reservoirs. This ownership helped to make him absolute master of the inhabitants also. His authority was limited only by the power of the priests and by

[1] A relief is a piece of sculpture in which the figures are only partly cut away from the solid rock.

the necessity of keeping ambitious nobles friendly (Davis' *Readings*, I, No. 2). Part of the land he kept in his own hands, to be cultivated by peasants under the direction of royal stewards; but the greater portion he parceled out among the nobles and temples.

The nobles

In return for the land granted to him, a *noble* was bound to pay certain amounts of produce, and to lead a certain number of soldiers to war. Within his domain, he was a petty monarch: he executed justice, levied his own taxes, kept up his own army. Like the king, he held part of his land in his own hands, while other parts he let out to smaller nobles.

The priests

About a third of the land was turned over by the king to the temples to support the worship of the gods. This land became

Shoemakers. — Egyptian relief from the monuments; from Maspero.

the property of the *priests*. The priests were also the scholars of Egypt, and the pharaoh took most of his high officials from them.

The peasants

The *peasants* tilled the soil, and were not unlike the peasants of modern Egypt. They rented small "farms," — hardly more than garden plots, — for which they paid at least a third of the produce to the landlord. This left too little for a family; and they eked out a livelihood by day labor on the land of the nobles and priests. For this work they were paid a small part of the produce.

Town aristocracy and proletariat

In the towns there was an aristocratic *middle class*, — merchants, shopkeepers, physicians, builders, artisans, notaries.[1]

[1] To draw up business papers, record transfers of property, and so on.

Below these were the *unskilled laborers*. This class was sometimes driven to a strike by hunger. Maspero, a famous French scholar in Egyptian history, describes one as it is shown on the monuments:

> The workmen turn to the overseer, saying: "We are perishing of hunger, and there are still eighteen days before the next month" (when the next wages would be due). The latter makes profuse promises; but, when nothing comes of them, the workmen will not listen to him longer. They leave their work and gather in a public meeting. The overseer hastens after them, with the police, . . . urging upon the leaders a return. But the workmen only say: "We will not return. Make it clear to your superiors down below there." The official who reports the matter to the authorities seems to think the complaints well founded, for he says, "We went to hear them, and they spoke true words to us."

PORTRAIT STATUE OF AMTEN, a "self-made" noble of 3200 B.C. This is one of the oldest portrait statues in the world.

The scribes

The son usually followed the father's occupation; but there was no law (as in some Oriental countries) to prevent his passing into a different class. Sometimes the son of a poor herdsman rose to wealth and power. Such advance was most easily open to the *scribes*. This learned profession was recruited from the brightest boys of the middle and lower classes. Most of the scribes found clerical work only; but from the ablest ones the nobles chose confidential secretaries

and stewards; and some of these, who showed special ability, were promoted by the pharaohs to the highest dignities in the land. Such men founded new families and reinforced the ranks of the nobility.

Soldiers

The *soldiers* were an important class with many special privileges. Each soldier held a farm of some eight acres, — four or five times the size of an ordinary peasant's farm. He was free from taxes, and he was kept under arms only when his services were needed. Besides this regular soldiery, the peasantry were called out upon occasion, for war or for garrisons.

Officials

There was also a large body of *officials*, organized in many grades. *Until the seventh century* B.C. *the Egyptians had no money.* Thus the immense royal revenues, as well as all debts between private men, had to be collected "in kind." The tax-collectors and treasurers had to receive geese, ducks, cattle, grain, wine, oil, metals, jewels, — "all that the heavens give, all that the earth produces, all that the Nile brings from its mysterious sources," as one inscription puts it. To do this called for an army of royal officials. For a like reason, the great nobles needed a large class of trustworthy servants.

Social classes summarized

Egyptian society, then, had at the top an *aristocracy* of several elements: (1) the nobles; (2) the powerful and learned priesthood, whose influence almost equaled that of the pharaoh himself; (3) scribes and physicians; (4) a privileged soldiery; and (5) a mass of privileged officials of many grades, from the greatest rulers next to the pharaoh, down to petty tax collectors and the stewards of private estates. Some of these belonged to a middle class. Next below there was a "*lower middle class*," of shopkeepers and artisans, whose life ranged from comfort to a grinding misery. Then, at *the base of society*, was a large mass of toilers on the land, weighted down by all the other classes.

Life of the wealthy

For the well-to-do, life was a very delightful thing, filled with active employment and varied with many pleasures. Their homes were roomy houses with a wooden frame plastered over with sun-dried clay. Light and air entered at the many latticed

windows, where, however, curtains of brilliant hues shut out the occasional sand storms from the desert. About the house stretched a large high-walled garden with artificial fish-ponds gleaming among the palm trees.

Position of women

The position of women was better than in modern Oriental countries. The poor man's wife spun and wove, and ground

EGYPTIAN NOBLE HUNTING WATERFOWL with a "throw-stick" or boomerang. The wife accompanies her husband, and the boat contains also a "decoy" bird. The wild birds rise from a mass of papyrus reeds. — From an Egyptian tomb painting.

grain into meal in a stone bowl with another stone. Among the upper classes, the wife was the companion of the man. She was not shut up in a harem or confined strictly to household duties; she appeared in company and at public ceremonies. She possessed equal rights at law; and sometimes great queens ruled upon the throne. In no other country, until modern times, do pictures of happy home life play so large a part.

Life of the poor

There were few *slaves* in Egypt; but the condition of the great mass of the people fell little short of practical slavery. Toilers on the canals, and on the pyramids and other vast works that have made Egypt famous, were kept to their labor by the whip. "Man has a back," was a favorite proverb. The monuments always picture the overseers with a stick, and often show it in use. The people thought of a beating as a natural incident in their daily work.

The peasants did not live in the country, as our farmers do. They were crowded into the villages and the squalid quarters of the towns, with the other poorer classes. The house of a poor

LEVYING THE TAX. — An Egyptian relief from the monuments; from Maspero.

man was a mud hovel of only one room. Such huts were separated from one another merely by one mud partition, and were built in long rows, facing upon narrow crooked alleys filled with filth. A "plague of flies," like that described in the Old Testament, was natural enough; and only the extremely dry air kept down that and worse pestilences. Hours of toil were from dawn to dark. Usually the peasants were careless and gay, petting the cattle and singing at their work. Probably they were quite as well off as the like class has been in Egypt or Russia during the past century. Their chief fear was of the royal taxes, which were exacted harshly. The peasant was held responsible for them with all that he owned, even with his body. An Egyptian writer of about 1400 B.C. exclaims in pity:

"Dost thou not recall the picture of the farmer, when the tenth of his grain is levied? . . . There are swarms of rats in the fields; the grasshoppers alight there; the cattle devour; the little birds pilfer; and if the farmer lose sight for an instant of what remains upon the ground, it is carried off by robbers. The thongs, moreover, which bind the plowshare and the beam are worn out, and the team [of cows] has died at the plow. It is then that the scribe steps out of the boat at the landing place to levy the tithe, and there come the keepers of the doors of the granary with cudgels and the Negroes with ribs of palm-leaf [very effective whips], crying: 'Come now, corn!' There is none, and they throw the cultivator full length upon the ground; bound, dragged to the canal, they fling him in, head first." [This is probably a figurative way of saying that he was forced to work out his tax on the canals.]

II. ART, INDUSTRY, CHARACTER

The "Old Kingdom," 3400–2400 B.C.

For a thousand years (3400 to 2400 B.C.), the capital remained at Memphis. This period is known as that of the "*Old Kingdom.*" Its kings are remembered best for *the pyramids*, which they built for their tombs. The pyramids are merely exaggerated developments, in stone, of earth burial mounds such as some American Indians and many other Stone Age men have erected for their chieftains' graves. But the immense size of these buildings in Egypt, and the skill shown in constructing them, has always placed them among the wonders of the world.

The Great Pyramid

The largest is known as the Great Pyramid. It was built by King Khufu, known till lately as Cheops, more than 3000 years B.C., and it is far the most massive building in the world. Its base covers thirteen acres, and it rises 481 feet from the plain. More than two million huge stone blocks went to make it, — more stone than has gone into any other building in the world. Some single blocks weigh over fifty tons; but the edges of the blocks that form the faces are so polished, and so nicely fitted, that the joints can hardly be detected; while the interior chambers, and long, sloping passages between them, are built with such skill that, notwithstanding the immense weight above them, there has been no perceptible settling of the walls in the lapse of five thousand years.

Herodotus, a Greek historian of the fifth century B.C., traveled in Egypt and learned all that the priests of his day could tell him regarding these wonders. He tells us that it took thirty years to build the Great Pyramid, — ten of those years going to piling the vast mounds of earth, up which the mighty stones were to be dragged into place, — which mounds had afterwards

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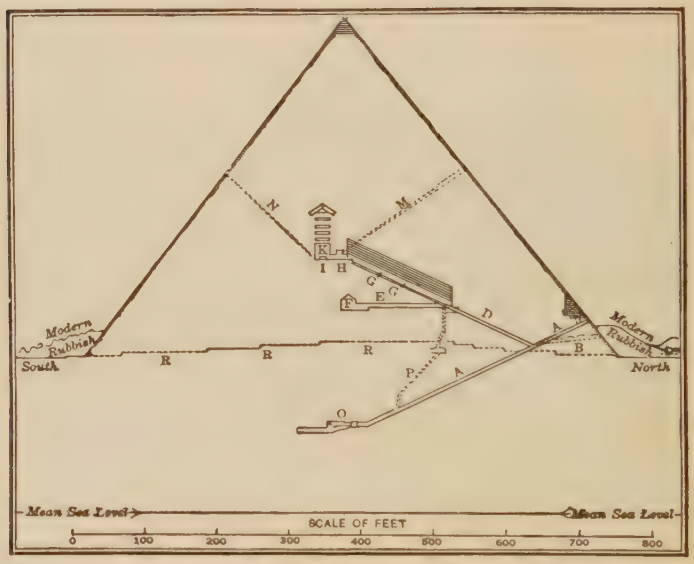
PYRAMIDS AND THE SPHINX. — The human head of the Sphinx, with the magnified features of one of the pharaohs, is set upon the body of a lion, as a symbol of power. Recently the feet of the Sphinx were uncovered for the first time in many years.

to be removed. During those thirty years, relays of a hundred thousand men were kept at the toil, each relay for three months at a stretch. Other thousands, of course, had to toil through a lifetime of labor to feed these workers on a monument to a monarch's vanity. All the labor was performed by mere human strength: the Egyptians of that day had no beasts of burden, and no machinery, such as we have, for moving great weights with ease.

The vain and cruel pyramid builders were finally overthrown

The "Middle Kingdom"

by a rebellion of Upper Egypt; and the new line of kings took Thebes for their capital. The next 400 years (2400–2000 B.C.), known as the *Middle Kingdom*, is the greatest age of Egypt. Its chief glory was a vast elaboration of the remarkable *irrigation system*. The pharaohs continued, of course, to care for the old dykes and embankments that kept the floods from the



VERTICAL SECTION OF THE GREAT PYRAMID, LOOKING WEST, showing passages.

A Entrance passage.
B A later opening.
D First ascending passage.
E Horizontal passage.
F Queen's chamber.
G G Grand Gallery.
H Antechamber.
I Coffer.
K King's chamber.
M N Ventilating chambers.
O Subterranean chamber.
P Well, so called.
R R R Probable extent to which the native rock is employed to assist the masonry of the building.

towns and gardens; and they now added a wonderful system of reservoirs — of which Lake Moeris is the great example.

And the irrigation system

On the one hand, tens of thousands of acres of marsh were drained and made fit for rich cultivation; on the other hand, artificial lakes were built at various places, to collect and hold the surplus water of the yearly inundation. Then, by an in-

tricate network of ditches and "gates" (much like the irrigation ditches of some of our western States to-day), the water was distributed during the dry months as it was needed. The government opened and closed the main ditches, as seemed best to it; and its officers saw that each farm was given its share of water in its "farm ditch." From this main ditch of his farm, the farmer himself then carried the water in smaller water courses to one part or another of his acres, — these small ditches gradually growing smaller and smaller, until, by moving a little mud with the foot, he could turn the water one way or another at his will. Ground so cultivated was divided into square beds, surrounded by raised borders of earth, so that the water could be kept in or out of each bed.

So extensive were these irrigation works in very early times that more soil was cultivated, and a larger population maintained, than in any modern period until English control was established in the country a short time ago.

Agriculture

The main industry was farming. The leading grains were wheat, barley, and sesame. Other food crops were beans, peas, lettuce, radishes, melons, cucumbers, and onions. Grapes, too, were grown in great quantities, and made into a light wine. Clover was raised for the cattle, and flax for the linen cloth, which was the main material for clothing. A little cotton, also, was cultivated; and large flocks of sheep furnished wool.

Herodotus says that seed was merely scattered broadcast on the moist soil as the water receded each November, and then trampled in by cattle and goats and pigs. But the pictures on the monuments show that, in parts of Egypt anyway, a light wooden plow, drawn by cows, was used to stir the ground (cut on p. 11). Even the large farms were treated almost like gardens; and the yield was enormous, — reaching the rate of a hundredfold for grain. Long after her greatness had departed, Egypt remained "the granary of the Mediterranean lands."

Besides the plow, the farmer's only tools were a short, crooked hoe (the use of which bent him almost double) and the sickle.

The grain was cut with this last implement; then carried in baskets to a threshing floor, — and trodden out by cattle, which were driven round and round, while the drivers sang, —

> "Tread, tread, tread out the grain.
> Tread for yourselves, for yourselves.
> Measures for the master; measures for yourselves."

An Egyptian barnyard contained many animals familiar to us (cows, sheep, goats, scrawny pigs much like the wild hog, geese, ducks, and pigeons), and also a number of others like antelopes, gazelles, and storks. Some of these it proved impossible to tame profitably. We must remember that *men had to learn by careful experiment, through many generations of animal life, which animals it paid best to domesticate.* The hen was not known. The horse was introduced from Asia about 1600 B.C., but he was never common enough to use in agriculture or as a draft animal.

During the flood periods cattle were fed in stalls upon clover and wheat straw. The monuments picture some exciting scenes when a rapid rise of the Nile forced the peasants to remove their flocks and herds hurriedly, through the surging waters, from usual grazing grounds. Veal, mutton, and antelope flesh were the common meats of the rich. The poor lived mainly on vegetables and goats' milk.

Egyptian markets

During most of Egypt's three thousand years of greatness, *exchange* in her market places *was by barter.* A peasant with wheat or onions to sell squatted by his basket, while would-be customers offered him earthenware, vases, fans, or other objects with which they had come to buy, but which perhaps he did not want. In the closing periods of Egyptian history, the people came to use rings of gold and silver a little, somewhat as we use money; but such rings had to be weighed each time they changed hands.

Trade and commerce

In spite of this handicap, *the Egyptians carried on extensive trade.* Especially did the great Theban pharaohs of the "Middle Kingdom" encourage commerce, explore distant regions, de-

velop copper mines in the Sinai peninsula of Arabia, and build roads. One of them even opened a canal from the eastern mouth of the Nile to the Red Sea, so establishing a continuous water route between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean. In that day, Egyptian merchants sailed to Crete on the north and to distant parts of Ethiopia on the south, while an inscription of about 2000 B.C. describes a ship bringing from the coast of Arabia "fragrant woods, heaps of myrrh, ebony and pure ivory, green gold, cinnamon, incense, cosmetics, apes, monkeys,

A Market Scene. — An Egyptian Relief. The admirable description of Egyptian markets in Davis' *Readings* (I, No. 7) is based in part upon this sculpture.

dogs, and panther skins." Some of these things must have been gathered from distant parts of Eastern Asia. So far as we know, the Egyptians were the first men to go down to the sea in ships, the first, indeed, to build sea-going ships at all.

Manufactures

To pay for these precious products of distant countries, the Egyptian merchant exported the surplus products of the *skilled artisans* at home. This class included weavers, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, coppersmiths, cabinet-makers, upholsterers, glass blowers, potters, shoemakers, tailors, armorers, and almost as many other trades as are to be found among us to-day. In many of these occupations, the workers possessed a marvelous dex-

terity, and were masters of processes that are now unknown. The weavers in particular produced delicate and exquisite linen, almost as fine as silk, and the workers in glass and gold were famous for their skill. Jewels were imitated in colored glass so artfully that only an expert to-day can detect the fraud by the appearance. Modern workers in stone, even with our steel drills driven by steam, cannot excel the nicety and precision of the Egyptian stoneworkers with their hand tools of bronze. Beautiful bowls and vases, and other sorts of pottery, were worked, no longer by hand, but on the potter's

Sculptors at work on colossal figures. — From an Egyptian relief.

wheel — another Egyptian invention — and burned, not by an open fire, but evenly in closed brick ovens.

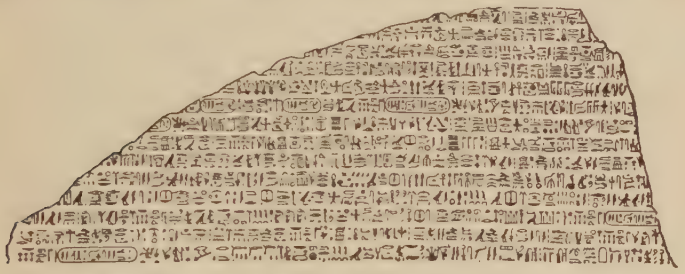
Books and writing

The Egyptians wrote religious books, poems, histories, travels, novels, orations, treatises on morals, scientific works, geographies, cook-books, catalogues, and collections of fairy stories — among the last a tale of an Egyptian Cinderella with her fairy glass slipper. On the oldest monuments, writing had advanced from mere pictures to a rebus stage (p. 16). This *early* writing was used mainly by the priests, and so the strange characters are called *hieroglyphs* ("priests' writing"). They are "a delightful assemblage of birds, snakes, men, tools, stars, and beasts," used, not for objects merely, but rather as sound symbols, each for a syllable. Some of these signs grew into real "letters," *or signs of single sounds.* If the Egyptians

had kept these last, *and dropped all the rest*, they would have had a true alphabet. But they never took this final step. To the last their writing remained a curious mixture of hundreds of signs of things and ideas and syllables, and of a few single sounds.

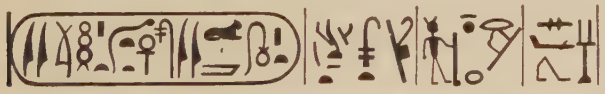
The oldest inscriptions were cut in stone. But very soon the Egyptians invented "paper." They took papyrus reeds, which

The papyrus



Part of the Rosetta Stone (page 34), containing hieroglyphs first deciphered. The stone is now in the British Museum.

grew abundantly in the Nile, split the stems down the middle, laid the slices, flat side up, in two layers, one crossing the other, and pressed them into a firm yellowish sheet, somewhat as we make our "paper" from wood pulp. On such sheets, they wrote with a pointed reed in black or red ink. The dry air



Part of Above Inscription (last line) on a large scale. That part within the curved line ("cartouch") was known, by Egyptian custom, to be the name of a pharaoh, and became the starting point for study.

of Egyptian tombs has preserved great numbers of buried papyrus rolls to our time. In the rapid writing on this "paper," strokes were run together, and so the stiff hieroglyphs of the monuments were gradually modified into a running script, differing from the older characters somewhat as our script differs from print.

The Rosetta Stone

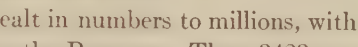
Many Egyptian inscriptions and papyrus rolls had long been known to European scholars; but until a century ago no one could read them. About 1800 A.D. some French soldiers, while digging trenches near the Rosetta mouth of the Nile, found a curious slab of black rock covered with three inscriptions, *each in its own kind of writing*. The top one was in the ancient hieroglyphics of the pyramids; then came one in the later Egyptian script (likewise unknown); and at the bottom was an inscription in Greek. A French scholar, Champollion, who had been working for years, with small success, in trying to decipher the hieroglyphics, guessed shrewdly that these three inscriptions told the same story. In 1822 he proved this true. Then, by means of the Greek, he found the meaning of the other characters, and so had a key to the language and writing of old Egypt. The famous "Rosetta stone" made dumb ages speak once more.

Science

Egyptian science, too, was "the gift of the Nile." After an inundation, it was often needful to survey the land, and this led to the skill of the early Egyptians in *geometry*. And the need of fixing in advance the exact time of the inundation directed attention to the true "year," and so to *astronomy*. Great advance was made in both these studies. We, who learn glibly from books and diagrams the results of this early labor, can hardly understand how hard was the task of those first scientists. Uncivilized peoples count time by "moons" or by "winters." To fix the exact length of the year (the time in which the sun apparently passes from a given point in the heavens, through its path, back again to that point) requires long and patient and skillful observation, and no little knowledge. Indeed, to find out that there is such a thing as a "year" is no simple matter. Go out into the night, and look upon the heavens, with its myriads of twinkling points of light, and then try to imagine how the first scientists, without being told by any one else, learned to map out the paths of the heavenly bodies.

The early Egyptians adopted a "*calendar*" with a year

of 365 days,[1] divided into twelve months (moons) of 30 days each, with five added feast-days. This is the direct source of *our* calendar. They also divided the day into twelve double hours, and invented both a water-clock and a shadow-clock (or dial) to measure the passage of the hours.

In *arithmetic* the Egyptians dealt in numbers to millions, with a notation like that used later by the Romans. Thus, 3423 was represented by the Romans: M M M C C C C XX III
and by the Egyptians: 

Egyptian art

Amazing skill was shown in architecture, sculpture, and painting. Aside from the pyramids, the most famous buildings were the gigantic temples of the gods. In these we find the first use of *columns*, arranged often in long colonnades. The Egyptians understood the principle of the *arch*, and they used it sometimes in their private mansions; but in the huge temples the roofs and ceilings were formed always by laying immense flat slabs of rock across from column to column (or from square pier to pier). The result is an impression of stupendous power, but not of surpassing beauty.

On the walls and columns, and within the pyramid tombs, we find long bands of pictures ("reliefs") cut into the stone (cf. note on p. 20). Often these represent historical scenes, the story of which is told in detail by inscriptions above or below the band of sculpture. The Egyptians did not understand "perspective," and so in such carving and drawing they could not represent one figure behind another, or give the sense of varying distances. All the figures appear on one plane, and are drawn on one scale. (Compare the reliefs on pp. 20–40 with the Roman relief on p. 383.) In other respects the Egyptian work is exceedingly lifelike.

In carving *complete* statues, the ignorance of perspective did not injure the effect. The Egyptians, accordingly, excelled here, especially in portrait statues, small or life size. They

[1] Later they found that their year was too short by nearly a quarter of a day; but the leap-year arrangement which their scholars then invented never came into general use until adopted by Julius Cæsar (pp. 348–9).

RUINS OF THE "HALL OF COLUMNS" IN THE TEMPLE OF KARNAK (1500 B.C.). This temple was a maze of huge halls and courts joined by lofty corridors. This one hall had 134 columns, the central ones being 66 feet high. The "capitals" do not show clearly in this cut, but many of them are exceedingly beautiful, shaped like vast inverted bells and ornamented with carvings of the lotus in full bloom. A full company of soldiers might stand upon one of those capitals. (Compare these ruins with Stonehenge, p. 12.)

were fond, too, of making colossal statues, like the Sphinx, which, however unnatural, have a gloomy and overwhelming grandeur — in keeping with the melancholy desert that stretches about them.

The scenes carved on temple walls, and the walls themselves, within and without, were painted skillfully in brilliant hues faithful to nature. Inside the rock-tombs, such painting has lasted with perfect freshness. Elsewhere all trace of color has long faded away — as the rock paintings soon do on exposure to the air.

Religion

There was a curious mixture of religions. Each family worshiped its ancestors. Such *ancestor worship* is found, indeed, among all primitive peoples, along with a belief in evil spirits and malicious ghosts. There was also a *worship of animals.* Cats, dogs, bulls, crocodiles, and many other animals were sacred. To injure one of these "gods," even by accident, was to incur the murderous fury of the people. Probably this worship was a degraded kind of ancestor worship known as *totemism*, which is found among many peoples. North American Indians of a wolf clan or a bear clan — with a fabled wolf or bear for an ancestor — must on no account injure the ancestral animal or "totem." [1] In Egypt, however, the worship of animals became more widely spread, and took on grosser features, than has ever been the case elsewhere. Above all this, there was a *nature worship* with countless deities and demigods representing sun, moon, river, wind, storm, trees, and stones. Each village and town had its special nature god to protect it; *and the gods of the great capitals became national deities.*

With the better classes this nature worship mounted sometimes to a lofty and pure worship of one God. "God," say some of the inscriptions, "is a spirit: no man knoweth his form," and again, — "He is the creator of the heavens and the earth and all that is therein." These lofty thoughts never spread far among the people; but a few thinkers in Egypt rose

[1] Students who know Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans* will recall an illustration of totemism.

Ideas of God

to them earlier than the Hebrew prophets did. The following hymn to Aten (the Sun-disk), symbol of Light and Life, was written by a king of the fifteenth century B.C., and it shows that he thought of the creator as a tender father of all creatures.

"Thy appearing is beautiful in the horizon of heaven,
O living Aten, the beginning of life! . . .
Thou fillest every land with thy beauty.
Thy beams encompass all lands which thou hast made.
Thou bindest them with thy love. . . .
The birds fly in their marshes—
Lifting their wings to adore thee. . . .
The small bird in the egg, sounding within the shell —
Thou givest it breath within the egg. . . .
How many are the things which thou hast made!
Thou createst the land by thy will, thou alone,
With peoples, herds, and flocks. . . .
Thou givest to every man his place, thou framest his life."

SCULPTURED FUNERAL COUCH, representing the soul crouching by the corpse.

Ideas of a future life

The idea of a future life was held in two or three forms. Nearly all savage peoples believe that after death the body remains the home of the soul, or at least that the soul lives on in a pale, shadowy existence near the tomb. If the body be not preserved, or if it be not given proper burial, then, it is thought, the soul becomes a wandering ghost, restless and harmful to men.

The early Egyptians held such a belief, and their practice of embalming[1] the body before burial was connected with it. They wished to preserve the body as the home for the soul. In the early tombs, too, there are always found dishes in which had been placed food and drink for the ghost.[2] Later, the offerings were sometimes represented by *pictures!*

These practices continued through all ancient Egyptian history. But upon some such basis as this there finally grew up, among the better classes, a belief in a truer immortality. According to these more advanced thinkers, the dead lived in a distant Elysium, where they had all the pleasures of life without its pains. This haven, however, was only for those ghosts who, on arrival, should be declared worthy — *because of their good lives* — by the "Judges of the Dead." Other souls were thought to perish.

A Tomb Painting: offerings to the dead.

Moral standards

The following noble extract comes from the "Repudiation of Sins." This was a statement which the Egyptian believed he ought to be able to say truthfully before the "Judges of the Dead." It shows a keen sense of duty to one's fellow men,

[1] "Embalming" is a process of preparing a dead body with drugs and spices, so as to prevent decay. The corpses of the wealthy, so preserved, were also swathed in many layers of linen clothes before being laid away. A corpse so preserved and wrapped is called a mummy.

[2] After these 6000 years of different faiths, the Egyptian peasant still buries food and drink with his dead. Such customs last long after the ideas on which they were based have faded; *but there must always have been some live idea in them at first.*

which would be highly honorable to any religion, and it is the *first record* of the idea that a good life ought to win reward hereafter.

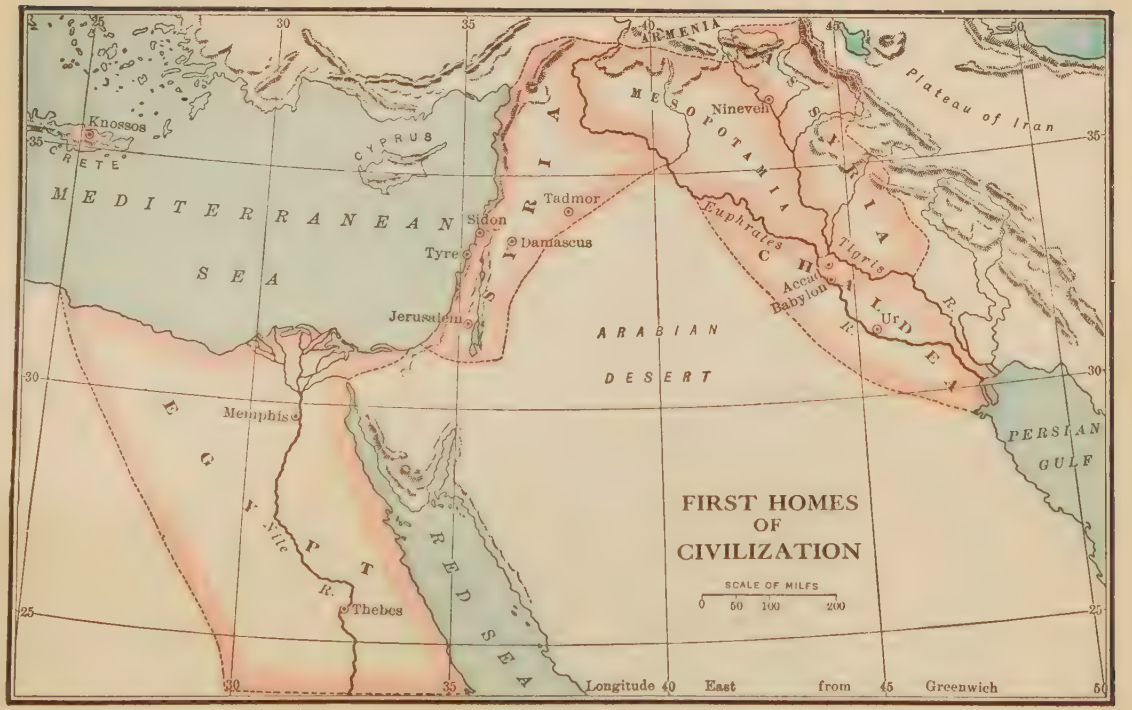
"Hail unto you, ye lords of Truth! hail to thee, great god, lord of Truth and Justice! . . . I have not committed iniquity against men! I have not oppressed the poor! . . . I have not laid labor upon any free man beyond that which he wrought for himself! . . . I have not caused the slave to be ill-treated of his master! I have not starved any man, I have not made any to weep, . . . *I have not pulled down*

WEIGHING THE SOUL in the scales of truth before the gods of the dead. — Egyptian relief; after Maspero. (The figures with animal heads are gods and their messengers. The human forms represent the dead who are being led to judgment.)

the scale of the balance! I have not falsified the beam of the balance! I have not taken away the milk from the mouths of sucklings. . . .

"Grant that he may come unto you — he that hath not lied or borne false witness, . . . *he that hath given bread to the hungry and drink to him that was athirst, and that hath clothed the naked with garments.*"

Some other declarations in this statement run: "I have not blasphemed"; "I have not stolen"; "I have not slain any man treacherously"; "I have not made false accusation"; "I have not eaten my heart with envy." These five contain


ARMENIA
Plateau of Iran
Knossos
CRETE
CYPRUS
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
SYRIA
MESOPOTAMIA
Nineveh
Tadmor
Sidon
Tyre
Damascus
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Accad
Babylon
Ur
CHALDEA
Jerusalem
ARABIAN DESERT
PERSIAN GULF
Memphis
EGYPT
Nile R.
Thebes
RED SEA
FIRST HOMES OF CIVILIZATION
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200
Longitude 30 35 40 East from 45 Greenwich 50
25 30 35

the substance of half of the Ten Commandments, — hundreds of years before Moses brought the tables of stone to the Children of Israel. Like ideas of duty appear in many other inscriptions. (Davis' *Readings*, I, Nos. 9 and 10.)

A kindly people

Such inscriptions show that the Egyptians were a kindly, moral, conscientious people. Says Professor Petrie, the great English authority, "The Egyptian . . . sought out a fair and noble life. . . . His aim was to be an easy, good-natured, quiet gentleman, and to make life as agreeable as he could to all about him."

III. EGYPT AND OTHER LANDS

Protected from invasion by geography

Egypt was so difficult to get into that, when a large state had once been formed there, it was almost safe from attack. *To the south* were the Abyssinians, a brave and warlike people; but they were cut off from Egypt by a twelve-day march through a desert and by impassable cataracts in the Nile. Trade caravans and small bands might travel from one country to the other; but armies could do so only with the greatest difficulty. *To the west* lay the Sahara — an immense inhospitable tract, peopled by small tribes roaming from oasis to oasis. *On the north and east* lay the Mediterranean and the Red Sea.

Egypt and Syria

Thus with sides and rear protected, Egypt faced Asia across the narrow Isthmus of Suez. And here, too, the region bordering Egypt was mainly desert. But a little to the north, between the mountains and the sea, lay Syria,[1] a narrow strip of habitable ground and a nursery of warlike peoples. Here dwelt the Phoenicians, Philistines, Canaanites, Hebrews, Moabites, and Hittites, whom we read of in the Bible.

Mountain ranges and rivers divided these peoples into many small, mutually hostile states; and so *Syria offered a tempting field to Egyptian military ambition.* The Theban pharaohs of 2400–2000 B.C. (p. 28) laid the region waste in long wars, and

[1] The term "Syria" is used with a varying meaning. In a narrow sense, as in this passage, it means only the coast region. In a broader use, it applies to all the country between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates.

finally made themselves its masters. Then, about 1700 B.C., Egypt was itself invaded and conquered by a strange race of nomads from the neighboring Arabian desert. From the name of their rulers we know these invaders as *Hyksos* (Shepherds). They introduced the horse into Egypt. This animal was reserved for war (p. 30). Thenceforward pharaohs and nobles no longer marched to war, as in the earlier reliefs, but are pictured in chariots.

The "New Empire"

A century later, the Hyksos were expelled by a new line of native pharaohs at Thebes. These are known as the monarchs of the *"New Empire."* The long struggle with the invading Hyksos had fastened militarism disastrously upon the industrial Egyptians, and the New Empire is known chiefly for its conquests in war (map opposite).

RAMESES II. A portrait statue, now in the Turin Museum of Antiquities. Rameses was one of the two most famous conquering pharaohs of the New Empire.

At its extreme north, the fertile Syrian strip bends south again in a sharp crescent around the Arabian desert down the course of the Euphrates and Tigris. On these rivers, so much like their own Nile, the Egyptian conquerors found a civilization not much inferior to their own, and almost as old. The two first homes of civilization, the valleys of the Nile and of the Euphrates, were only some 800 miles apart in a straight line; but along the two legs of the

triangle — the only practicable route — the distance was much greater. That whole district was soon covered by a network of roads. These were garrisoned here and there by Egyptian fortresses; and along them, for centuries, there passed hurrying streams of officials, couriers, and merchants.

The fall of Egyptian greatness

But history teaches that "he who takes the sword shall perish by the sword." *The population of Egypt was drained of its manhood by long wars, and impoverished by heavy war taxation.* Finally the pharaohs could no longer defend their distant frontiers, and withdrew within the old borders of Egypt. In particular, they found it impossible to war longer with the

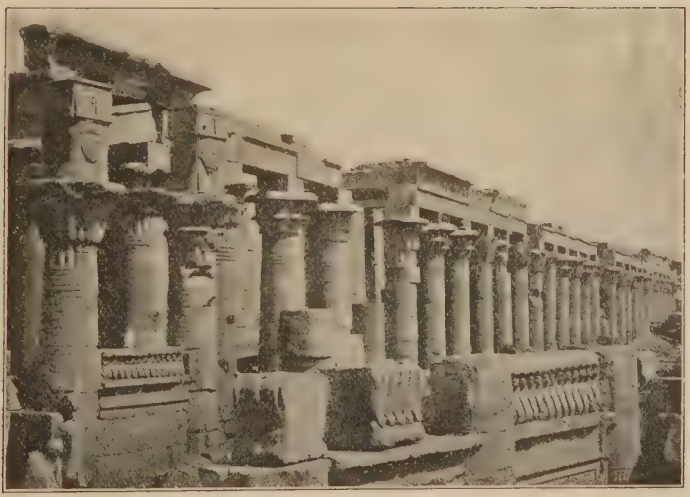
Hittites, who, armed with *iron* weapons, descended from the slopes of the Taurus mountains and overthrew Egyptian power in Syria. Even at home, the government was now weak and troubled by various invasions; and, *in 672*, Egypt became subject to Assyria (p. 50).

A brief revival, 600 B.C.

Twenty years later, *Psammetichus* restored Egyptian independence, and became the first of *the final line of native pharaohs*. He had been a military adventurer, and he won his throne largely through the aid of mercenary *Greek* troops. During all her earlier greatness, however much her traders visited foreign lands, Egypt had kept herself jealously closed against strangers. But Psammetichus *threw open the door to foreigners*, especially to the Greeks, who were just coming into notice. Greek travelers visited Egypt; large numbers of Greek soldiers served in the army; and a Greek colony at *Naucratis* was given special privileges. Indeed, *Sais*, the new capital of Psammetichus and his son, thronged with Greek adventurers. This was the time when Egypt "fulfilled her mission among the nations." She "had lit the torch of civilization" ages before: now she passed it on to the Western world through this vigorous new race.

Sculptured Head of Thûtmosis III (about 1470 B.C.), who in twelve great campaigns carried Egyptian arms from the Isthmus to Nineveh.

Neco, son of Psammetichus, is remembered for his fine attempt to reopen the ancient canal from the Nile to the Red Sea (p. 31). This failed; but Neco did find another sea route from the Red to the Mediterranean. One of his ships sailed around Africa, down the east coast, returning three years later through the Mediterranean. Herodotus (p. 27), who tells us the story, adds:



Above. — Temple of Rameses at Thebes: first court, south side.

Below. — Outer Court in front of Temple of Isis at Philae: West Colonnade.

"COLOSSI OF MEMNON" NEAR THEBES: statues of Amenophis III (1400 B.C.), whom the Romans called Memnon. In the lower view the two "Colossi" are in the background, while the structure in the foreground is part of a temple of Rameses III with colossal statues of that pharaoh. The "Memnon" statues (69 feet high with the missing crowns) were originally the portals of a temple of which few vestiges remain.

"On their return the sailors reported (others may believe them but I will not) that in sailing from east to west around Africa they had the sun on their right hand." This report is good proof to us that the story of the sailors was true.[1]

Voyage around Africa

This voyage closes Egyptian history. In 525 the land became subject to Persia (p. 67), and native rule has never been restored.

"Two vast and trunkless legs of stone
Stand in the desert. Near them, on the sand,
Half-sunk, a shattered visage lies.
. . . . . .
And on the pedestal, these words appear:
'My name is Ozymandias, king of kings.
Look on my works, Ye Mighty, and despair!'
Nothing beside remains. Round the decay
Of that colossal wreck, boundless and bare,
The lone and level sands stretch far away." — SHELLEY.

EXERCISES. — 1. *Make and compare lists of the things we owe to Egypt.* 2. What can you learn from those extracts upon Egypt in Davis' *Readings*, which have not been referred to in this chapter? (If the class have enough of those valuable little books in their hands, this topic may make all or part of a day's lesson; if only a copy or two is in the library, one student may well make a short report to the class, with brief readings.) 3. Do you regard the Great Pyramid or Lake Moeris or the canal from the Nile to the Red Sea or the conquest of Syria as the truest proof of Egyptian greatness? 4. Can you see any connection between the cheap food of the Nile valley and its place as an early home of civilization? Could you suggest a more just division of the leisure that resulted from that cheap food? 5. Students who wish to read further upon ancient Egypt will find the titles of three or four of the best books for their purpose in the Appendix, — Baikie, Breasted, Hommel, or Myers. If the school has a stereopticon for use in history classes, and can afford the expense, the *Underwood and Underwood* series of Egyptian views will be found very instructive; edited by Breasted, *Egypt through the Stereoscope*. The following numbers are especially good: 27, 29, 31, 42, 45, 48, 52, 53, 57, 69, 89.

[1] If the student does not see why, let him trace the route on a globe, and see whether he can understand the story.

CHAPTER III

THE MEN OF THE EUPHRATES AND TIGRIS

1. LAND, PEOPLE, AND STATES

The land of the two rivers

Between the sands of Arabia and the rugged plateaus of central Asia, there lies a patch of luxuriant vegetation stretching from the Persian Gulf to the Armenian mountains. This oasis is the work of the Euphrates ("great" river) and the Tigris ("swift" river). Rising on opposite slopes of snow-capped mountains, these streams approach each other in majestic sweeps until they form a common valley; then they flow in parallel channels for most of their course, uniting just before they reach the Persian Gulf.

The three divisions

The valley had three parts. (1) Like the delta of the Nile, the lower part had been built up out of alluvial soil carried out, in the course of ages, into the sea. This district was about as large as Egypt and is known as *Babylonia*, or *Chaldea*. To the north, the rich Chaldean plain rises into a broad table-land. (2) The fertile half of this, on the Tigris side, is ancient *Assyria*. (3) The western part of the upper valley (*Mesopotamia*) is more rugged, and is important mainly because it makes part of the great curved road, around the Arabian desert, from Chaldea to Egypt (p. 42).

The Tigris district is not suited for irrigation, but it has a reasonable amount of rainfall. *Chaldea's fertility was kept up by the annual overflow of the Euphrates*, regulated, like the Nile's, by dikes, reservoirs, and canals.

Chaldeans and Assyrians

The people of Chaldea and of Assyria differed widely. The first civilization in the southern district was built up by a race whom scholars call Sumerians. By 4000 B.C., they reached the *Copper* Age and a hieroglyphic stage of writing. Successive

waves of conquering invaders from the Arabian desert finally established a Semitic language in Chaldea, but the bulk of the inhabitants there did not become Semites in blood. They

Recent Excavation at the Site of Ashur, one of the most ancient cities of the district. — From Jastrow's *Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria.*

kept mainly the character of the older race, though their old speech had become a "dead" language. Before 2000 B.C. they had learned the use of *Bronze* — probably from Egyptian traders.

Sumerian civilization, however, had not taken so firm a hold on the Tigris district; and the Assyrians did become mainly Semitic, — allied to the Arabs in blood. (The men of the south — Chaldeans, or Babylonians — were quick-witted, industrious, gentle, pleasure-loving, fond of literature and of peaceful pursuits. The men of the north — the hook-nosed, larger-framed, fiercer Assyrians — delighted in blood and gore, and had only such arts and learning as they could borrow from their neighbors.)

A Babylonian Boundary Stone of about 2000 B.C. — From Jastrow's *Babylonia and Assyria*. Such stones were placed at each corner of a grant of land. The inscription records the title, and the gods are invoked to witness the grant or sale and to punish transgressors upon the owner's rights.

The languages of the Arabs, Jews, Assyrians, and of some other neighboring peoples, such as the ancient Phoenicians (p. 74), are closely related. The whole group of such languages is called Semitic, and the peoples who speak them are called Semites (descendants of *Shem*). *Similarity of languages does not necessarily prove that the peoples are related in blood:* more commonly it means only that their civilizations have been derived one from another. But these Semitic races do seem to have had a close blood relationship.

City-states give way to an empire

Just as in early Egypt, so in this double valley, many cities waged long wars with one another from an early date. Each such city, with its surrounding hamlets and farms, was a little "city-state." First *Accad* and then *Ur* (both of which we read of in the Bible) won control over all Chaldea. Later, *Babylon* in Chaldea and *Nineveh* in Assyria became the capitals of mighty empires.[1]

Hammurapi and the Babylonian Empire

About 2150 B.C., a new Semitic conqueror, *Hammurapi*, established himself at Babylon, and soon extended his rule over the whole valley and westward even to the Mediterranean. This was the *First Babylonian Empire*. For hundreds of years Chaldean fashions were copied, Chaldean manufactures were used, and Chaldean books were read, all over Syria; and, ever since, the name Babylon has remained a symbol for magnificence and power. After five or six centuries, however, Egypt for a time seized most of this Babylonian empire (p. 42).

THE OLDEST ARCH KNOWN (about 4000 B.C.). This vaulted drain was discovered a few years ago fifteen feet below what had long been supposed to be the earliest remains of Babylonian civilization. It seems to have been part of a highly complex drainage system in a crypt of an ancient temple. The arch is two feet high. The clay pipes, whose forms can be seen dimly on the bottom, are eight inches in diameter, and lie in two-foot joints. — From Hilprecht's *Explorations in Bible Lands*.

The Assyrian Empire and "frightfulness"

In 745 B.C., Nineveh, long subject to Babylon, became herself the seat of an Assyrian Empire, larger and mightier than any that had gone before it. The king *Sargon* carried away the

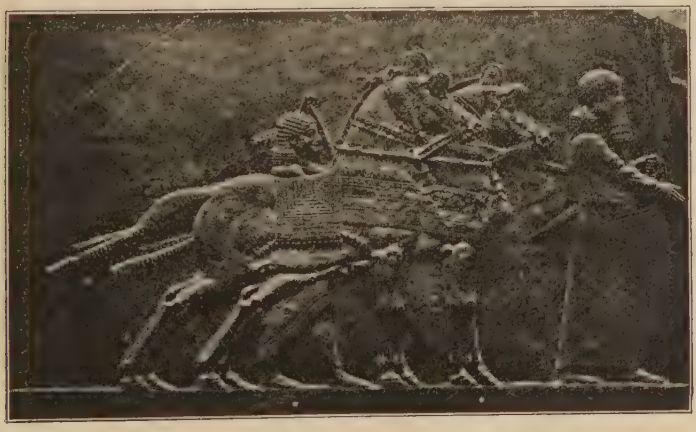
[1] An empire is properly a state containing many sub-states. Egypt was called a *kingdom* while it was confined to the Nile valley, but an *empire* when its sway extended over Ethiopia and Syria (p. 42).

Ten Tribes of Israel into captivity (722 B.C.). Sargon's son, *Sennacherib,* subdued Judah;[1] and Sennacherib's son conquered Egypt (p. 44). Assyrian rule reached out also into the new districts of Asia Minor and of Media.

Every Assyrian energy went to make the army a perfect fighting machine. The soldiers were armed with iron weapons (adopted from the Hittites (p. 44)), and were equipped with

[1] 2 Kings, xviii. For the Assyrian story, see Davis' *Readings,* I, No. 12. Sennacherib, however, is best remembered from the Jewish account of the destruction of his army, in an earlier expedition, by a sudden plague — "smitten by the angel of the Lord." This is the incident referred to in Byron's lines:

> "The Assyrian came down like the wolf on the fold,
> And his cohorts were gleaming with purple and gold . . .
> Like leaves of the forest when Autumn has blown,
> That host on the morrow lay withered and strown."

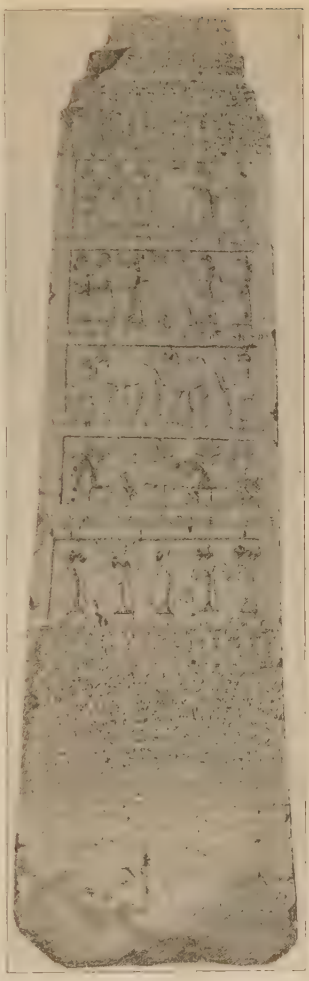


Reliefs from Assyrian Palaces

battering rams and great hurling engines, to beat down the earth walls of unsubmissive cities. The transportation and dispersion of a conquered nation, with unimaginable sufferings (as in the case of the "Lost Tribes" of Israel), was a common practice, to guard against rebellion. "Frightfulness" was the deliberate policy of the Assyrians, to intimidate their enemies; and the rulers exulted fiendishly in details of cruelty. Said parts of two royal inscriptions:

"*They did not embrace my feet.* . . . I captured the city. . . . The spoil I carried away. . . . [Some of the captives] I burned with fire. I cut off the hands and feet of some; I cut off the noses, ears, and fingers of others . . . I built *a pyramid of the living* and a pyramid of heads. The city I overthrew, dug up, and burned. I annihilated it."

"The nobles, as many as had revolted, *I flayed.* With their skins I covered the pyramid [of slaughtered citizens]. . . . Some of them *I buried alive in the midst of the pyramid;* others round about the pyramid *I impaled on stakes.*"



Fall of Assyria

Obelisk of Shalmaneser II of Assyria (858 B.C.). — From Jastrow's *Babylonia and Assyria.* This is a huge black stone, four-faced. The five bands of sculpture shown upon the one face in this cut run around the four faces, as do the inscriptions. Each band illustrates the conquest by Shalmaneser of a different nation, and the inscriptions contain part of the cruel passages recorded on this page. This obelisk is the predecessor of the triumphal columns of Roman emperors (p. 365).

The wide rule of Assyria was short-lived. Her strength was

wasted by constant wars abroad, and her industries decayed at home. A passionate hatred, too, against her cruelties and her crushing taxation rankled in the hearts of the oppressed peoples. After twenty years of subjection, Egypt broke away. Twenty years more, and Babylon followed — after a series of fierce revolts.[1] Hordes of "Scythians" (probably Tartar nomads) from the north devastated the empire. And in 606 the Medes and Babylonians captured Nineveh itself; and the proud "city of blood," which had razed so many other cities, was given to sack and pillage. The passionate exultation of all neighboring peoples was spoken in the stern words of the Hebrew prophet: "All that hear the news of thy fate shall clap their hands over thee — for whom hath not thy wickedness afflicted continually?"[2] Two hundred years later the Greek adventurer Xenophon, standing on the crumbling ruins of Nineveh, could not even learn their name. Later the very site was forgotten, until revealed again by recent excavation.

Second Babylonian Empire

A Second Babylonian Empire began with the successful rebellion against Assyria, in 625 B.C., but it lasted less than a century. The glory of this period belongs chiefly to the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar* (604–561 B.C.). He carried away the Jews into the "Babylonian Captivity" — in unhappy imitation of Assyrian policy; but he also rebuilt Babylon on a magnificent scale, and renewed the ancient engineering works. (Nebuchadnezzar's own account is in Davis' *Readings*, and one of the passages omitted by Dr. Davis tells how that king rebuilt the "Sacred Way." See cut opposite.) Soon after this reign, Babylon fell before the rising power of Persia (p. 67).

During the past thousand years, under Turkish rule, the last vestiges of the ancient engineering works of Chaldea have gone to ruin. The myriads of canals are choked with sand,

[1] Sennacherib declares that he once razed Babylon to the ground, in punishment for rebellion. "Temple and tower I tore down and threw into the canal. I dug ditches through the city, and laid waste its site. *Greater than the deluge* was its annihilation."

[2] Nahum iii, 1–19. See also Isaiah xiii, 16–22, and Jeremiah l and li.

and, in this early home of civilization, the *uncontrolled* overflow of the river turns the eastern districts into a dreary marsh, while on the west the desert has drifted in, to cover the most fertile soil in the world, — and the sites of scores of mighty cities are only shapeless mounds, where sometimes nomad

Babylonian Lion from the Sacred Way. Straight north and south through Babylon ran a famous "Procession Street," or "Sacred Way," from the temple of Marduk, the city's guardian god, to the city gate. In Nebuchadnezzar's time this street was paved with huge smooth slabs of stone. On either side of this pavement ran a high brick wall, ornamented along its entire length with a frieze of lions in low relief, brilliantly enameled in white and yellow upon a dark blue ground and crowned with white rosettes. This procession of lions (symbol of the god) led to the colossal guardian bulls of the city gateway.

Arabs camp for a night. Recently (since 1910), it is true, under German influence, the Turkish government reclaimed many thousand acres for fields of cotton and grain.

II. SOCIETY, INDUSTRY, CULTURE

The king

The king, both in Chaldea and Assyria, was surrounded with everything that could awe and charm the masses. Extraordinary magnificence and splendor removed him from the common people. He gave audience, seated on a golden throne covered with a purple canopy which was supported by pillars glittering

with precious stones. All who came into his presence prostrated themselves in the dust until bidden to rise. His rule was absolute.

Rich and poor

Chaldea had no class like the nobles of Egypt. Wealth counted for more, and birth for less, than in that country. There were really only two classes, — *rich* and *poor*, with a mass of slaves.

The *peasants* tilled the rich land in misery. As in Egypt they paid for their holdings with half of the produce. In a poor year, this left them in debt for seed and living. The creditor could charge exorbitant interest — usually 20 per cent a year; and if it were not paid, he could levy not only upon the debtor's small goods, but also upon wife or child, or upon the person of the farmer himself, for slavery — for a term of only three years, however.

Commerce and wars of greed

The *wealthy class* included landowners, officials, professional men, money lenders, and merchants. *The merchant* in particular *was a prominent figure*. The position of Chaldea, at the head of the Persian Gulf, made its cities the natural mart of exchange between India and Syria. The extensive wars of Assyria, cruel as they were, were not merely for love of conquest: *they were largely commercial in purpose*, — to win "a place in the sun," like most modern wars, — to secure the trade of Syria and Phoenicia, and to ruin the trade centers [1] that were competing with Nineveh.

Laws of Hammurapi

In 1902 A.D., a French explorer found a collection of 280 Babylonian laws inscribed, in some 2600 lines, upon an eight-foot shaft of stone. This "code" asserts that it was enacted by Hammurapi (p. 49). It is the oldest *known* [2] *code of laws* in the world; and it shows that the men for whom it was made were already far advanced in civilization. It tries to guard against bribery of judges and witnesses, against careless medical

[1] Damascus, Jerusalem, Tyre, and others whose names have less meaning to us to-day. Tyre, often besieged and reduced to a tributary state, was not actually captured, owing to her mastery of the sea.

[2] There were older Egyptian codes, but they have not been re-discovered.

practice, against ignorant or dishonest building contractors, as well as against the oppression of widows and orphans. Some provisions remind us of the later Jewish law of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth — though injuries to a poor man could be atoned for in money (Davis' *Readings*, I, No. 20).

"If a man has caused a man of rank to lose an eye, one of his own eyes must be struck out. If he has shattered the limb of a man of rank, let his own limb be broken. If he has knocked out the tooth of a man of rank, his tooth must be knocked out. [But] If he has caused a poor man to lose an eye, or has shattered a limb, let him pay one maneh of silver" [about $32.00 in our values].

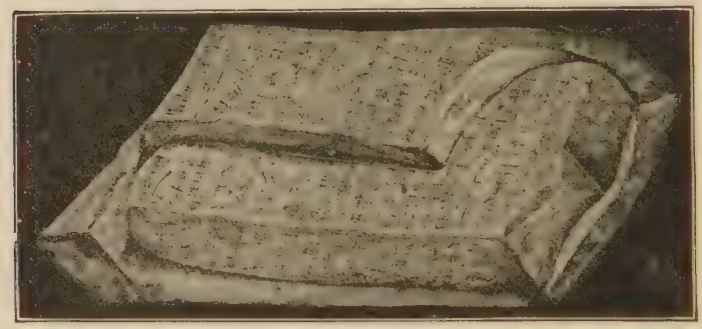
This code, and other discoveries, show that *rights of property* were carefully guarded. Deeds, wills, marriage settlements, legal contracts of all kinds, survive by tens of thousands. These contracts prove that a woman could con-

LAWS OF HAMMURAPI (see text). — From Jastrow. At the top of the stone shaft, on one face, is a sculptured relief representing the king (standing) receiving the Law from the hand of the Sun God.

trol her own property, and carry on business, independently of her husband.

Cuneiform writing

The early inhabitants of Chaldea had a system of hieroglyphics not unlike the Egyptian. At first they wrote, or painted, these on the papyrus, which grew in the Euphrates as well as in the Nile. Later, they came to press the characters with a sharp metal instrument into clay tablets (which were then baked to preserve them). This change of material led to a change in the written characters. The pictures shriveled and flat-



Babylonian Contract Tablet in Duplicate. The outer tablet is broken and shows part of the inner original, which could always be consulted if the outside was thought to have been tampered with

tened into wedge-shaped symbols, which look like scattered nails with curiously battered heads. *This writing is called cuneiform,* from the Latin *cuneus,* wedge.

and writing schools

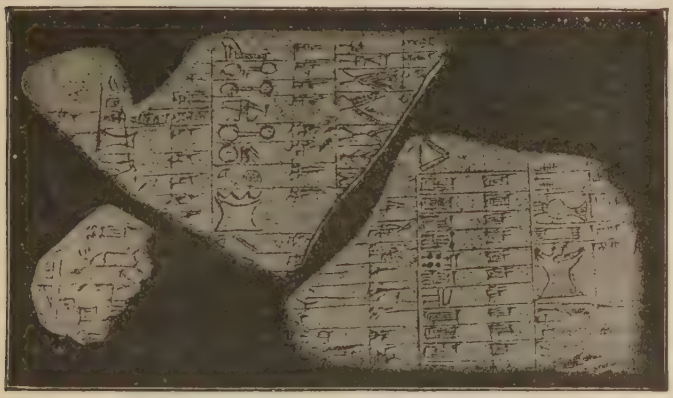
The signatures to legal documents show a great variety of handwritings; and recently a Babylonian *schoolhouse* has been excavated, where boys were taught to write. The floor was strewn with many "slates" (soft clay tablets when the Babylonian boys used them), covered with writing exercises, evidently from set copies, of various degrees of difficulty. When such a "slate" was full, the Babylonian boy cleaned it by scraping it smooth with a straight-edged scraper.

Books and libraries

The remains of Chaldean literature are abundant. Each of the numerous cities that studded the valley of the twin rivers had its library, sometimes several of them. A library was a

collection of clay tablets or bricks covered with minute cuneiform writing — six lines, perhaps, to an inch. In Babylon the ruins of one library contained over thirty thousand tablets, of about the date 2700 B.C., all neatly arranged in order. Originally the libraries contained papyrus rolls also, but these the climate has utterly destroyed.

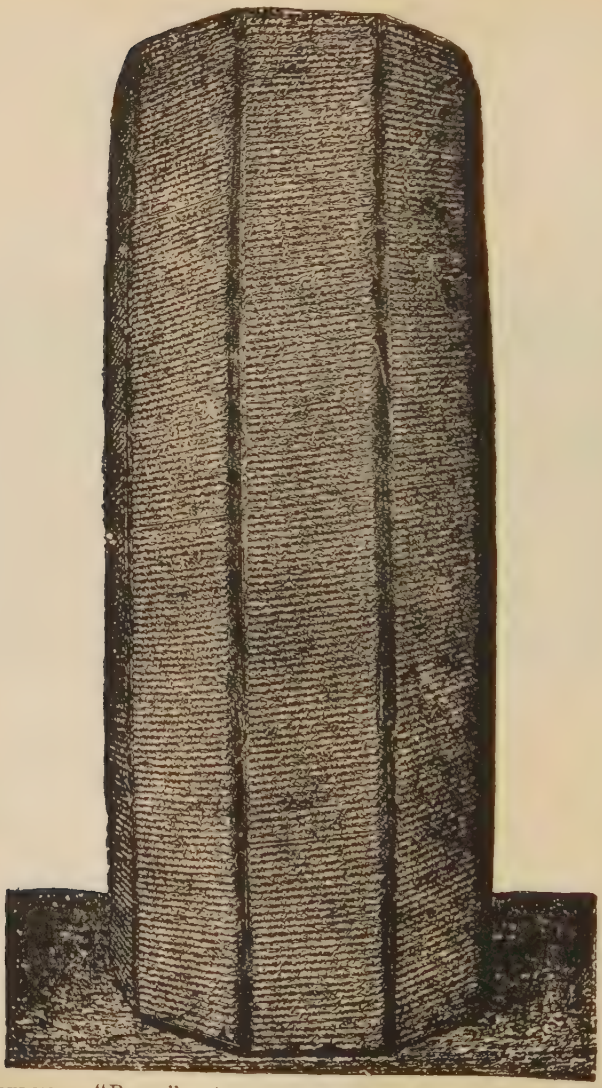
A tablet, with its condensed writing, corresponds fairly well to a chapter in one of our books. Each tablet had its library



BABYLONIAN TABLETS, showing the older hieroglyphics and the later cuneiform equivalents (apparently for the purpose of instruction).

number stamped upon it, and the collections were carefully catalogued. The kings prided themselves on keeping libraries open to the public; and a large part of the inhabitants (including many women) could read and write.

The literary class studied the "dead" language of the pre-Semitic period, as we study Latin; and the merchants were obliged to know the languages spoken in Syria in that day. The libraries contained dictionaries and grammars of these languages, and also many translations of foreign books, in columns parallel with the originals. Scribes were constantly employed in copying and editing ancient texts, and they seem to have been very careful in their work. When they could not make out a word in an ancient copy, they tell us so, and leave the space blank.



A Babylonian "Book." An octagon brick, now in the British Museum after Sayce. This representation is about one third the real size.

Chaldean science

Science was somewhat hindered by belief in charms and magic. Some of our boyish forms of "counting out," such as "eeny, meeny, miny, moe," are playful survivals of solemn forms of divination used in earnest by Chaldean magicians. Still, in *geometry* the Chaldeans made as much progress as the Egyptians; and in *arithmetic* more. Their notation combined the decimal and duodecimal systems. Sixty was a favorite unit (used as we use the hundred) because it is divisible by both ten and twelve. As in Egypt, too, the clear skies and level plains invited an early *study of the heavenly bodies.* The Chaldeans made star maps, marked out upon them the apparent yearly path of the sun, and (toward the close of their civilization) *foretold eclipses.* Every great city had its lofty observatory and its royal astronomer; and in Babylon, in 331 B.C., Alexander the Great found the record of an unbroken series of observations running back 1900 years before that time.

Astrology

The stars were thought to influence human lives, and astronomy was studied largely as a means of foretelling the future. This pretended science we call *astrology,* to distinguish it from real astronomy. It was practiced in Europe as late as Queen Elizabeth's time, and, even after so many hundred years, a European astrologer was always called "a Chaldean."

Legends of the past

The Babylonians had also many collections of legends about the past. Their story of the creation resembled, in many ways, the later Hebrew account; and one of their legends concerned a "deluge," from which only one man, favored by the gods, was saved in an ark, with his family and with one pair of every kind of beasts. These stories, however, all have an exaggerated style, and lack the noble simplicity of the Hebrew narratives.

Arts and industry

The men of the Euphrates made practical use of their science. They invented *wheeled* carts, and, very early, they devised effective defensive armor — helmets of leather embossed with copper plates. They wrote books on *agriculture,* which passed on their skill in that field to the Greeks. They understood the *lever* and *pulley,* and used the *arch* in vaulted drains and aqueducts.

Our debt to Babylon

They invented an excellent system of *measures*, based on the length of finger, hand, and arm; and these measures, along with their *weights*, have come down to us through the Greeks. Our *pound* is merely the Babylonian *mina* renamed. The symbols in our "*Apothecaries' Table*," still used in every physician's prescription, are Babylonian, as are the curious "*signs of the zodiac*" in our almanacs. As we get from the Egyptians our year and months, so from the Chaldeans we get the *week*, with its "seventh day of rest for the soul," and the division of the hours into *minutes*. Their *notation, by twelve and sixty*, we keep on the face of every clock, and, in part, on every school globe. Their "dozen" is still one of our units.

Babylonian Cylinder Seals.

Babylonian metal-workers and engravers had surpassing skill in *cutting gems, enameling*, and *inlaying*. Every well-to-do person had his seal with which to sign letters and legal papers. The cheaper sort were of baked clay, but the richer men used engraved precious stones, in the form of cylinders, arranged to revolve on an axis of metal. Thousands of these have been found. Some of them, made of jasper or chalcedony or onyx, are works of art which it would be hard to surpass to-day. Assyrian looms, too, produced the finest of *muslins* and of fleecy *woolens*, to which the *dyer* gave the most brilliant colors. The rich wore long robes of those cloths, decorated with embroideries. Tapestries and carpets, also, wonderfully colored, were woven, for walls and floors and beds. In many such industries, little advance has been made since, so far as the products are concerned.

The Euphrates valley had no stone and little wood. Brick

IMPRESSION FROM A KING'S CYLINDER SEAL. The figure in the air represents the god who protects the king in his perils.

Architecture and sculpture

making, therefore, was, next to agriculture, the most important industry. Ordinary houses were built of cheap *sun-dried* bricks. The same material was used for all but the outer courses of the walls of the palaces and temples;[1] but for these outside faces, a kiln-baked brick was used, much like our own. With only these imperfect materials, the Babylonians constructed marvelous tower-temples and elevated gardens, in imitation of mountain scenery. The "Hanging Gardens," built by Nebuchadnezzar to please his wife (from the Median mountains), rose, one terrace upon another, to a height of one hundred and fifty feet, and were

COLOSSAL MAN-BEAST IN ALABASTER. — From an Assyrian palace; now in the British Museum.

[1] The extensive use of sun-dried brick in Chaldean cities explains their complete decay. In the course of ages, after being abandoned, they sank into shapeless mounds, indistinguishable from the surrounding plain.

counted by the Greeks among the "seven wonders of the world."

An Assyrian palace

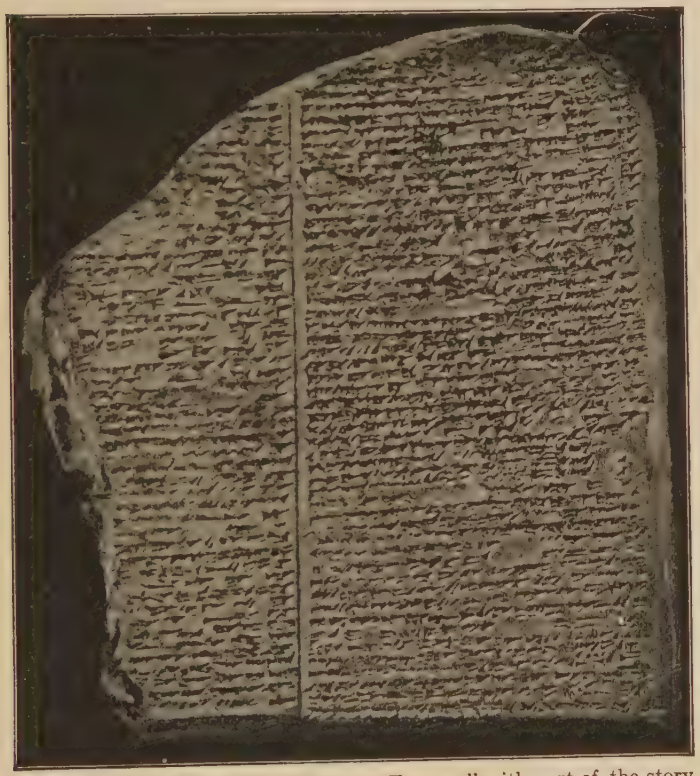
Assyria abounded in excellent stone. Still for centuries her builders slavishly used brick, like the people from whom they borrowed their art. Finally, however, they came to make use of the better material about them for sculpture and for at least the facings of their public buildings. In architecture and sculpture, though in no other art, Assyria, land of stone, excelled Babylonia, land of brick. In the royal palaces especially, the almost unlimited power of the monarchs and their Oriental passion for splendor and color produced a sumptuous magnificence. The following description of a palace of ancient Nineveh is taken from Dr. J. K. Hosmer's *The Jews*.

> "Upon a huge, wide-spreading, artificial hill, faced with masonry, for a platform, rose cliff-like fortress walls a hundred feet more, wide enough for three chariots abreast and with frequent towers shooting up to a still loftier height. Sculptured portals, by which stood silent guardians, colossal figures in white alabaster, the forms of men and beasts, winged and of majestic mien, admitted to the magnificence within. . . . Upward, tier above tier, into the blue heavens, ran lines of colonnades, pillars of costly cedar, cornices glittering with gold, capitals blazing with vermilion, and, between them, voluminous curtains of silk, purple, and scarlet, interwoven with threads of gold. . . . In the interior, stretching, literally, for miles, the builder ranged the illustrated record of his exploits. . . . The mind grows dizzy with the thought of the splendor — the processions of satraps and eunuchs and tributary kings, winding up the stairs and passing in a radiant stream through the halls — the gold and embroidery, the ivory and the sumptuous furniture, the pearls and the hangings."

Religion

Babylonians and Assyrians worshiped ancestors. Mingled with this religion was a nature worship, with numerous gods and demigods. Ancestor worship is usually accompanied by a belief in witchcraft and in unfriendly ghosts and demons. In Chaldea these superstitions appeared in exaggerated form. The pictures in early Christian times representing the devil with horns, hoofs, and tail, came from the Babylonians, through the Jewish *Talmud* (a Hebrew book of learning and legends).

Nature worship, in its lower stages, is often accompanied by debasing rites, in which drunkenness and sensuality appear as acts of worship. The stern reproaches of the Hebrew prophets have made Babylon notorious for such features in her religion.



FRAGMENT OF BABYLONIAN "DELUGE-TABLET," with part of the story of a deluge.

But the following extracts from Babylonian writings show some noble religious thought. (See also Davis' *Readings*, I, Nos. 21 and 22.)

From a Chaldean hymn (composed in the city of Ur, before the time of Abraham):

"Father, long suffering and full of forgiveness, whose hand upholds the life of all mankind! . . .
First-born, omnipotent, whose heart is immensity, and there is none who may fathom it! . . .
In heaven, who is supreme? Thou alone, thou art supreme!
On earth, who is supreme? Thou alone, thou art supreme!
As for thee, thy will is made known in heaven, and the angels bow their faces.
As for thee, thy will is made known upon earth, and the spirits below kiss the ground."

From a Prayer of Nebuchadnezzar:

"Thou hast created me. . . . Set thou the fear of thy divine power in my heart. Give me what seemest good to thee, since thou maintainest my life."

Danube R.
THRACE
BLACK SEA
Byzantium
Caucasus Mts.
CASPIAN SEA
Sea of Aral
Oxus R.
Aegean Sea
Athens
Sparta
Ephesus
Miletus
CRETE
RHODES
CYPRUS
CAPPADOCIA
ARMENIA
IBERIA
Nineveh
Arbela
Ecbatana
PARTHIA
MEDIA
MESOPOTAMIA
Tadmor
Damascus
Lebanon Mts.
Sidon
Tyre
Samaria
Jerusalem
Babylon
Susa
Plateau of Iran
PERSIA
ARABIAN DESERT
Memphis
Nile R.
EGYPT
RED SEA
Persepolis
Pasargadae
PERSIAN GULF
KINGDOMS OF
LYDIA, MEDIA, EGYPT,
AND
BABYLONIA, B.C. 550
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300
Longitude 40 east from Greenwich

CHAPTER IV

THE PERSIAN EMPIRE

Lydia and its gift

Now the map grows. Shortly before the overthrow of Babylon, two new centers of power appeared, one on either side of the Syrian crescent. These were Persia and Lydia. *Lydia* was a kingdom in western Asia Minor. Somewhat before 550 B.C. its sovereign, *Croesus*, united all Asia Minor west of the Halys River under his sway, including the many Greek cities on the eastern Mediterranean coast. This made the Lydian Empire for a time one of the great world-powers (map opposite).

The region abounded in gold and silver; and "rich as Croesus" became a byword. Lydia's gift to the world was the invention of *coinage*. As early as 650 B.C., a Lydian king stamped upon pieces of silver a statement of their weight and purity, with his name and picture as guarantee of the statement. Until this time, little advance had been made over the old Egyptian method of trade, except that the use of silver rings and bars had become more common. The Babylonians, along with their other weights and measures, had taught the world to count riches in *shekels*, — *ounces* of silver; but there were no *coined* shekels, and there was little security against cheaper metals being mixed with the silver. The true money of Lydia could be received anywhere at once at a fixed rate. This made all forms of trade and commerce vastly easier. Other states began to adopt systems of coinage of their own. Ever since, the coinage of money has been one of the important duties of governments.

We must not suppose, however, that the old sort of "barter" vanished at once. It remained the common method of exchange in all but the great markets of the

world for centuries; and in new countries it has appeared, in the lack of coined money, in very modern times. In our early New England colonies there were times when people paid taxes and debts "in kind," much after the old Egyptian fashion.

A new field for history

On the farther side of the Euphrates and Tigris lay the lofty and somewhat arid *Plateau of Iran*. This was the home of the *Medes and Persians*. These peoples appeared first about 850 B.C., as fierce barbarians, whom Assyria found it needful to subdue repeatedly. Gradually they adopted the civilization of their neighbors; and, in 606, as we have seen, the Medes conquered Assyria.

A Persian Gold Armlet found in 1877 on the banks of the Oxus. Now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

A rest from war

Then the civilized world was divided, for three generations,[1] between four great powers, — Babylon, Egypt, Lydia, and Media. These kingdoms were friendly allies, and the civilized world had a rare rest from internal war. Media, it is true, busied herself in extending her dominions by war with barbarous tribes on the east. By such means she added to her territory all the Plateau of Iran and the northern portion of the old Assyrian Empire. This made her far the largest of the four states. But in 558 B.C., *Cyrus*, a tributary prince of the Persian tribes, threw off the yoke of the Medes and set up an independent Persian monarchy.

[1] A *generation*, as a measure of time, means the average interval that separates a father from his son. This corresponds in length, also, in a rough way, to the active years of adult life, — the period between early manhood and old age. *It is reckoned at twenty-five or thirty years.*

PERSIAN EMPIRE AND GREECE
490 B.C.

SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 400

Persian Empire
Greece
Royal Road

Cyrus "the Great" makes the Persian Empire

Persia quickly became the largest and most powerful empire the world had known. The war with Media resulted in the rapid conquest of that state. This victory led Cyrus into war with Lydia and Babylon, which were allies of Media. Again he was overwhelmingly victorious. He conquered Croesus of Lydia and seized upon all Asia Minor. Then he captured Babylon, and a few years later his son subdued Egypt. *Thus the new empire included all the former empires, together with the new districts of Iran and Asia Minor.*

Extent and population

The field of history now widened again. The next three Persian kings (after Cyrus and his son) added vast districts to the Empire: on the east, modern Afghanistan and northwestern India, with wide regions to the northeast beyond the Caspian Sea; and on the west, the European coast from the Black Sea to the Greek peninsula and the islands of the Aegean.

This huge Empire contained possibly seventy-five million people, and its eastern and western frontiers were farther apart than Washington and San Francisco. Its only civilized neighbors were India[1] and Greece. Elsewhere, indeed, it was bounded by seas and deserts.

Persian art and literature were wholly borrowed, — mainly from Babylonia. The cuneiform writing was adopted from that land; and even the noble palaces, which have been rediscovered at Persepolis, were only copies of Assyrian palaces. Besides the expansion of the map, already noted, *Persia's services to the world were three: the repulse of Scythian savages; a better organization of government;* and *the lofty character of her religion.*

Persia and the Scythians

1. About 630 B.C., shortly before the downfall of Nineveh, the steppes of the North had poured hordes of savages into western Asia (p. 52). By the Greeks these nomads were called Scythians, and their inroads were like those of the Huns, Turks, and

[1] Civilizations grew up at a very early date in the great river valleys of India and China; but these civilizations have not much affected our "Western" civilization until very recently. Therefore they are not taken into account in this volume.

Tartars, in later history. They plundered as far as Egypt; and they were a real danger to all the culture the world had been building up so painfully for four thousand years. Assyria and Lydia proved helpless to hold them back, but the Medes and Persians saved civilization. The Medes drove the ruthless ravagers back to their own deserts, and the early Persian kings made repeated expeditions into the Scythian country. The barbarians were awed, and for centuries the danger of their attacks was averted.

A Lion Frieze from a palace at Susa built by Artaxerxes Memnon, a Persian king, about 404 B.C. Note the Babylonian influence. Now in the Louvre, Paris.

Darius, the greatest of the successors of Cyrus, seems to have justified his conquests on the ground of this service to civilization. In a famous inscription enumerating his conquests, he says: "Ahura-Mazda [the God of Light] delivered unto me these countries when he saw them in uproar. . . . By the grace of Ahura-Mazda I have brought them to order again." (The lengthy inscription from which this passage is taken is cut into a rock cliff, 300 feet from the base, in three parallel columns, in different languages, — Persian, Babylonian, and Tartar. This cliff served as the "Rosetta Stone" of the cuneiform writing.)

2. The empires that came before the Assyrian were held together very loosely. The "tributary kingdoms" within an

empire had to pay tribute and to assist in war, and from time to time their kings were expected to attend the court of their master. Otherwise, the subject states were separate units. They kept their old kings and their own language, laws, and customs. Two of them sometimes made war upon each other, without interference from the head king.

Such an empire easily fell to pieces. The native princes kept a natural ambition to become supreme sovereigns, and could easily rally their people about them in such attempts. A foreign invasion or the unexpected death of a sovereign might shatter the union. Each of the original kingdoms would become independent again; and then would follow years of bloody war, until some king built up the empire once more. Peace and security could not exist.

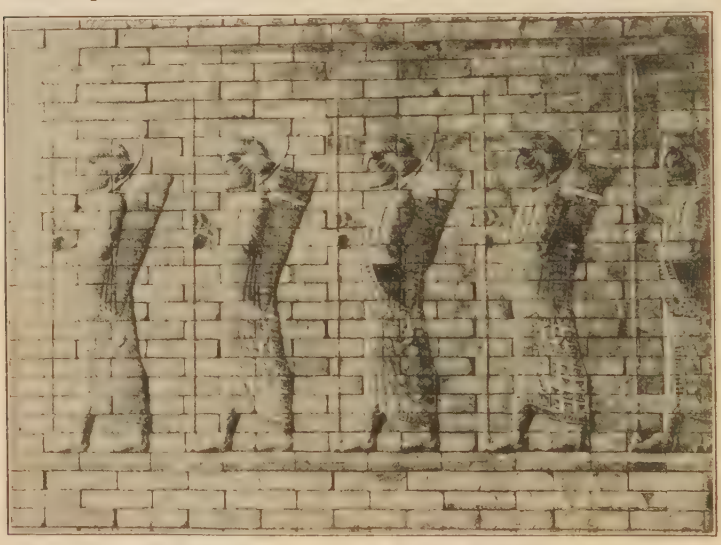
The Assyrian rulers had begun to reform this plan of government. They left the subject peoples their own laws and customs, as before; but they broke up some of the old kingdoms into *satrapies*, or provinces, ruled by appointed officers. This was Assyria's sole contribution to progress. The system, however, was still unsatisfactory. In theory the *satraps* were wholly dependent upon the will of the imperial king; but in practice they were very nearly kings themselves, and they were under constant temptation to try to become independent rulers, by rebellion.

The Persians adopted and extended the system of satraps; and *Darius "the Organizer,"* the fourth Persian king (521–485 B.C.), *introduced three new checks upon rebellion.* (1) In each of the twenty provinces, power was divided between the satrap himself and the commander of the standing army. (2) In each province was placed a royal secretary (the "King's Ear") to communicate constantly with the Great King. And (3), most important of all, a special royal commission (the "King's Eye"), backed with military forces, appeared at intervals in each satrapy to inquire into the government, and, if necessary, to arrest the satrap.

This was the most satisfactory organization ever invented by an Oriental empire, ancient or modern. To the vast

Persian world it brought a long period of freedom from the waste and horror of *internal* war.

Each of the subject provinces kept its own language and customs; but Darius did something also to create a *spirit* of union in the Empire. He reopened the ancient Egyptian canal from the Nile to the Red Sea,[1] to encourage trade;[2] and, to draw the distant parts of the Empire together, he built a magnificent



ARCHERS OF THE PERSIAN GUARD, from a glazed frieze of Darius' palace at Susa, "restored" later by Artaxerxes Memnon. This frieze, too, is now in the Louvre.

Post roads

system of post roads, with milestones and excellent inns, with ferries and bridges, and with relays of horses for the royal couriers. The chief road, from Susa to Sardis (map after page 66), was fifteen hundred miles long. Benjamin Ide Wheeler writes of this great highway (*Alexander the Great*, 196–197):

[1] A series of monuments set up by Darius to commemorate this great engineering work have recently been dug out of the sands which, after a few generations, had been allowed again to bury it.

[2] It was then that trade with the Far East first brought our domestic "chicken" into Western Asia.

"All the diverse life of the countries it traversed was drawn into its paths. Carians and Cilicians, Phrygians and Cappadocians, staid Lydians, sociable Greeks, crafty Armenians, rude traders from the Euxine shores, nabobs of Babylon, Medes and Persians, galloping couriers mounted on their Bokhara ponies or fine Arab steeds, envoys with train and state, peasants driving their donkeys laden with skins of oil or wine or sacks of grain, stately caravans bearing the wares and fabrics of the south to exchange for the metals, slaves, and grain of the north, travelers and traders seeking to know and exploit the world, — all were there, and all were safe under the protection of an empire the roadway of which pierced the strata of many tribes and many cultures, *and helped set the world a-mixing.*"

The Persian religion

3. While they were still barbarous tribes, the Persians had learned to worship the forces of nature, — especially sun, moon, stars, and fire. This worship was in the hands of priests, called *Magi*, who were believed to possess "*magic*" powers over nature and other men.

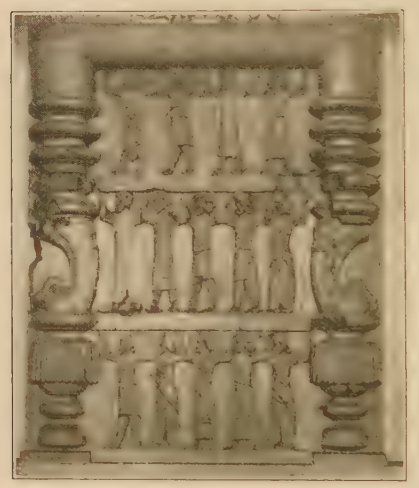
Capital of a Column from "Artaxerxes' palace" at Susa. Now in the Louvre.

Even this early religion had few of the lower features that we have noted in the worship of the Egyptians and Babylonians. But *the Persians* of the historic age *had risen to a nobler worship.* This is set forth in the Zend-Avesta (the Persian Bible), and it had been established about 1000 B.C. by *Zoroaster*. According to this great teacher, the world is a stage for unceasing conflict between the powers of Light and Darkness, or Good and Evil. It is man's duty to assist the good power by resisting evil impulses in his own heart and by fighting injustice among men. It is also his place to kill harmful

Zoroaster

beasts, to care tenderly for other animals, and to make the earth fruitful.

The superstitions of *Magism* continued to crop out among the masses of the people, especially in the belief in a multitude of angels, good and bad; but idolatry was not permitted, and this Zoroastrian faith was by far the purest of the ancient world, except that of the Hebrews. When the Persians became supreme, they showed marked favor to the Hebrews. Cyrus permitted them to return from the Babylonian captivity (p. 52), and even helped them to rebuild the Temple. These friendly relations were due in part, no doubt, to likeness in religious thought between Persians and Jews.



A Detail from the Throne of Xerxes (son of Darius) in his palace at Persepolis. Now in the Louvre.

The following passage from the Zend-Avesta shows the Persian idea of the future life.

"At the head of the Chinvat Bridge, betwixt this world and the next, when the soul goes over it, there comes a fair, white-armed and beautiful figure, like a maid in her fifteenth year, as fair as the fairest things in the world. And the soul of the true believer speaks to her, 'What maid art thou, — all surpassing in thy beauty?' And she makes answer, 'O youth of good thought, good words, good deeds, and of good religion, — *I am thine own conscience.*'

"Then pass the souls of the righteous to the golden seat of Ahura-Mazda, of the Archangels, to . . . 'The Abode of Song.'"

Another passage tells how the souls of the wicked are met by a foul hag and are plunged into a hideous pit, to suffer endless torment.

The cardinal virtue was *truthfulness.* Darius' instructions to his successor began: "Keep thyself utterly from lies. The man who is a liar, him destroy utterly. If thou do thus, my country will remain whole." A century later, the Greek Herodotus admired the manly sports of the Persians and the simple training of their boys, — "to ride, to shoot with the bow, and to speak the truth."

Persia was at the height of her power about 500 B.C. *The Oriental peoples had then possessed a complex civilization for more than 4000 years* — a much longer time than has passed since. To appreciate these pioneers of civilization, too, we must remember that, for a thousand years more, our own ancestors were merely wandering savages, clad in skins, among the swamps and forests of northern Europe.

For Further Reading. — There is an admirable twenty-page treatment of the Persian Empire in Benjamin Ide Wheeler's *Alexander the Great* (pp. 187–207), — a book which for other reasons deserves a place in every school library. Davis' *Readings*, I, Nos. 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, contain much interesting material upon Persian religion and morals.

Exercise. — Would you have expected the Persians to adopt the Egyptian hieroglyphs or the cuneiform writing? Why? In what ways was the organization of the Persian Empire an improvement upon that of the Assyrian? In what way did Assyrian organization improve upon Egyptian?

End of test.

CHAPTER V

THE MIDDLE STATES

From the Persian Empire the story of civilization passes back to Europe, — but, before taking up the story there, we must stop briefly to supply an omission in the Asiatic chapters. *Syria*, the middle land between the Nile and the Euphrates, early became the battle ground of the great empires, and suffered terribly from them; but it also became their trade exchange, and drew much civilization from them. Of the many small Syrian peoples (p. 41), *two were themselves real factors in the progress of the world* — the *Phoenicians* and the *Hebrews*.

I. THE PHOENICIANS

Sailors and traders

The Phoenicians dwelt on a little strip of broken coast shut off from the interior by the Lebanon Mountains (map, p. 78). Their many harbors invited them seaward, and the "cedar of Lebanon" offered the best of ship timber. When history first reveals the Mediterranean, it is dotted with their adventurous sails. At first, half traders, half pirates, their crews crept from island to island, to barter with the natives or to sweep them off for slaves, as chance might best suggest. Then, more daringly, they sought wealth farther and farther on the sea, until they passed even the Pillars of Hercules,[1] into the open Atlantic. *By 1100* B.C. *they had become the traders of the world;* and we see them exchanging the precious tin of Britain, the yellow amber of the Baltic, and the slaves and ivory of West Africa, for the spices, gold, scented wood, and precious stones of India. Their vessels carried most of the commerce of Egypt

[1] Two lofty hills, one on each side of the Strait of Gibraltar, beyond which the Ancients generally thought lay inconceivable perils (map after p. 108).

and of Babylonia, and the ship that Neco sent to circumnavigate Africa was manned by Phoenician sailors.

Tyre and Sidon

The chief Phoenician cities, Tyre and Sidon, were among the most splendid and wealthy in the world. Ezekiel (xxvi, xxvii) describes the grandeur of Tyre in glowing words: —

"O thou that dwellest at the entry of the sea, which art the merchant of the peoples unto many isles, . . . thou, O Tyre, hast said, I am perfect in beauty. *Thy borders are in the heart of the seas;* thy builders have perfected thy beauty. They have made all thy planks of fir trees. . . . They have taken cedars from Lebanon to be masts for thee; they have made thy benches of ivory inlaid in boxwood from the isles of Kittim [Kition in Cyprus]. Of fine linen with broidered work from Egypt was thy sail, . . . blue and purple from the isles of Elishah [North Africa] was thy awning. . . . All the ships of the sea were in thee to exchange thy merchandise. . . . With silver, iron, tin, and lead they traded for thy wares." (Ezekiel names also, among the articles of exchange, emeralds, coral, ivory, ebony, rubies, wheat, honey, oil, balm, wine, wool, yarn, spices, horses, mules, lambs, and goats.)

The first colonizers in history

The Phoenicians were the first colonizers. They fringed the larger islands and the shores of the Mediterranean with trading stations, which became new centers of civilization. Carthage, Utica, Gades (Cadiz, on the Atlantic), were among their colonies. (map after page 108). They worked tin mines in Colchis, in Spain, and finally in Britain, and so made possible the manufacture of bronze on a larger scale than before, to replace stone implements. Probably they first introduced bronze into many parts of Europe.

Industries

To get things wherewith to trade, the Phoenicians became manufacturers, — learning from Egyptians and Babylonians to work in metals, glass, and textiles. Hammer, loom, potter's wheel, engraver's knife, were always busy in Tyre. Tyrian products are found in great numbers in the ancient tombs of Greece and Italy — the earliest *European* homes of civilization.

Missionaries of civilization

The Phoenicians were "missionaries" of culture. It was their function, not to *create* civilization, but to *spread* it. Especially did they teach the Greeks, who were to teach the rest of Europe.

The alphabet

The chief export of the Phoenicians, it is well said, *was the alphabet.* When the Egyptians first conquered Syria, about 1600 B.C., the Phoenicians were using the cuneiform script of Babylon (introduced among them by Hammurapi's conquest). But their commerce made it necessary to keep complicated accounts and to communicate with agents in distant ports. This called for a simpler way of writing; and, about 1100 B.C., we find the Phoenicians with a true alphabet of twenty-two letters — *for consonant sounds only.* It is not certain whether they got these letters from Egyptian "sound-symbols" or from Crete (p. 87 below).

Fall of Tyre

Satisfied with their profits, the Phoenician cities submitted easily, as a rule, to any powerful neighbor. From Babylonia, from Egypt, from Persia, in turn, they bought security for their gains by paying tribute in money and in ships. Assyria sought to annihilate the Phoenician cities, as rivals in trade, and did destroy many of them; but Tyre was saved by her position on a rocky island-promontory. Finally, in 332 B.C., it was captured by Alexander the Great (p. 214). From this downfall the proud city never fully recovered, and fishermen now spread their nets to dry in the sun on the bare rock where once her tall towers rose.

II. THE HEBREWS

Wandering shepherds

As the Phoenicians were men of the sea, so the early Hebrews were men of the desert. They appear first as wandering shepherds along the grazing lands on the edge of the Arabian sands. *Abraham*, the founder of the race, emigrated from "Ur of the Chaldees," about 2100 B.C. He and his descendants, *Isaac* and *Jacob*, lived and ruled as patriarchal chiefs, much as Arab sheiks do in the same regions to-day.

The captivity in Egypt

Finally, "the famine was sore in the land." Jacob and his sons, with their tribesmen and flocks, sought refuge in Egypt. Here they found *Joseph*, one of their brethren, already high in royal favor. The rulers of Egypt at this time, too, were the Hyksos, themselves originally Arabian shepherds; and the

Hebrews were allowed to settle in the fertile pasturage of Goshen, near the Red Sea, where flitting Arab tribes have always been wont to encamp. But soon the native Egyptian rule was restored by the Theban pharaohs, "who knew not Joseph." These powerful princes of the New Empire (p. 42) reduced the

THE FERTILE LAND OF GOSHEN TO-DAY. — Palms and grain. From Petrie's *Egypt and Israel.*

Hebrews to slavery, and employed them on their great public works, and "made their lives bitter with hard bondage in mortar and in brick and in all manner of service in the field."

Three centuries later, while the Egyptian government was in a period of weakness and disorder, the oppressed people escaped

The Exodus

to the Arabian desert again, led by the hero *Moses*. For a man's lifetime, the fugitives wandered to and fro, after their ancient manner; but they were now a numerous people and had become accustomed to fixed abodes. About 1250 B.C., under *Joshua*, to whom Moses had turned over the leadership, they began to conquer the fertile valleys of Palestine for their home. Then followed two centuries of bloody warfare with their neighbors, some of whom had long before taken on the civilization of Babylonia.

And the conquest of Palestine

During this period the Hebrews remained a loose alliance of twelve shepherd tribes, led by a series of popular heroes, like *Samson*, *Jephthah*, *Gideon*, and *Samuel*, known as *Judges*. Much of the time there was great and ruinous disorder, and bands of robbers drove travelers from the highways. Finally, the Philistines for a time overran the land at will.

Under the Judges

Thus the Hebrews felt the necessity for stronger government. *Saul*, a mighty warrior, roused them against the Philistine

Kings and prophets

spoilers, and led them to victory. In return they made him their first king. Alongside this monarch and his successors, however, there stood religious teachers with great authority. These "prophets" had no official position. Commonly they were shepherd preachers, or hermits, clad perhaps only in the sheepskin of the desert; but the more devout of the people honored them for their courage and eloquence and high-mindedness. They did not hesitate to rebuke or oppose a sovereign.

David the second king (about 1070–977), completely subdued the Philistines. Then, taking shrewd advantage of the fact that the great states on the Nile and the Euphrates were both in a period of decay, he raised the Hebrew state into a considerable empire, including nearly all western Syria except Phoenicia. He will be remembered longest, however, not for his deeds as a daring warrior or even as a wise organizer of an empire, but rather as "the sweet singer of Israel." He was originally a shepherd boy, who attracted Saul's favor by his beauty and his skill upon the harp; and, in the most troublous days of his kingship, he sought rest and comfort in composing songs and poems, which are now included in the sacred Book of Psalms.

The kingdom of David

David had planned a noble temple at Jerusalem for the worship of Jehovah; but the work was actually carried out by his son, Solomon. The Hebrews had little ability in architecture; but Solomon's ally, King Hiram of Tyre, sent skilled Phoenician builders for the work, and it was completed with great magnificence. Through the rest of their history it remained the chief center of interest for the Hebrew people.

Solomon and the Temple

Until this period, Hebrew life had been plain and simple. The people were merely herdsmen and tillers of the soil. Not till after the Babylonian captivity, later, did they engage in commerce. But Solomon built rich palaces with his foreign workmen, and copied within them all the magnificence and luxury of an Oriental court. *His reign* (977–937 B.C.) *closed the brief age of political greatness for the Hebrews.*

The twelve tribes had not come to feel themselves really one nation. They had been divided into two groups in earlier

Division and decline

times: ten tribes in one group; two in the other. The "ten tribes," too, now held the north, the more fertile part of Palestine, with its numerous cities. The "two tribes," in the rugged south, were still largely shepherds and herdsmen. David had belonged to the smaller group, and his early kingship had extended over only the two tribes. Jealousies against the rule of his house had smoldered all along among the ten tribes. Now came a final separation. Solomon's taxes had sorely burdened the people. On his death, the ten tribes petitioned his son for relief, and when the young king (*Rehoboam*) replied with haughty insult, they set up for themselves as the *Kingdom of Israel*, with a capital at Samaria. The tribes of Benjamin and Judah remained faithful to the house of David. These became the *Kingdom of Judah*, with the old capital, Jerusalem.

The captivities

The Kingdom of Israel lasted 250 years, until Sargon carried the ten tribes into that Assyrian captivity in which they are "lost" to history (p. 50). Judah lasted four centuries after the separation, most of the time tributary to Assyria or to Babylon. Finally, in punishment for rebellion, Nebuchadnezzar carried away the people into the *Babylonian captivity* (p. 52).

Priestly rule

The more zealous of the Jews were allowed to return to "Judea" when the Persians conquered Babylon. Such control of their own affairs as was left to them was then in the hands of the priests, led by the High Priest of the Temple at Jerusalem. Our "Old Testament" consists of the Hebrew writings, which were, for the most part, produced, or at least copied and rearranged, in the zealous religious period shortly after the return from Babylon. These writings were not put into one book, however, until several centuries later.

The faith in one God

The Hebrews added nothing to material civilization: they did not profit the world by building roads, perfecting trades, or inventing new processes in industry. Nor did they contribute directly to any art. Their work was higher. Their religious literature was the noblest the world had seen, and it has passed into all the literatures of the civilized world; but even this is

valuable not so much for its literary merit as for its moral teachings. *The true history of the Hebrews is the record of their spiritual growth.* Their religion was infinitely purer and truer than any other of the ancient world.

Growth of the faith

At first this lofty faith belonged to only a few — to the patriarchs and later to the prophets, with a small following of the more spiritually minded of the nation. For a thousand years the common people, and some of the kings, were constantly falling away into the superstitions of their Syrian neighbors. But it is the supreme merit of the Hebrews that a remnant always clung to the higher religion, until it became the universal faith of a whole people.

The Babylonian captivity helped bring this result. The few devoted men and women who found their way back to Judea through so many hardships were indeed a "chosen" and sifted people. Among them there was no more tendency to idolatry. The faith of the patriarchs and prophets became the soul of a nation, — as a later development of that faith was to become the soul of our civilization.

Suggestions for Review

Let the class prepare review questions, each member five or ten, to ask of the others. Criticize the questions, showing which ones help to bring out important facts and contrasts and likenesses, and which are merely trivial or curious. The author of this volume does not think it worth while to hold students responsible for precise dates in Part I. It is well to make lists of important names or terms for rapid drill, demanding brief but clear explanation of each term, *i.e. cuneiform, shekel, Hyksos, papyrus.*

Sample Questions: (1) In what did the Egyptians excel the Babylonians? (2) In what did the Babylonians excel the Egyptians? (3) In what did the Persians excel both? (4) Trace the growth of the map for civilized countries. (5) Locate four centers of civilization for 1500 B.C., and observe, on the map, where they would most naturally come in contact with one another. (One more center for that age — Crete — is yet to be treated.) (6) What new center became prominent between 1700 and 1000 B.C.?

Caution: Make sure that the terms "empire," "state," "tributary state," "civilization," have a definite meaning for the student.

PART II

THE GREEKS

Greece — that point of light in history! — HEGEL.

We are all Greeks. Our laws, our literature, our religion, our art, have their roots in Greece. — SHELLEY.

CHAPTER VI

AEGEAN CIVILIZATION, 3500—1200 B. C.

Aegean culture 3500 B.C.

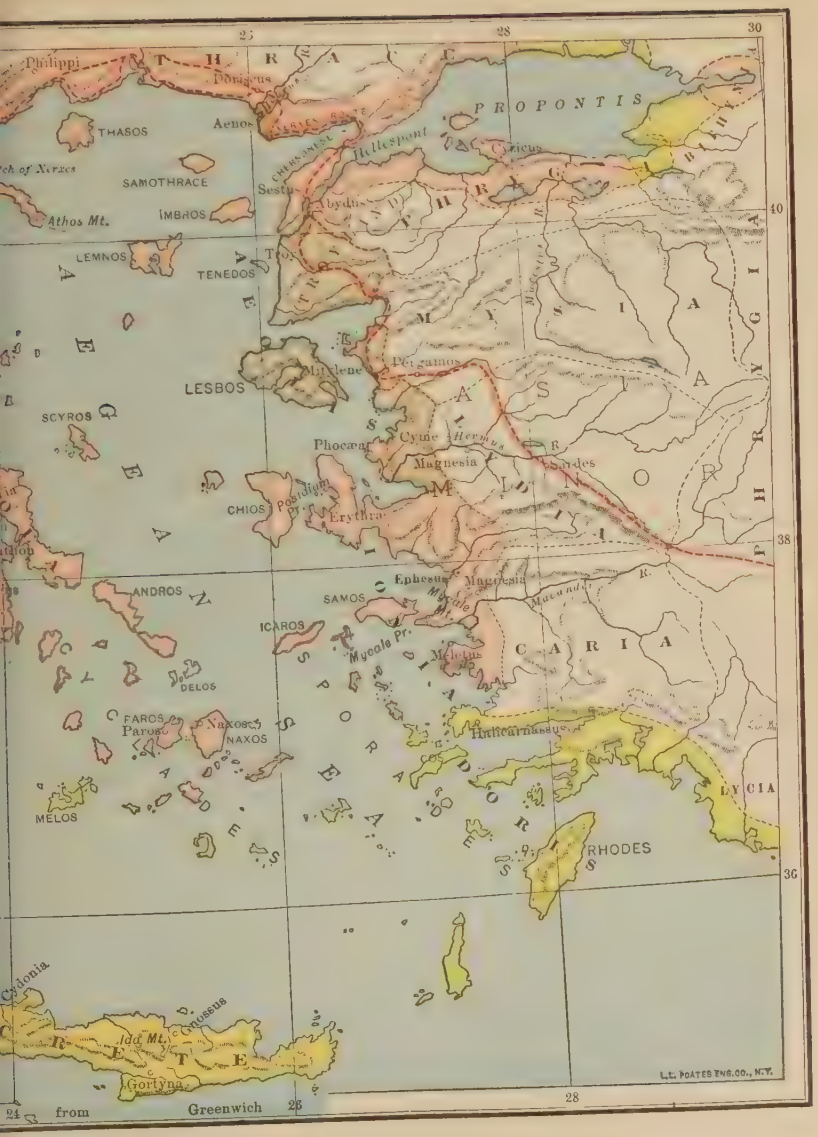
We left Europe in the upper stages of the Stone Age. Southeastern Europe, in particular, continued to push steadily onward. At least as early as 3500 B.C. slim, short, dark-skinned men were living in round-hut villages on the shores and islands of the eastern Mediterranean. *Especially about the Aegean Sea with its clustering islands*, these men were making a graceful pottery charmingly decorated, and had developed considerable trade. One proof of this trade is that *everywhere* their better knives and arrowheads were made of a peculiar, hard, dark stone (obsidian), which, for that district, is found only in the one island of Melos.

VASE FROM KNOSSOS (2200 B.C.), with sea-life ornament.

A native culture

These *Aegeans* did not learn the use of bronze from Egypt until some two thousand years after its invention there; but, having once begun, they soon drew many other gifts and hints from the Oriental states, to which they were so near. The remains in the soil, however, show no *wholesale* introduction of a foreign culture. The Aegeans did not merely borrow and copy: they made

GREECE
AND
ADJOINING COASTS
(For General Reference)
SCALE OF MILES
0 25 50 75 100 125
Ionians
Dorians
Æolians
Route of Xerxes
Longitude
18
20
22
40
38
36
ITALY
Apollonia
ILLYRIA
PAEONIA
Methone
Pydna
Potidæa
Thermaic
Gulf
Ossa Mt.
EPIRUS
MOLOSSIA
CORCYRA
Larissa
Ambracia
Actium
LEUCAS
CARNIA
AETOLIA
Thermopylæ
Oeta Mt.
Parnassus Mt.
Chaeronea
Coronea
BOEOTIA
Thespiæ
Plataea
CEPHALLENIA
Patræ
G. of Corinth
ZACYNTHUS
ELIS
Olympia
ARCADIA
Mantinea
ARGOLIS
Argos
Megara
Alpheus R.
Tegea
Gulf of Argolis
MESSENE
Sparta
Messenian Gulf
Laconian Gulf
Taenarium Pr.
CYTHE
IONIAN SEA
PELOPONNES



Philippi
Doriscus
THASOS
Aenos
PROPONTIS
Hellespont
Cyzicus
SAMOTHRACE
Sestus
Abydus
Athos Mt.
IMBROS
LEMNOS
TENEDOS
Troy
Mitylene
Pergamos
LESBOS
SCYROS
Phocæa
Cyme
Hermus R.
Magnesia
Sardes
CHIOS
Postidium Pr.
Erythræ
ANDROS
SAMOS
Ephesus
Magnesia
Mycale Mt.
Macander R.
ICAROS
Mycale Pr.
Miletus
CARIA
DELOS
PAROS
Paros
Naxos
NAXOS
Halicarnassus
MELOS
LYCIA
RHODES
Cydonia
Gnossus
Ida Mt.
Gortyna
from Greenwich
L.L. POATES ENG. CO., N.Y.

foreign inventions their own by adapting them to their own life, and by improving upon them. This earliest European civilization had a distinct character of its own.

In this early period, leadership in the Aegean fell naturally to Crete. Old Greek legends represent that island as a leading source of Greek civilization and as the home of powerful kings

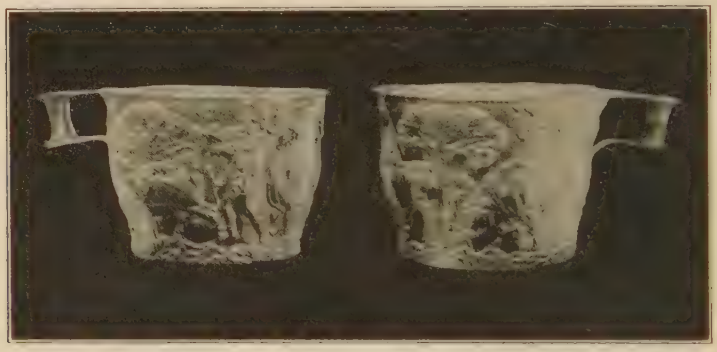
Cretan leadership

Mouth of Palace Sewer at Knossos, with terracotta drain pipes,—showing method of joining pipes. From Baikie.

long before the Greek tribes on the mainland rose out of barbarism. These legends we used to think mere fables; but recent excavations have proved that they were based on truth. Crete stretches its long body across the mouth of the Aegean, and forms a natural stepping-stone from Egypt to Europe. By 2500 B.C. it had advanced far into the Bronze Age, and for the next thousand years its civilization rivaled that of Egypt itself. Hand-made pottery had given way to admirable work

on the potter's wheel; and the vase-paintings, of birds and beasts and plant and sea life, are more lifelike than anything in Egyptian art. The walls of the houses were decorated with a delicate "eggshell" porcelain, in artistic designs. Gold inlay work had reached great perfection. At Knossos, a palace, built about 2200 B.C., has been unearthed, spreading over more than four acres of ground, with splendid halls, corridors, living rooms, throne rooms, and treasure rooms. Especially amazing are the bathrooms, with a drainage system "superior

Remains at Knossos of 2200 B.C.



"Vaphio Cups": 3½ inches high; 8 ounces each. Found at Vaphio, in the Peloponnesus, in 1889 A.D., and dating back at least to 1800 or 2000 B.C. Probably Cretan in origin. Very delicate and yet vigorous goldsmith work. See the scroll on the page opposite.

to anything in Europe until the nineteenth century." [1] The pipes could be flushed; and a man-trap permitted inspection and repair. Back of the Queen's apartments stood a smaller room with a baby's bath.

Frescoes on the palace walls picture the brilliant life of the lords and ladies of the court. Dependents of the ruler march in long stately processions, bearing gifts. Gayly adorned dames, and gentlemen wearing their hair in long curls, stand in lively groups, or dance, or sit, or flirt, gesticulating in their talk like southern Europeans to-day. Often the court is entertained by the spectacle of troops of daring bull-trainers

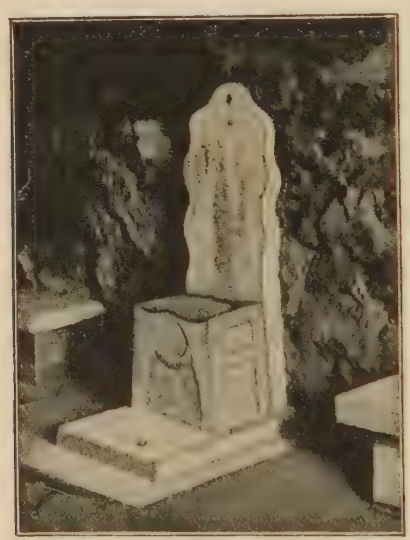
[1] Recent excavations show such systems in still older Egyptian temples.

SCROLL FROM THE VAPHIO CUPS.—Stages in taking and taming wild bulls. The complete scroll shows them at the plow.

taming wild bulls;[1] and on such outdoor occasions, the ladies protect their complexions with veils. Vase paintings, too, show peasants in joyous harvest festivals, bearing sheaves of grain on their shoulders or in their arms.

The palace of Minos

This palace is usually called the palace of "King Minos," the only Cretan name known to us. Minos was famed by the later Greeks as a great lawgiver. We may think of him then (or of some other great Cretan monarch) ruling widely over the surrounding seas from his throne at Knossos, while Hammurapi was issuing his code of laws at Babylon, or while some one of the beneficent pharaohs of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom was constructing Lake Moeris, or about the time when Abraham set out from Ur of the Chaldees.



So-called THRONE OF MINOS in the palace at Knossos. Says Baikie (*Sea Kings of Crete*, 72): "No more ancient throne exists in Europe, or probably in the world, and none whose associations are anything like so full of interest."

A Cretan alphabet

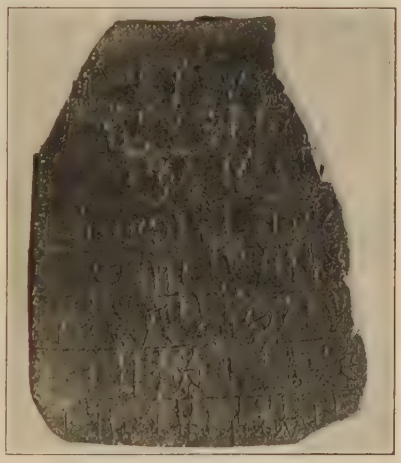
In the treasure rooms of the palace at Knossos, there were found numbers of small *clay tablets covered with writing* — apparently memoranda of the receipt of taxes. These, and other such remains since discovered, show that the Cretans had developed a system of syllabic writing, based on Egyptian sound symbols, but more advanced. Unhappily scholars have not yet learned to

[1] The bull was a favorite subject for Cretan art. See some illustrations in these pages. Compare also the later story of the Athenian hero Theseus and the Cretan *Minotaur* (bull), in any collection of Greek legends, as in Hawthorne's *Tanglewood Tales*.

read it. A Roman historian who wrote a little before the birth of Christ mentions that in his day the Cretans claimed that their ancestors had *invented* the alphabet, and that the Phoenicians had only made it better known. Modern Cretans had forgotten this claim; but these recent discoveries give it much support.

Dress and fashions

The chief article of male dress was a linen cloth hanging from the waist or drawn into short trousers (like the dress of men on the Egyptian monuments). To this, except in war or hunting, the noble sometimes added a short, sleeveless mantle, fastened over one shoulder with a jeweled pin; and a belt, drawn tight about the waist, always carried his dagger, inlaid with gold figures. Women's dress was elaborate, with "careful fitting, fine sewing, and exquisite embroidery." The skirts were bell-shaped — like a modern fashion of fifty years ago — and flounced with ruffles; and the bodice was close-fitting, low-necked, and short-sleeved, — much more like female dress to-day than the later Greek and Roman robes were. Men and women alike wore gold bracelets and rings, and women added long coils of beaded necklaces.



CRETAN WRITING OF 2200 B.C. — Plainly some of these characters are numerals. Others resemble later Greek letters.

Tools and utensils

Each home wove its own cloth, as we learn from the loom-weights in every house. Each home, too, had its stone mortars for grinding the daily supply of meal. Kitchen utensils were varied and numerous. They include perforated skimmers and strainers, and charcoal carriers, and many other devices strangely modern in shape. Most cooking was done over an open fire of

Cooking Utensils of 2200 B.C., found in one tomb at Knossos.

sticks — though sometimes there was a sort of recess in a hearth, over which a kettle stood. When the destroying foe came upon Knossos, one carpenter left his kit of tools hidden under a stone slab, which preserved them; and among them we find saws, hammers, adze, chisels, heavy and light, awls, nails, files, and axes. They are of bronze, of course, but in shape they are so like our own that it seems probable that this handicraft passed down its skill without a break from the earliest European civilization to the present. One huge crosscut saw, like our lumberman's, was found in a mountain town, — used probably to cut the great trees there into columns for the palaces.

Silver Head of Bull from Mycenae. — Cf. page 86.

Crete did not stand by itself in its culture. The Greeks of the historical period had many legends about the glories of an older Mycenae "rich in gold." And there, in Argolis, some

Mycenae "rich in gold"

GATE OF THE LIONS AT MYCENAE. — The huge stone at the top, supporting the lions, is 15 feet long and 7 feet thick. Enemies could reach the gate only by passing between flanking stone walls, from behind which archers could shoot down upon them.

fifty years ago an explorer uncovered remains of an ancient city of perhaps 1200 B.C., with peculiar, massive ("Cyclopean") walls. Within were found a curious group of tombs where lay in state the embalmed bodies of ancient kings,—

"in the splendor of their crowns and breastplates of embossed plate of gold; their swords studded with golden imagery; their faces covered strangely in golden masks. The very floor of one tomb was thick with gold dust — the heavy gilding from some perished kingly vestment. In another was a downfall of golden leaves and flowers. And amid this profusion of fine fragments were rings, bracelets, . . . dainty butterflies for ornaments, and a wonderful golden flower on a silver stalk."

In one tomb, five bodies were "literally smothered in jewels." And, with these ornaments, there were skillfully and curiously wrought weapons for the dead, with whetstones to keep them keen, and graceful vases of marble and alabaster, carved with delicate forms, to hold the funeral food and wine. Near the entrance lay bodies of slaves or captives who had been offered in sacrifice.

For Further Reading. — *Specially suggested:* Davis' *Readings*, I, No. 32, gives an interesting extract from an account of Cretan remains by one of the discoverers. Bury's *History of Greece*, 7–11, on *Cretan culture;* 11–33, on *remains near Mycenæ*. Half these pages are given to illustrations. The student may best omit or disregard Professor Bury's frequent discussions as to whether Cretans were "Greeks." The important thing about each people is *not its race*, but its *kind of culture*, and where that culture came from.

Additional, for students who wish wider reading: Hawes, *Crete the Fore-runner of Greece*; or Baikie, *Sea Kings of Crete*.

Bronze Dagger from Mycenae, inlaid with gold.

THE GREEK PENINSULA
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80
20°
21°
22°
39°
38°
37°
Longitude East
EPIRUS
THESSALY
NORTHERN GREECE
Pherae
Pharsalus
Ambracia
Ambracian Gulf
Anactorium
LEUCAS
ACARNANIA
AETOLIA
Pleuron
THACA
CEPHALLENIA
ZACYNTHUS
Malian Gulf
Thermopylae
OPIAEA
LOCRIS
Cirrha
Corinthian Gulf
Aegium
ACHAEA
Pellene
Elis
ARCADIA
Mantinea
Argos
Mycenae
Tiryns
Megalopolis
Tegea
LACEDAEMONIA
Messene
Mt Ithome
MESSENIA
Spartae
LACONIA
Pylos
Methone
Messenian Gulf
Gythium
Laconian Gulf
CYTHERA

24°
25°
26°
SCIATHOS
ICOS
PEPARETHOS
LESBOS
Artemisium
SCYROS
39
PSYRA
CHIOS
Chalcis
Eretria
Delium
Parnes Mt.
Marathon
Pentelicus Mt.
Hymettos Mt.
Athens
38
ANDROS
TENOS
ICARIA
CEOS
GYAROS
SYROS
RHENEA
DELOS
CYTHNOS
HYDREA
SERIPHOS
PAROS
NAXOS
DONUSSA
37
SIPHNOS
MELOS
SICINOS
IOS
PHOLEGARDROS
THERA
ANAPHE
om
Greenwich
24°
25°
26°

CHAPTER VII

THE COMING OF THE ACHAEANS

Barbarian Achaeans from the north

About 1500 B.C. bands of tall, fair-haired, blue-eyed, semi-barbarous Achaeans from the north, drawn by the splendor and riches of the south, broke into the Aegean lands, as northern barbarians many times since have broken into southern Europe. Some fortunate chance had given these mighty-limbed strangers a knowledge of iron; and now, armed with long iron swords, and bringing their flocks and herds, with their women and children in rude carts drawn by horses, they established themselves among the short, dark, bronze-weaponed natives, became their masters, dwelt in their cities, married their women, and possessed the land.

This occupation was a slow process, working unrecorded misery on generation after generation of the gentler, peace-loving Aegeans. For the most part, the Achaeans *filtered* in, band by band, seizing a valley or an island at a time. Occasionally, however, large armies warred long and desperately about some stronghold of the old civilization. Knossos had never had walls: it had trusted for defense to its position on an island and to its sea-power; and it fell early before fleets of Achaean sea-rovers. The ruins show that it was destroyed by fire about 1500. In walled cities like Mycenae, on the other hand, the old culture lived on for three or four centuries more. The Greek legends of the Trojan War were probably based on one of the closing struggles.

Troy and the Homeric poems

Our knowledge of the Achaeans comes largely from the so-called "Homeric poems," *the Iliad* and *the Odyssey*. The later Greeks believed that these were composed about 1000 B.C.

by a blind minstrel [1] named Homer. Scholars now believe that each collection was made up of many ballads sung originally by different bards at different times. The Greeks were late in learning to write; and the poems were not put into manuscript until about 600 B.C.; but most of them certainly had been handed down orally from father to son for centuries before that time. The *Iliad* describes part of a ten-year siege of Troy by Achaean chieftains from all parts of Greece. The *Odyssey* tells the adventures and wanderings of Odysseus (Ulysses), one of the heroes, in the return from that war. Whether or not there was a Trojan War, the poems certainly tell us much about the customs and ideas of the Greeks of 1100 B.C.; and the pictures of Greek life in them have been confirmed by recent excavation of remains in the soil.

Modern scholars in Greek history neglected the study of remains in the soil for twenty years after such investigation had revealed much forgotten history in the Euphrates valley. The discoveries in Crete (p. 83) were begun in 1895, by Arthur Evans, a young Englishman; but the first explorer in this field in Greek lands was Dr. Henry Schliemann.

Schliemann's story

Schliemann grew up in a little German village, where his father was the pastor, amid many stories of fairies and of buried magic treasure in the mountains round about. His father told him the Homeric stories, and once showed him a fanciful picture of the huge "Walls of Troy." When the child was told that no one now knew just where Troy had stood, and that the city had left no traces, he insisted that such walls *must* have left remains that could be uncovered by digging; and his father playfully agreed that sometime Henry should find them. Later, the boy learned that the learned scholars of his day did not believe that "Troy" had ever existed. This aroused in him a fierce resentment; and to carry out his childhood dream of finding the great walls of Homer's city became the passion of his life. He

[1] In early times, a poet did not *write* his poems: he *chanted* them, to the accompaniment of a harp, at festivals or at the meals of chieftains. Such a poet is called a minstrel, or bard, or harper.

was very poor. Six years he worked as a grocer's boy; then, for many years more as clerk for various larger firms. He studied zealously, learning many languages; and this led employers to send him to foreign countries on business. In this way he found opportunities to amass wealth for himself, so that at the age of forty-eight he was ready to begin his real work.

Excavations at Troy

In 1870 Dr. Schliemann began excavations at a little village in "Troy-land," on a mound of earth three miles inland from the shore. The explorations continued more than twenty years and disclosed the remains of *nine* distinct towns, one above another. The oldest, on native rock, some fifty feet below the present surface, was a rude village of the Stone Age. The second, thought by Schliemann to be Homer's Troy, showed powerful walls, a citadel that had been destroyed by fire, and a civilization marked by bronze weapons and gold ornaments. We know now that this city belonged to the early Aegean age, and that it passed away more than a thousand years before Homer's time. Above it came the remains of three inferior settlements, and then — *the sixth layer from the bottom* — a much larger and finer city, which had perished in conflagration some 1100 or 1200 years before Christ. Explorations, after Schliemann's death, proved this sixth city to be the Troy described so fully in the *Iliad*.

Above this Homeric Troy came an old Greek city, a magnificent city of the time of Alexander the Great, a Roman city, and, finally, the squalid Turkish village of today. The position of these towns commanded the trade between the Black Sea regions and the Aegean (map, p. 80). This accounts, probably, for the succession of cities there, and perhaps for the destruction of some of them in war by trade-rivals.

The tall, fair, yellow-haired Achaeans of the Homeric poems left no trace among the Greeks of history a few centuries later.

Their blood was absorbed into that of the more numerous and better-acclimated Aegeans among whom they settled, and the Greeks of later history were short and dark. But first the Achaeans had imposed their language on the conquered people,[1] as conquerors usually do. The change in language, and the ignorance of the invading barbarians, explains the loss of the Aegean art of writing — which probably had been known only to a small class of scribes. Most of the art and refinement of the old civilization also perished. But much of the customs and beliefs of the common people survived, to mingle with those of the conquerors.

[1] Some Aegean words survived in the later Greek. Thus the Greek word for *bath-tub* comes from the older language. What fact in civilization is suggested by this fact in language?

CHAPTER VIII

GREEK CIVILIZATION IN HOMERIC DAYS

About 1100–1000 B.C.

Tribe and clan

The early Greeks, as we find them when Aegeans and Achaeans had blended, were divided into many tribes, each composed of people living in one neighborhood and believing in a common ancestor. *A tribe was made up of clans* (*gentes*). A clan was a group of real kindred, a sort of enlarged family. Some clans had a score of members; some, many score. The nearest descendant of the forefather of the clan, counting from oldest son to oldest son, was the clan-elder, — a kind of "priest-king"; and the clan-elder of the leading clan in the tribe was the tribal "priest-king."

Tribal citadels grow into cities

The tribe usually settled in separate clan villages in the valleys about some convenient hill. On the hilltop was the meeting place for their common worship; and a ring wall, at a convenient part of the slope, easily turned this sacred place into a *citadel*. In hilly Greece many of these citadels grew up *near together;* and so, very early, groups of tribes combined further. Perhaps several united peacefully; perhaps one of a group would conquer the others and compel them to tear down their separate citadels and to move their temples to its center. *This made a city.* The chief of the leading tribe then became the priest-king of the city.

The later Athenians had a tradition that in very early times the hero *Theseus* founded their city by bringing together four tribes living in Attica.

If the cities could have combined into larger units, Greece might have become a "nation-state," like modern England or France. But the Greeks, in the time of their glory,

never got beyond a city-state. To them the same word meant "city" and "state." *To each Greek, his city was his country.* The *political*[1] relations of one city with another five miles away were *foreign* relations, as much as its dealings with the king of Persia. *Wars, therefore, were constant.*

Government of the early city-state

Each city, like each of the old tribes, had a king, a council of chiefs, and a popular assembly.

The king was *leader in war, judge in peace,* and *priest* at all times; but his power was much limited by custom.

The council of chiefs were originally the clan elders and the members of the royal family. *Socially* they were the king's equals; and *in government* he could not do anything in defiance of their wish.

The common freemen came together for worship and for games; and sometimes the king called them together, to listen to plans that had been adopted by him and the chiefs. There the freemen shouted approval or muttered disapproval. They could not start new movements. There were no regular meetings and few spokesmen; and the general reverence for the chiefs made it a daring deed for a common man to brave them.

However, even in war, when the authority of the nobles was greatest, the Assembly had to be *persuaded: it could not be ordered.*[2] Homer shows that sometimes a common man ventured to oppose the "kings." In an Assembly of the army before Troy, the discouraged Greeks break away to launch their ships and return home. Odysseus hurries among them,

[1] "Political" means "relating to government."

[2] King, Council of Chiefs, and popular Assembly were the germs of later *monarchic, oligarchic,* and *democratic* government. (A monarchy, in the first meaning of the word, is a state ruled by one man, a "*mon*arch." An oligarchy is a state ruled by a "few," or by a small class. A democracy is a state where the whole people govern. In ancient history the words are used with these meanings. Sometimes "aristocracy" is used with much the same force as oligarchy. (In modern times the word "monarchy" is used sometimes of a government like England, which is monarchic only in form, but which really is a democracy.)

and by persuasion and threats forces them back to the Assembly, until only Thersites bawls on, — "Thersites, uncontrolled of speech, whose mind was full of words *wherewith to strive against the chiefs*. Hateful was he to Achilles above all, and to Odysseus, *for them he was wont to revile*. But now *with shrill shout he poured forth his upbraidings even upon goodly Agamemnon*" [the chief commander of the Greeks]. Odysseus, it is true, rebukes Thersites sternly and smites him into silence, while the crowd laughs. "Homer" sang to please the chieftains, his patrons, — and so he represents Thersites as a cripple, ugly and unpopular; but there must have been popular opposition to the chiefs, now and then, or the minstrel would not have mentioned such an incident at all.[1]

A simple society

Society was simple. The Homeric poems speak of wealth and luxury in a few places, but these are marked exceptions to the rule. When the son of Odysseus, in the poem, visits a city where some of the old Mycenaean greatness survives, he is astounded by the splendor of the palace, with its "gleam as of sun and moon," lighted as it was by torches held by massive golden statues, — the walls blazing with bronze and with glittering friezes of blue glass, — and he whispers to his companion: —

> "Mark the flashing of bronze through the echoing halls, and the flashing of gold and of amber and of silver and of ivory. Such like, methinks, is the court of Olympian Zeus. . . . Wonder comes over me as I look."

Mighty Odysseus had built *his* palace with his own hands, and it has been well called — from the poet's description — "a rude farmhouse, where swine wallow in the court." The one petty island, too, in which Odysseus was head-king, held scores of yet poorer "kings." So, too, when Odysseus is shipwrecked on an island, he finds the daughter of the chief king — the princess Nausicaa — doing a washing, with her band of

[1] Davis' *Readings*, I, No. 33, reproduces the best Homeric account of an "Assembly" in war time. It contains also the Thersites story complete.

Rude and harsh

maidens. The poet tells how they tread out the dirt by trampling the clothes with their bare feet in the water of a running brook; and just before he pictured the "queen" busy in gathering together the palace linen for this event.

Manners were harsh. In the Trojan War when the Trojan hero, Hector, fell, the Greek kings gathered about the dead body, "*and no one came who did not add his wound.*" The commonest boast was to have given a foe's body to be half devoured by the packs of savage dogs that hung about the camp for such morsels.

The chiefs were borne to the combat in chariots. They were clad in bronze armor, and fought with bow and spear. A battle was little more than a series of single combats between these warriors. The common freemen followed on foot, without armor or effective weapons, and counted for little except to kill the wounded and strip the slain. Ordinary prisoners became slaves. When chiefs were taken, they were murdered in cold blood, unless they could tempt the victor to spare them for ransom. Female captives, even princesses, expected no better fate than slavery.

On the other hand, there are hints of natural and happy family life, of joyous festivals, and games and dances, and of wholesome, contented work (Davis' *Readings*, I, No. 35).

Life and work

The mass of the people were small farmers, though their houses were grouped in villages.[1] Even the kings tilled their farms, in part at least, with their own hands. Odysseus boasts that he can drive the oxen at the plow and "cut a clean furrow"; and when the long days begin he can mow all day with the crooked scythe, "pushing clear until late eventide." There had appeared a class of miserable landless freemen (perhaps dispossessed Aegean farmers) who hired themselves to farmers. When the ghost of Achilles (the invincible Greek chieftain) wishes to name to Odysseus the most unhappy lot among mortals, he selects that of the hired servant (p. 102). Slaves were few, except about the great chiefs. There they served as

[1] For farm life, see an extract in Davis' *Readings*, I, No. 39.

household servants and as farm hands; and they seem to have been treated kindly. When Odysseus returned from his twenty years of war and wandering, he made himself known first to a faithful swineherd and to one other slave — and "they threw their arms round wise Odysseus and passionately kissed his face and neck. So likewise did Odysseus kiss their heads and hands."

Artisans and smiths were found among the retainers of the great chiefs. They were highly honored, but their skill was far inferior to that of the Aegean age. Some shields and inlaid weapons of that earlier period had passed into the hands of the Achaeans; and these were always spoken of as the work of Hephaestus, the god of fire and of metal work.

A separate class of traders had not arisen. The chiefs, in the intervals of farm labor, turned to trading voyages now and then, and did not hesitate to increase their profits by *piracy*. It was no offense to ask a stranger whether he came as a pirate or for peaceful trade (*Odyssey*, III, 60–70).

Religion

The early Aegeans worshiped ancestors, and *buried* their dead in altar-tombs. They had also many nature-deities, especially Demeter, the great Earth-Mother, and Poseidon, god of the sea. Homer's Achaeans adored especially a sun god, *burned* their dead, and show no trace of ancestor worship. Before long, however, the old religion was restored, with some mixture of Achaean ideas. Let us look at the Greek religion that resulted.

Of the clan

The clan religion was a worship of clan ancestors. If provided with pleasing meals at proper times and invoked with magic formulas (so the belief ran), the ghosts of the ancient clan elders would continue to aid their children. The food was actually meant for the ghost. The clan tomb was the altar. Milk and wine were poured into a hollow in the ground, while the clan elder, the only lawful priest, spoke sacred formulas inviting the dead to eat. Travelers describe similar practices among primitive peoples to-day. A Papuan chief prays:

"Compassionate Father! Here is food for you. Eat it, and be kind to us!"

And of the home

In like manner, the families of the clan each came to have its separate *family worship* of ancestors. *The hearth was the family altar.* Near it were grouped the *Penates*, or images of household gods who watched over the family. *The father was the priest.* Before each meal, he poured out on the hearth the *libation*, or food-offering, to the family gods and asked their blessing. The family tomb was near the house, "so that the sons," says Euripides (a later Greek poet; p. 172), "in entering and leaving their dwelling, *might always meet their fathers and invoke them.*"

Originally, no doubt, the family tomb was *under* the hearth. Cf. the Cave Men, p. 7. This explains *why* the hearth became an altar, and why food offerings to ancestors continued to be made there all through Greek and Roman history.

The Olympian religion

But the religion of which we hear most in Greek literature grew out of a nature worship. The lively fancy of the Greeks personified the forces of nature in the forms and characters of men and women — built in a somewhat more majestic mold than human men. The great gods lived on cloud-capped Mount Olympus, and passed their days in feasting and laughter and other pleasures. When the chief god, Zeus, slept, things sometimes went awry, for other gods plotted against his plans. His wife Hera was exceedingly jealous — for which she had much reason — and the two had many a family wrangle. Some of the gods went down to aid their favorites in war, and were wounded by human weapons. The twelve great Olympian deities were (Latin names in parentheses):

Zeus (Jupiter), the supreme god; god of the sky; "father of gods and men."
Poseidon (Neptune), god of the sea.
Apollo, the sun god; god of wisdom, poetry, prophecy, and medicine.
Ares (Mars), god of war.
Hephaestus (Vulcan), god of fire — the lame smith.

Hermes (Mercury), god of the wind; messenger; god of cunning, of thieves, *and of merchants.*
Hera (Juno), sister and wife of Zeus; queen of the sky.
Athene (Minerva), goddess of wisdom; female counterpart of Apollo.
Artemis (Diana), goddess of the moon, of maidens, and of hunting.
Aphrodite (Venus), goddess of love and beauty.
Demeter (Ceres), the earth goddess — controlling fertility.
Hestia (Vesta), the deity of the home; goddess of the hearth fire.

All the world about was peopled, in Greek imagination, by a multitude of lesser *local gods and demigods* — spirits of spring and wood and river and hill — all of whom, too, were personified as glorious youths or maidens. To give the gods beautiful human forms, rather than the revolting bodies of lower animals and reptiles (p. 37), was an advance, even though it fell far short of the noble religious ideas of the Hebrews and Persians. In a multitude of legends the Greek poets surrounded these gods with a delightful charm which has made their stories a lasting possession of the world's culture. And, along with this beauty, noble religious thoughts sometimes appear. In the *Odyssey* the poet exclaims: "Verily, the blessed gods love not froward deeds, but they reverence justice and the righteous acts of men."

Ideas of a future life

As to the future life the Greeks believed in a place of terrible punishment (*Tartarus*) for a few great offenders *against the gods*, and in an *Elysium* of supreme pleasure for a very few others particularly favored by the gods. But for the mass of men the future life was to be "a washed-out copy of the brilliant life on earth" — its pleasures and pains both shadowy. Thus Odysseus tells how he met Achilles in the home of the dead:

"And he knew me straightway, *when he had drunk the dark blood* [of a sacrifice to the dead]; yea, and he wept aloud, and shed big tears as he stretched forth his hands in his longing to reach me. But it might not be, *for he had now no steadfast strength nor power at all in moving*, such as was aforetime in his supple limbs. . . . But lo, other spirits of the dead that be departed stood sorrowing, and each one asked concerning those that were dear to them" (*Odyssey*, XI, 390 ff.). And in their discourse, Achilles exclaims sorrowfully:

"Nay, speak not comfortably to me of death, O great Odysseus. *Rather would I live on ground as the hireling of another*, even with a lack-land man who had no great livelihood, *than bear sway among all the dead.*"

For Further Reading. — *Specially suggested:* Davis' *Readings*, I, Nos. 33–38. *Additional:* Bury, pp. 69–79. The legends of heroes and demigods, like Hercules, Theseus, and Jason, are retold charmingly for young people by Hawthorne, Gayley, Guerber, and Kingsley.

CHAPTER IX

FROM THE TROJAN TO THE PERSIAN WAR

1000–500 B.C.

I. THE DORIANS AND NEW GREEK MIGRATIONS

The Dorian conquest

About 1000 B.C. Greek civilization was checked again, for a hundred years, by invasions from the north. The new barbarians called themselves Dorians. Their speech was much like the Achaean; and probably they were merely a rear-guard of that former invasion, delayed somewhere in the north for two or three centuries. In this interval they had invented better methods in war. They fought now as heavy-armed infantry in close ranks, with long spears projecting from the array of shields. The Achaeans, who fought still in loose Homeric fashion (p. 98), could not stand against this disciplined onset.

And other migrations

The conquering Dorians settled mainly in the Peloponnesus. The tribes that they drove out jostled other tribes into motion over all Greece, and fugitives settled all the desirable unoccupied spots on the Aegean islands. Meanwhile the Peloponnesus itself, the old center of both Aegean and Achaean glory, forever lost its leadership in all but war. When civilization took a new start among the Greeks, soon after 900 B.C., it was from new centers, especially in Attica and in Asia Minor.

Ionians in Attica

Attica was easily defended from attack (map after page 90). The land side of the peninsula was guarded by rugged mountains, broken only by few and narrow passes. Accordingly it was the one part of southern Greece not overrun by the Dorians. The Achaeans there — and in much of southern Greece — after mixing with the older Aegean inhabitants, had come to call themselves *Ionians*. Many Ionian clans from the

Peloponnesus sought refuge in Attica. The richest of these were adopted into Attic tribes, and made the people there more progressive and open to outside influence.

Colonization of the coast of Asia Minor

Attica could not support all the newcomers; and, after a brief stay, many passed on across the Aegean, to the coast of Asia Minor. There they established themselves in twelve great cities, of which the most important were *Miletus* and *Ephesus* (map after page 82). All the middle district of that coast took the name *Ionia, and looked upon Ionian Athens as a mother-city.*

North of Jonia, Greek *Aeolian* tribes took possession of the Asia Minor coast; and the southern portion was seized finally by roving Dorians who crossed the sea by way of Crete and Rhodes, colonizing the chain of islands across the south of the Aegean as they came. Thus the whole eastern shore of the Aegean, as well as all its islands, became Greek (map after page 82).

Oneness of feeling among all Hellenes

While the Greeks were so dispersing in space, they were beginning to grow together in feeling. The *Iliad* does not make it clear whether "Homer" looked upon the Trojans as Greeks or not. Apparently he cared little about the question. Two or three hundred years later, that would have been the *first* question for every Greek. The Greeks remained in wholly separate "states" (p. 96); but they had come to believe in a kinship with one another, to take pride in their common civilization, and to set themselves apart from the rest of the world.

The chief forces which had created this oneness of feeling were (1) *language and literature,* and (2) the *Olympian religion,* with its games and oracles.

Due to language

1. The Greeks understood one another's dialects, while the men of other speech about them they called "Barbarians," or babblers (*Bar'-bar-oi*). *This likeness of language made it possible for all Greeks to possess the same literature.* The poems of "Homer" were sung and recited in every village for centuries; and the universal pride in Homer, and in the glories of the later literature, had much to do in binding the Greeks into one people.

The poets, too, invented a system of fables, representing the four great divisions of Hellenes — Aeolians, Dorians, Achaeans, and Ionians — as descended from a common ancestor, Hellen.

2. The features of the Olympian religion that helped especially to bind Greeks together were three — the *Olympic Games*, the *Delphic Oracle*, and the various *Amphictyonies*.

And to Religion

To the great festivals of some of the gods, men flocked from all Hellas. This was especially true of the Olympic games.

The Olympic games

Ruins of the Entrance to the Stadium (*athletic field*) at Olympia.

These were celebrated each fourth year at Olympia, in Elis, in honor of Zeus. The contests consisted of foot races, chariot races, wrestling, and boxing. The victors were felt to have won the highest honor open to any Greek. They received merely an olive wreath at Olympia; but at their homes their victories were commemorated by inscriptions and statues. Only Greeks could take part in the contests, and there was a strong feeling that all wars between Greek states should be suspended during the month of the festival.

To these games came merchants, to secure the best market for rare wares. Heralds proclaimed treaties there — as the best way to make them known through all Hellas. As civilization grew, poets, orators, and artists gathered there; and gradually the intellectual contests and exhibitions became the most important feature of the meeting. The oration or poem or statue which was praised by the crowds at Olympia had

RUINS OF STADIUM AT DELPHI. — Second only to the Olympic Games was the Festival of Apollo at Delphi.

received the approval of the most select and intelligent judges that could be brought together anywhere in the world.

The four-year periods between the games were called *Olympiads*. These periods finally became the Greek units in counting time: all events were dated from what was believed to be the first recorded Olympiad, beginning in 776 B.C.[1]

[1] An *admirable account of the Olympic Games* is given in Davis' *Readings*, I, No. 44. The student will enjoy even more the vivid picture in the same author's novel, *A Victor of Salamis*.

The Delphic Oracle

Apollo, the sun god, was also the god of prophecy. One of his chief temples was at Delphi, far up the slopes of Mount Parnassus, amid wild and rugged scenery. From a fissure in the ground, within the temple, volcanic gases poured forth. A priestess would inhale the gas until she passed into a trance (or seemed to do so); and, while in this state, she was supposed to see into the future, by the aid of the god. *The advice of this "oracle" was sought by men and by governments throughout all Hellas* (Davis' *Readings*, I, Nos. 41–43).

There was an ancient league of Greek tribes to protect the temple at Delphi. This was known as *the Amphictyonic League* (league of "dwellers-round-about"). Smaller amphictyonies, for the protection of other temples, were common in Greece. But the Delphic Amphictyony was a *religious* union of the whole Greek people. All important states sent delegates to its "Council," at regular times; and every division of the Greek race felt that it had a share in the oracle and in its League.

For Further Reading. — Besides the references to Davis' *Readings* in the text, see also No. 46 on the founding of a colony. For modern treatments, see Bury, 86–106, 116–117 (on colonies), and 159–161 (on oracles and festivals); or Kimball-Bury, *Student's Greece*, chs. ii, iii. A longer treatment may be found in Keller's *Homeric Life*.

II. REVIVAL OF INDUSTRY, ART, AND SCIENCE

Phoenician influence

The civilization which the Achaeans and Dorians had destroyed was restored to them, in part, by the Phoenicians. After the overthrow of the Cretan sea-kings, about 1500 B.C., Phoenicia for a thousand years was almost the only sea-power of the Mediterranean. Along the Greek coasts and islands her traders bartered with the inhabitants (much as European traders did three centuries ago with American Indians), tempting them to high payments for strange wares — lions and other beasts carved in little ivory ornaments, purple robes, blue-glass bottles, or perhaps merely colored glass trinkets — and counting it best gain of all if they could lure curious maidens aboard their black ships for distant slave markets. In return, they made

many an *unintended* payment. Language shows that they gave the Greeks the names, and so no doubt the use, of linen, myrrh, frankincense, cinnamon, soap, lyres, cosmetics, and tablets. The forgotten art of writing, too, they introduced again.

But the lively Greeks were not slavish imitators. They added vowel letters to the Phoenician signs, and so first *completed* the alphabet. Soon they began to manufacture the Phoenician trade articles for themselves, and finally they became successful rivals in trade.

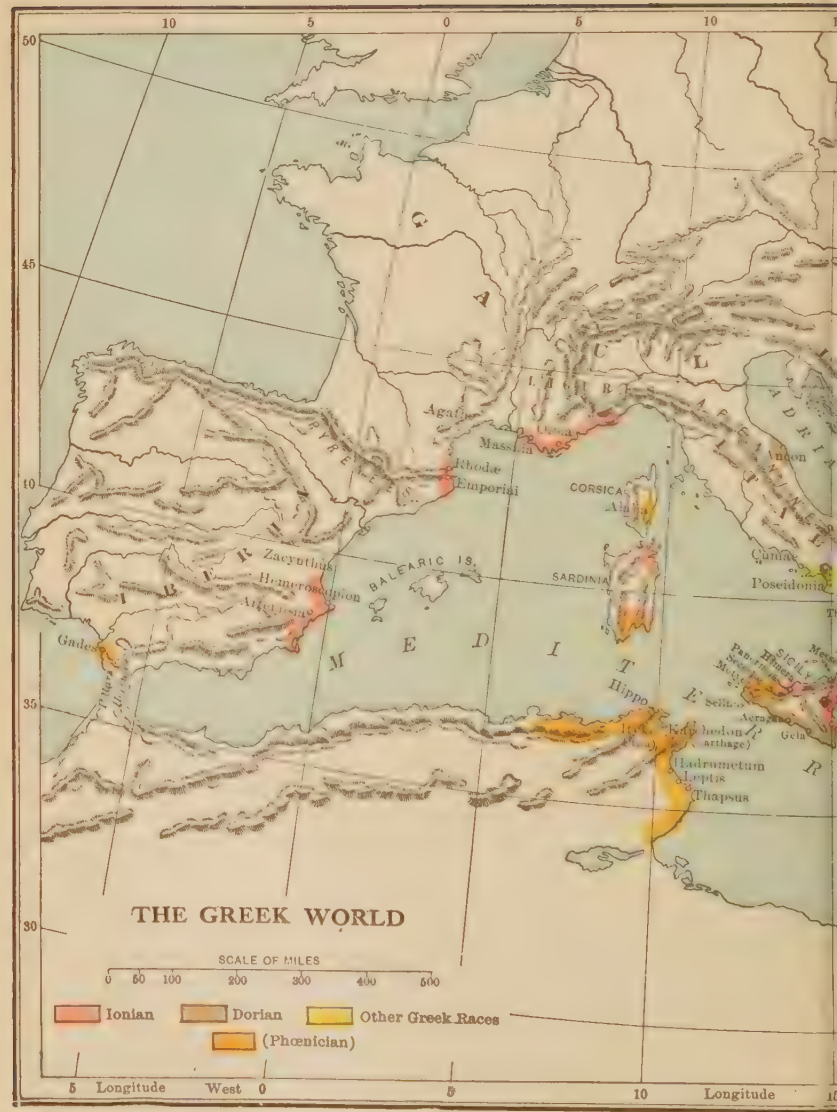
Greek colonies after 800 B.C.

About 800 B.C. the Greeks entered on a new colonizing movement, which continued two hundred years (800–600 B.C.), and doubled the area of Greek settlement, spreading it far beyond its Aegean home. The cause, this time, was not war. *The new colonies were founded largely for trading stations,* — to capture trade from the Phoenicians, — and at the same time to provide the crowded and discontented farming class with new land. Miletus sent colony after colony to *the north shore of the Black Sea*, to control the corn trade there. Sixty Greek towns fringed that sea and its straits. The one city of Chalcis, in Euboea, planted thirty-two colonies *on the Thracian coast*, to secure the gold and silver mines of that region. On the west, *Sicily* became almost wholly Greek, and *southern Italy* took the proud name of *Magna Graecia* (Great Greece). Indeed, settlements were sown from end to end of the Mediterranean. Among the more important of the colonies were *Syracuse* in Sicily, *Tarentum*, *Sybaris*, and *Croton* in Italy, *Corcyra* near the mouth of the Adriatic, *Massilia* (Marseilles) in Gaul, *Olynthus* in Thrace, *Cyrene* in Africa, *Byzantium* at the Black Sea's mouth, and *Naucratis* in Egypt (p. 18).

The colonists ceased to be citizens in their old homes. Each new city enjoyed complete independence. It kept a strong *friendship* for its "metropolis" (mother city); but there was no *political* union between them.

Growth of manufactures

While trade was sowing cities along the distant Mediterranean shores, it also brought an industrial revival in old Greece. The ships that sailed forth from Athens or Corinth or Miletus


THE GREEK WORLD
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400 500
Ionian
Dorian
Other Greek Races
(Phœnician)
Longitude West
Longitude
Agathe
Massilia
Rhodæ
Emporiai
CORSICA
SARDINIA
BALEARIC IS.
Zacynthus
Hemeroscopion
Gades
Hippo
Karchedon
(Carthage)
Hadrumetum
Leptis
Thapsus
Cumae
Poseidonia
Ancon
Gela
Acragas
Selinus
Hemera
SICILY
Pantermus
Motye
Sicilia
Mesma
M E D I T E R R
G A U L
I B E R I A
A D R I A
A P E N N I N E S
L I G U R I S
P Y R E N E E S
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45
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35
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Tanais
Olbia
Phanagoria
Panticapaeum
CAUCASUS MTS.
Chersonesus
Pitycus
Dioscourias
Phasis
Istros
BLACK SEA
Odessus
Sinope
Kerasous
Trapezus
Mesambria
Apollonia
Heraclea
PAPHLYGONIA
Kotyora
Epidaurus
Lissos
Epidamnus
(Dyrrachium)
Apollonia
Rapontion
Taras
(Tarentum)
Dodona
THESSALY
CORCYRA
Croton
Anactorium
LEUCAS
ITHACA
Sparta
Athens
Argos
Thebes
Sestus
Abydos
Oyzicus
Cius
Ilium
Sardis
Smyrna
Ephesus
Miletus
Cnidus
RHODES
MELOS
THERA
CRETE
Cydonia
Knossos
LYDIA
CARIA
PHRYGIA
CAPPADOCIA
CILICIA
Selinus
Salamis
Citium
CYPRUS
Sidon
Tyre
SYRIA
Cyrene
Barca
CYRENAICA
Naucratis
EGYPT
Nile R.
RED SEA
from 20 Greenwich 25 30 35

carried metal work, vases, and textiles, and brought home, from the Black Sea regions, amber, fish, grain, and sometimes products of the distant East that had reached the Black Sea by caravan. To keep up a supply for the export trade, the Greek artisans had to produce more and more, and more and more improve their products — as with Phoenicia earlier (p. 75). For just one instance, — in Athens one large section of the city was given wholly to great factories in which beautiful pottery was made (see "Ceramicus" in the plan of Athens, p. 157); and vases of this period, *signed* by artists in these factories, are unearthed today all the way from central Asia Minor to northern Italy.

A Black Attic Vase of the sixth century B.C., with two warriors painted in red. The artist, Amasis, has signed his name twice. This amphora is now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

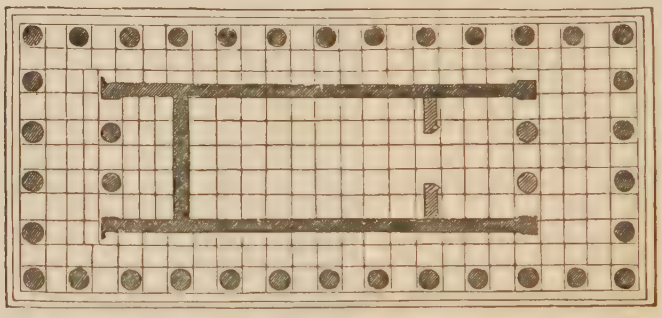
Vase-paintings and what they teach

Oriental vase-painting had delighted in forms half-human half-beast, as Oriental sculpture did. But Greeks now dropped all unnatural features from their art — first of all peoples — and found increasing satisfaction in depicting the beauty of the human body, with or without draperies. The artist first colored the vase black, and then painted his designs in red on that background. He began, too, to see how to draw figures in perspective. As in earlier times, he liked to picture scenes from the legends about the gods and demigods; but a growing interest in everyday life is shown by an increasing proportion of scenes from the work and play of common men (cuts on pp. 179, 181, 192).

Architecture

Architecture in this period began to show a character distinct from that of Oriental architecture on which it was founded. Between 600 and 500, it made great advance, especially in Athens and in the cities of Ionia. Its chief use was in building temples for the gods, rather than in palaces as in the Cretan age. In every Greek city, through the rest of Greek history, the temples were the most beautiful and most noticeable structures.

The plan of the Greek temple was very simple. People did not gather within the building for service, as in our churches. They only brought offerings there. The inclosed part of the building, therefore, was small and rather dark, — containing



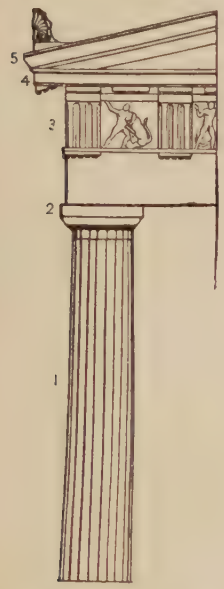
GROUND PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OF THESEUS AT ATHENS.

only one or two rooms, for the statues of the god and the altar and the safe-keeping of the offerings. It was merely the god's house, where people could visit him when they wished to ask favors.

In shape, the temple was rectangular. The roof projected beyond the inclosed part of the building, and was supported not by walls, but by a row of columns running around the four sides. The gables (*pediments*) in front and rear were low, and were filled with *relief statuary*, as was also the *frieze*, between the cornice and the columns. Sometimes there was a second frieze upon the walls of the building inside the colonnade.

The building took much of its beauty from its colonnades. The hint was taken from Egypt; but the Greeks so far sur-

passed all previous builders in the use of the column, and in shaping the column itself, that they made these features peculiarly Greek. *The chief differences in the styles of architecture were marked by the columns and their capitals.* According to differences in these features, a building is said to belong to the *Doric* or *Ionic* "order." Later there was developed a *Corinthian* order. (See cuts herewith, and on pp. 114, 116, 117, 366.)



DORIC COLUMN. — From the Temple of Theseus at Athens.

1, the shaft; 2, the capital; 3, the frieze; 4, cornice; 5, part of roof, showing the low slope.

IONIC ORDER.

CORINTHIAN ORDER.

Poetry

In poetry there was more progress even than in architecture. The earliest Greek poetry had been made up of *ballads*, celebrating wars and heroes. These ballads were stories in verse, sung by wandering minstrels. The greatest of such compositions rose to *epic poetry*, of which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are the noblest examples. Their period is called the *Epic Age*.

In the seventh and sixth centuries, most poetry consisted of odes and songs *in a great variety of meters*. Love and pleasure

are the favorite themes, and the poems describe the *feelings of the writer* rather than the deeds of some one else. These poems were intended to be *sung* to the accompaniment of the lyre (a sort of harp). They are therefore called *lyrics;* and the seventh and sixth centuries are known as the *Lyric Age*.

It is possible to name here only a few of the many famous lyric poets of that age. *Sappho*, of Lesbos, wrote exquisite love songs, of which a few fragments survive. Her lover (another Lesbian poet) described her as "Pure Sappho, violet tressed, softly smiling." The ancients were wont to call her "the poetess," just as they referred to Homer as "the poet." *Pindar*, the greatest of the lyric poets, came from Boeotia. He delighted especially to celebrate the rushing chariots and glorious athletes of the Olympic games.

Two other poets of this age represent another kind of poetry. One was *Thespis*, at Athens, who wrote the first *plays*. The other, *Hesiod* of Boeotia, lived about 800 B.C. He wove together into a long poem (the *Theogony*) old stories of the creation and of the birth and relationship of the gods; and he wrote also remarkable home-like poems on farm life (*Works and Days*) which made a sort of textbook on agriculture (Davis' *Readings* I, No. 39). Hesiod himself was a hard-toiling farmer, struggling to win a bare living from the soil; and his pictures of the dreary life of a Greek peasant help us to understand the colonizing movement of his time.

Philosophy

In Ionia, in the sixth century B.C., men first began fearlessly to try to explain the origin of the universe. *Thales*, of Miletus, taught that all things came from water: that is, from the condensation of an original all-pervading moisture. One of his disciples affirmed that the world had evolved from a fiery ether. Another taught that the higher animal forms had developed from lower forms. These explanations were merely daring guesses; but the great thing is that men should have begun to think about *natural* causes at all, in place of the old, supposed *super*natural causes, for all that happens. Thales

argued that the movements of sun and stars were determined, not by the whims of gods who dwelt in them, as people thought, but by *fixed natural law;* and he proved his argument by predicting an eclipse of the sun — which came off as he had foretold.[1]

In Magna Graecia, *Pythagoras* sought the explanation of the universe, not in any kind of matter, but in *Number*, or *Harmony*. This it was, he said, that had brought order out of primeval chaos. His disciples, naturally, paid much attention to mathematics; and to Pythagoras himself is ascribed the famous demonstration in geometry that the square on the longest side of a right-triangle is equal to the sum of the squares on the two other sides. The Pythagoreans, too, especially connected "philosophy" (the name for their study of the beginnings of things) with *human conduct*. The harmony in the outer world, they urged, should be matched by harmony in the soul of man. Indeed, all these sages taught lofty moral truths far above the moral level of Greek religion (Davis' *Readings*, I, No. 98). *Xenophanes* of Ionia, in the one fragment of his speech that has come down to us, spoke of "God, one and changeless," — "not in body like unto mortals, nor in mind."

III. THE "PEOPLE" RULE AT ATHENS

The kings go

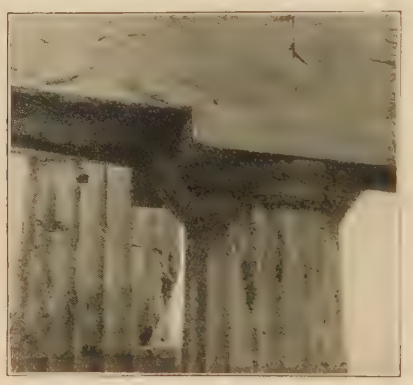
Between 1000 and 500 B.C. the "kings" disappeared from all Greek cities except Sparta and Argos — and there they kept little but their dignity. Everywhere the nobles had been growing in wealth. They controlled practically all the commerce (p. 109), the profits of which had come to be immense. As the only capitalists, they loaned money to the ordinary farmers — on exorbitant interest, as high as twenty per cent a year — and took farm after farm on mortgage foreclosure, perhaps enslaving also the farmers and their families. Not content with so oppressing the masses below them, they used

[1] Thales, we know, had visited Egypt; and some writers *guess* that he had had access to the astronomical observations of the Babylonians. He foretold *about the time* of the eclipse, not the exact hour or minute.

their increased power to divide among themselves, step by step, the old royal authority. *The Homeric monarchies became oligarchies* (p. 96, note).

Class struggles

In all Greek cities there had come to be a sharp division between classes. The wealthy nobles called themselves "the few" or "the good"; and the class below them they called "the many" or "the bad." "The many" clamored and complained; but they were too ignorant and disunited as yet to defend themselves against the better-united "few" — *until the way was made easier for them by the "tyrants."*



A Doric Capital. — From a photograph of a detail of the Parthenon (p. 170).

The tyrants

Usually a tyrant was some noble, who, either from selfish ambition or from deep sympathy with the oppressed masses, turned against his own order, to become a champion of the despised "many." When, in some crisis, he had made himself master of the city by their aid, he tried to keep his power by surrounding himself with mercenaries; *but commonly he also sought to keep the favor of the masses.* The nobles he could not hope to conciliate: them he ruined with crushing taxes, or exiled or murdered. There is a story that *Periander*, tyrant of Corinth, sent to a friend, the tyrant of Miletus, to ask how to govern: for answer, the Milesian merely took the messenger through a grain field, striking off all the finest and tallest heads as he walked.

A step toward democracy

Tyrants first became common about 700 B.C. By the year 500 they had gone from every city in the Greek peninsula, though they were still found sometimes in outlying Greek districts. When the tyrants were overthrown, the nobles had been so weakened that the people had a better chance. *In*

the Ionian parts of Greece, the next step commonly was a democracy. In Dorian Greece, the tyrants were usually followed by an aristocracy much broader than the older oligarchy.

As the Greeks used the word, "tyrant" does not necessarily mean a bad or cruel ruler: it means merely a man who *seized* supreme rule *by force.* The Homeric kings had been revered as hereditary priests of the city: their birth gave them certain rights and certain duties, in the people's eyes. But the tyrant had no sanction but might. Many of them were generous, far-sighted rulers, building useful public works, helping to develop trade, encouraging art and literature. But some, of course, were selfish and vicious; and *all arbitrary rule* was hateful to the Greeks, — so that the oligarchs could usually persuade the people that the murder of a tyrant was a good deed.

Now we will trace, with a little more detail, this change from "the rule of one" to "the rule of many" in Athens.

Athens the one Attic city

Athens was the only city in Attica. In other districts of such size there were always several cities. Boeotia had twelve, each jealous of one another, and all jealous of Thebes, the largest among them. In Attica, before historical records began, the beginnings of many cities had in some way been consolidated into one (p. 95). Athens was the true "home" of *all* the free inhabitants of the whole district — the central home, though many of them lived, outside the walls, in little farming hamlets.

Kingship gives way to oligarchy

The heads of the "noble" families (the "well-born") were in the habit of meeting in council on the hill called the Areopagus (the hill of Ares, god of war). Very early this *Council of the Areopagus* began to choose "*archons*" ("rulers") *from its own number* to take over the command in war and other important parts of the royal power. Gradually the "king" became only the city-priest; and in 752 B.C., an elected "king-archon" took over even this religious office.

By mortgages, by purchase perhaps, by fraud and force sometimes, the "well-born" had come also to own nearly all

The oligarchs held the land and enslaved the poor

the land of Attica. Most of it was tilled for them by tenants. Commonly these were old owners, who had lost their farms on mortgages and who now *paid five sixths the crop for rent.* A bad season, or ravages by hostile bands of invaders, would force these tenants to mortgage *themselves,* since they had no more land to mortgage, in order to get food and seed. Interest was crushing, — eighteen or twenty per cent a year; and the debts were likely to grow larger and larger. If the debtors failed to pay, the noble who held the mortgage could drag them

THE PARTHENON TO-DAY; west front. Doric style. See p. 170.

off in chains and sell them beyond seas. He could easily find other tenants for his land from the needy landless men of Attica. "*The poor,*" says Aristotle (a later Greek writer, in an account of this period), "were the very bondmen of the rich. . . . They *were discontented with every feature of their lot* . . . for . . . they had no share in anything."

Attempts at tyranny lead to concessions

This discontent of the masses, and the quarrels among factions of the nobles, gave opportunity to ambitious adventurers; and (625 B.C.) one young noble seized the citadel of Athens with a band of troops, in order to make himself tyrant. The

nobles rallied and crushed this attempt; but the peril induced them to make two concessions to the poorer masses.

The Assembly enlarged

1. The Assembly (p. 96) had come to be a gathering of noble families only. Ordinary tribesmen had ceased to attend, and were no longer allowed to vote if they did appear. But in commercial and manufacturing Athens (p. 109) there were coming to be many rich merchants and factory owners outside the noble class. To conciliate these men, and to draw them

Ruins of Temple of Victory at Athens; west front. Ionic style. See p. 169.

away from the side of the people, the nobles now took into the Assembly all who would arm for war as heavy armed soldiers ("Hoplites"), with shield, helmet, and spear. This Assembly decided on peace and war, and once a year it elected the archons — though only from among the nobles. The "well-born" had shared *part* of their power with the wealthy.

Written laws

2. Athenian law had been a matter of *ancient custom*. It was not written down, and much of it was known only to the nobles. All judges (archons) were nobles; and they often abused their power in order to favor their own class in law suits. The people

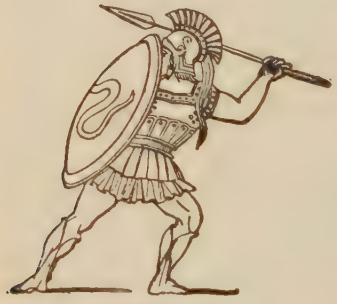
had long clamored for a written code. They did not ask yet for *new* laws, but only that the old laws might be fixed and *known to all*. The nobles had stubbornly resisted this demand. But now they gave way. In 621 B.C. *Draco*, one of the archons, engraved the old laws of Athens on wooden blocks and set them up where all might see them.

The result was to make men feel how harsh the old laws were. The "laws of Draco," it was said in later times, were "*written in blood rather than ink.*"

The Athenians now demanded new laws.

Rise of Solon to leadership

The renewed class struggles, together with the incompetent and selfish rule of the nobles, brought the city to the verge of ruin. Little Megara, eager for Athens' commerce, seized Salamis (map, page 147), from which island she could readily blockade the port of Athens. Attempts to recapture this place, so vital to Athenian security, failed miserably; and the Assembly in despair voted to put to death any man who should propose another expedition. Happily Athens had one patriot too courageous to quail before this threat. Solon was one of the leading nobles, a descendant of the ancient kings. In his youth he had been a trader, and had visited distant lands, spending some time even in Egypt (p. 44). He was already famous as a philosopher,[1] general, and poet. Now he shammed madness — to secure indulgence as a crazy man — and, appearing unexpectedly in the Assembly, he roused his fellow-citizens by declaiming a thrilling patriotic poem which he had composed. They made him their leader, and he saved Athens by recovering Salamis.



GREEK SOLDIER.

[1] One of his famous sayings was "Nothing overmuch." This typifies the Greek admiration for moderation in all things. Later times counted Solon among the "seven wise men of Greece."

Sole Archon (dictator)

This brilliant success pointed to Solon as the possible savior of Athens from her *internal* perils. He was known to sympathize with the poor. In his poems he had long blamed the greed of the nobles and had pleaded for reconciliation between the warring classes. The Assembly now made him "sole Archon," *with supreme authority to remodel the government and the laws.*

Economic reforms

Solon used this extraordinary power first to reform *economic* evils.[1] (1) He gave to all tenants the full ownership of the lands which they had been renting from the nobles (and which in most cases they or their fathers had lost earlier through debt); and he forbade the ownership in future of more than a moderate amount of land by any one man. (2) He freed all Athenians who were in slavery in Attica, and forbade the enslaving of any Athenian tribesman in future. (3) He cancelled all debts, so as to give distracted Athens a fresh start; but he resisted a wild clamor for the division of all property.

In later times, the people celebrated these acts by a yearly "Festival of the Shaking-off of Burdens."[2] The reforms, it was soon seen, went deeper than merely to matters of property. (1) So many of the nobles lost their commanding wealth that before long they ceased to be a distinct class. Later distinctions in Athenian society were mainly between rich and poor. (2) Many of the old tenants, now that they owned their farms, could afford to buy heavy armor (p. 117), and so could come also into the Assembly on a level with its old members.

Direct political reforms

And, besides these indirect political changes, Solon next reformed the government *directly*. (1) He created a Senate, or Council, to replace the Areopagus as the guiding part of the government. This body was to recommend measures to the Assembly. The members were chosen *each year, by lot,* so that neither wealth nor birth could control the election. This

[1] *Economic* means "relating to property"; it must not be confused with "economical."

[2] At almost the same date, as a recently discovered inscription shows, a Cretan city forbade a creditor to seize a debtor's tools or furniture for debt. This very "modern" law indicates that Greek society was waking up to the need of reforms like those of Solon.

method seems absurd to us; but it was then looked upon as an appeal to the choice of the gods, and its use was preceded by religious sacrifices and prayer. The New England Puritans sometimes used the lot in a like way. (2) He admitted to the Assembly *all* tribesmen, even the light-armed soldiers, though these last were not yet allowed to *hold* any offices. This enlarged Assembly, besides accepting or rejecting proposals of the new Council, could now *discuss* them (and so would soon learn to amend them and even to substitute new measures for them); and besides *electing* archons, *it could try them* and punish them for misgovernment.

Other reforms

The Areopagus, too, was henceforth to consist of ex-archons. That is, indirectly Solon made it, too, an elective body, besides taking away most of its power. It remained a sort of law-court, with special oversight over morals, and with power to impose fines for extravagance, insolence, or gluttony.

Solon also made it the duty of every father to teach his sons a trade; limited the wasteful extravagance at funerals — especially the amount of wealth that might be buried with the dead; and replaced Draco's bloody laws by milder punishments for offenses. In one thing he intensified an unhappy tendency of his age: he forbade women to appear in public gatherings.

Athenian coinage, too, dates from Solon. The Ionian cities in Asia had used the Lydian coins (p. 65). Solon now improved upon that earlier system. He took for the unit the hundredth part of a Babylonian mina of silver. This he called a *drachma* ("handful," because equal in value to a "handful" of the little iron lumps that were used as small change). Large sums of money were *counted* in "talents," and a talent was sixty minae, or sixty pounds, of silver, worth about $1100. The drachma long remained the chief *coin*. It was worth about twenty cents; and it survives to-day in the French franc and in the krone of Austria and Scandinavia.

Solon abdicates

To establish all these changes kept Solon busy through the years 594 and 593 B.C. Then, to the surprise of many, he

resigned his power. He had really been an "elected tyrant," or rather a "dictator." His acts were so popular with the great mass of the people that he might easily have made himself tyrant for life. But he believed sincerely in democracy. *For the first time in human history, a man holding vast power voluntarily laid it down in order that the people might govern themselves.*

A true democrat

At first the outcome seemed to show that Solon had not held to his dictatorship long enough to establish his reforms securely. A new but fierce strife of factions followed between *the Plain* (the larger land-owners), *the Shore* (merchants), and *the Mountain* (small farmers and shepherds). For thirty years, the city was frequently in turmoil and sometimes even in anarchy — without regular government.

Plain, Shore, and Mountain

Then Pisistratus, a near kinsman of Solon, made himself tyrant, by the aid of the Mountain, and restored order. This was in 560 — two years before Cyrus became king of Persia. Twice the aristocracy drove Pisistratus into exile, once for ten years. But each time he recovered his power, almost without bloodshed, because of the favor of the poor.

Pisistratus, tyrant

His rule was mild and wise. He lived simply, like other citizens. He even appeared in a law court, to answer in a suit against him. And he always treated the aged Solon with deep respect, despite the latter's steady opposition. Indeed, *Pisistratus governed through the forms of Solon's constitution*,[1] and enforced Solon's laws, *taking care only to have his own friends elected to the chief offices*. He was more like the "boss" of a great political "machine" than like a "tyrant." During the last period of his rule, however, he did banish many nobles and guarded himself by mercenary soldiers.

Pisistratus encouraged commerce. Indeed he laid the basis for Athens' later trade leadership by seizing for her the mouth to the Black Sea. He also enlarged and beautified Athens;

[1] *Constitution*, here and everywhere in early history, means not a written document, as with us, but the general usages of government in practice.

improved the roads, and built an aqueduct to bring a supply of water to the city from the hills; and he drew to his court a brilliant circle of poets, painters, architects, and sculptors, from all Hellas. The first written edition of the Homeric poems is said to have been put together under his encouragement, and *Thespis* (p. 112) began Greek tragedy at the magnificent festivals now instituted to Dionysus (god of wine). The tyrant gave new splendor to the public worship, and set up rural festivals in various parts of Attica, to make country life more attractive. He also divided the estates of banished nobles among landless freemen, and so increased the number of peasant landholders. Says Aristotle (p. 116):

"For the same reason [to make rural life attractive] he instituted local justices, and often made expeditions in person into the country to inspect it, and to settle disputes between persons, that they might not come to the city and neglect their farms. It was on one of these progresses, as the story goes, that Pisistratus had his adventure with the man in the district of Hymettus, who was cultivating the spot afterwards known as the 'Tax-free Farm.' He saw a man digging at very stony ground with a stake, and sent and asked what he got out of such a plot of land. 'Aches and pains,' said the man, 'and out of these Pisistratus must get his tenth.' Pisistratus was so pleased with the man's frank speech and industry that he granted him exemption from taxes." — *Constitution of Athens*, 17.

Hippias and Hipparchus

In 527, Pisistratus was succeeded by his sons Hippias and Hipparchus. Hipparchus was soon murdered, at the cost of their own lives, by two youths whom he had insolently injured. (In later times these tyrant-slayers were honored by public statues and patriotic poems.) [1]

Clisthenes expels the tyrant

The rule of Hippias had been kindly, but now he grew cruel and suspicious, and Athens became ready for revolt. *Clisthenes*, one of a band of exiled nobles, saw an opportunity to regain his home. The temple of Apollo at Delphi had just been burned, and Clisthenes engaged to rebuild it. He did so with great magnificence, using the finest of marble where the con-

[1] Davis' *Readings*, I, No. 53.

tract had called only for common limestone. After this, whenever the Spartans consulted the oracle, no matter what the occasion, they were always ordered by the priestess to "*first set free the Athenians.*" The Spartans had no quarrel with Hippias; but repeated commands from the god could not be disregarded. In 510, a reluctant Spartan army, with the Athenian exiles, expelled the tyrant.

Vigor of free Athens

The Athenians were now stronger than before the rule of Pisistratus, and better able to govern themselves. The oligarchy strove to regain control; but Clisthenes threw his strength upon the side of the people, and drove out the plotters. A Spartan army restored them for a moment, but was itself soon besieged in the Acropolis and captured. A century later an Athenian dramatist (Aristophanes, p. 172) portrayed the Athenian exultation (and hinted some differences between Athenian and Spartan life) in the following lines:

> . . . "For all his loud fire-eating,
> The old Spartan got a beating,
> And, in sorry plight retreating,
> Left his spear and shield with me.
> Then, with only his poor shirt on,
> And who knows what years of dirt on,
> With a bristling bush of beard,
> He slunk away and left us free."

"The Athenians," says Aristotle, "now showed that men will fight more bravely for themselves than for a master." The Euboeans and Thebans seized this moment of confusion to invade Attica from two sides at once; but the Athenians routed them in a double battle in one day, pursued into Euboea, stormed Chalcis there, and took for their own city its trade with Thrace (p. 108).

Cleruchs a new kind of colony

Athens now began a new kind of colonization, sending four thousand citizens to possess the best land of Chalcis, and to serve as a garrison there. *These men retained full Athenian citizenship,* besides having full control over their own settlements in their own Assemblies. They were known as *cleruchs,*

or out-settlers. In this way Athens found land for her surplus population, and fortified her influence abroad.

Internal quarrels due to three evils

Internal jealousies still weakened the city. (1) Plain, Shore, and Mountain disliked and feared one another. (2) The Assembly voted by tribes, and each tribe voted by clans. This custom made it natural for the clans to rally in many petty factions about the more powerful chiefs. (3) Athens contained a large body of resident "strangers," who were not citizens at all. Solon's reforms had concerned tribesmen only. But, in the ninety years that had followed, the growing trade of the city had drawn many aliens there. These men were enterprising and sometimes wealthy; still, though they lived in the city, *they had no share in it. No alien could vote or hold office, or sue in a law court* (except through the favor of some citizen), *or take part in a religious festival, or marry an Athenian, or even own land in Attica.* The city usually found it worth while to protect his property, in order to attract other strangers; but he had no *secure* rights. *Nor could his son, or his son's son, or any later descendant acquire any rights merely by continuing to live in Athens.* A like condition was found in other Greek cities; but rarely were the aliens so large or so wealthy a class as in commercial Athens. Foreign war, or the ambition of a would-be tyrant, might at any moment make their discontent a peril to the state.

Reforms of Clisthenes

Clisthenes now came forward with proposals to remedy these evils. The Assembly approved his plan and gave him authority to carry it out. Accordingly, he marked off Attica into a hundred little divisions called *demes.* Each citizen was enrolled in one of these, and his son after him. *Membership in a clan* had always been the proof of citizenship. Now that proof was to be found in this *deme-enrollment.* Even the cleruchs (above) whom Athens sent out to colonize trading posts, and their descendants, always kept their deme-enrollment, and, through that, their Athenian citizenship.

The hundred demes were distributed among ten "tribes," or wards: but the ten demes of each tribe were not located close

together. *They were scattered as widely as possible.* The Assembly now voted by these ten "territorial" tribes. This one device of Clisthenes did away with much of the old evils. (1) A clan could no longer act as a unit, since its members made parts, perhaps, of several "tribes." So the influence of the clan chiefs declined. (2) Men of the Shore and of the Mountain often found themselves united in the same tribe, and the old factions died out. (3) While Clisthenes was distributing citizens among the new geographical units, *he seized the chance to enroll the non-citizens also in the demes.* Thus he made the chief of the old perils to the state into a source of new strength. Athens gained both in numbers and, even more, in progressive influences.

It must not be supposed, however, that aliens *continued* to gain admission in the future, as with us, by easy naturalization. The act of Clisthenes applied only to *those then in Athens, and to their descendants.* In a few years another alien class grew up, with all the old disadvantages.

A new democratic advance

Clisthenes also gave the Assembly more power. It now elected *ten "generals"* yearly, who took over most of the old authority of the archons; and *it was made lawful for any voter to introduce new business* — without waiting for the Council. Clisthenes added also one more device to check faction. This was *ostracism.* Once a year the Assembly was given a chance to vote by ballot (on pieces of pottery, "ostraka"), each one against any man whom he deemed dangerous to the state. If six thousand citizens took part in the vote, then that man *against whom the largest number of the six thousand votes were cast* had to go into exile. Such exile was felt to be perfectly honorable; and when a man came back from it, he took at once his old place in the public regard. Even after all danger of a tyrant had ceased, ostracism was a convenient way for the people to relieve a leader whom they trusted from troublesome rivals or opponents.

The "light-armed" citizens were still not eligible to office. Otherwise, Athens had become a democracy. Like Solon, Clisthenes might easily have made himself tyrant. But, with splendid faith, he chose to work, as Solon had done, to found government by the people.

For Further Reading. — Bury, 149–155 (on tyrants) and 180–189 (on Solon).

IV. MILITARY RULE AT SPARTA

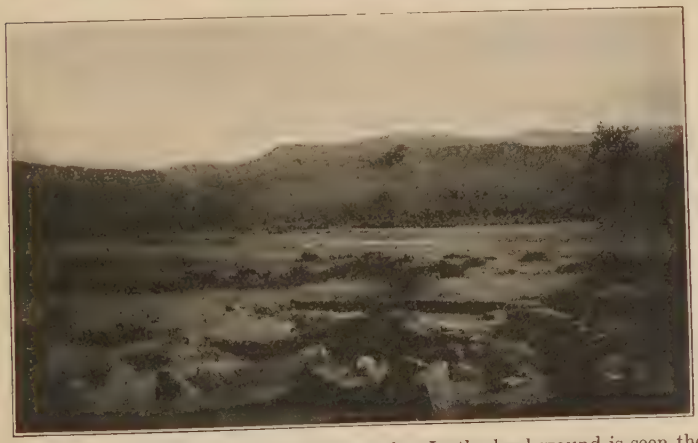
The legend of Lycurgus

In the year 900, Sparta was merely one of many petty Dorian states in the Peloponnesus. It had no sea-coast; it covered only a few square miles; and it was surrounded by more powerful neighbors. In some way (legend says, through the influence of a reforming law-giver, *Lycurgus*) the Spartans adopted peculiar institutions which soon made them a marked people. Disciplined and hardened, they then entered on a career of conquest. By 700 B.C. they were masters of all Laconia; soon after, they subdued Messenia; and then they brought all the rest of the Peloponnesus — except hostile Argos — into a military league of which they were the head (the *Peloponnesian League*).

THE PELOPONNESIAN LEAGUE (500 B.C.)

Kings, Senate, Assembly

Sparta had *two* kings. The Spartan story explained this arrangement as due to the birth of twin princes. At all events, in some way, the nobles had been able to *divide* the royal power, and so were not so anxious to abolish it. Real authority rested



Above. — Modern Sparta from the north. In the background is seen the southern slope of Mt. Taygetus, through whose perilous passes Spartan armies marched to conquer their western neighbors, the Messenians.

Below. — The Plain of the Eurotas, the site of ancient Sparta. The Spartans had no city walls and no important buildings, and so left little in the way of lasting relics of their life.

in the *Senate* of thirty elders. *An Assembly*, much like that of Homeric times, accepted or rejected proposals laid before it by the Senate, but could not amend or discuss them. Practically, Sparta was an oligarchy.

Spartans and their subjects

Moreover, as a whole, the Spartans were a ruling class in the midst of subjects eight or ten times their number. *They were a camp* of some 9000 conquerors, with their families, living under arms in their unwalled city. They had taken for themselves the most fertile lands in Laconia; but *they did no work*. Each Spartan's land was tilled for him by slaves, called *Helots*.

These Helots were the descendants of the country-dwellers at the time of the Spartan conquest. They numbered perhaps five to one Spartan. They furnished light-armed troops in war; but they were always a danger, and occasionally the Spartans carried out secret massacres of the more ambitious and intelligent among them.

The inhabitants of the hundred small towns of Laconia were not slaves, but neither were they part of the Spartan state. They tilled lands of their own, and carried on whatever other industry was found in Laconia. They kept their own customs, and managed the *local* affairs of their own towns — under the supervision of Spartan rulers; and they provided heavy-armed troops for Sparta's army. As a rule they seem to have been content with Sparta's mastery.

Spartan discipline

That mastery rested, however, in the long run, on a sleepless vigilance and on a rigid and brutal discipline. The aim of Sparta was to train soldiers.

The family, as well as the man, belonged absolutely to the state. Officers examined each child, at its birth, to decide whether it was fit to live. If it seemed weak or puny, it was exposed in the mountains to die. The father and mother could not save it. If it was strong and healthy, it was returned to its parents for a few years. But after a boy reached the age of seven, he never again slept under his mother's roof: he was taken from home, to be trained with other boys under public officers, until he was twenty.

The boys were taught reading and a little martial music, but they were given no other mental culture. The main purpose of their education was to harden and strengthen the body and to develop self-control and obedience. On certain festival days, boys were whipped at the altars to test their endurance; and Plutarch (a Greek writer of the second century A.D.) states that they often died under the lash rather than utter a cry. This custom was much like the savage "sun-dance" of some American Indian tribes. Several other features of Spartan life seem to have been survivals of a barbarous period that the Spartans never wholly outgrew.

From twenty to thirty, the youth lived under arms in barracks. There he was one of a mess of fifteen. From his land he had to provide his part of the barley meal, cheese, and black broth, with meat on holidays, for the company's food. The mess drilled and fought side by side, so that in battle each man knew that his daily companions and friends stood about him. Their many years of constant military drill made it easy for the Spartans to adopt more complex tactics than were possible for their neighbors. They were trained in small regiments and companies, so as to maneuver readily at the word of command. This made them superior in the field. They stood to the other Greeks as disciplined soldiery always stands to untrained militia.

At thirty the man was required to marry, in order to rear more soldiers; but he must still eat in barracks, and live there most of the time. He had no real home. Said an Athenian, "The Spartan's life is so unendurable that it is no wonder he throws it away lightly in battle."

The good and evil

There was a kind of virtue, no doubt, in this training. The Spartans had the quiet dignity of born rulers. In contrast with the noisy Greeks about them, their speech was brief and pithy ("laconic" speech). They used only iron money. And their plain living made them appear superior to the weak indulgences of other men. The changeless character of their government, without alteration for more than five hundred

years, called forth admiration from the other Greeks, who were accustomed to kaleidoscopic revolutions. Spartan women, too, kept a freedom which unhappily was lost in other Greek cities. Girls were trained in gymnastics, much as boys were; and the women were famous for beauty and health, and for public spirit and patriotism.

Still, the value of the Spartans to the world lay in the fact that *they made a garrison for the rest of Greece*, and helped save something better than themselves. In themselves, they were hard, ignorant, narrow. They did nothing for art, literature, science, or philosophy. *If the Greeks had all been Spartans, we could afford to omit the study of Greek history.*

For Further Reading. — All students should read the charming account of Spartan customs contained in Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*. Davis' *Readings* has several pages of extracts from it.

Exercise. — Distinguish between *Sparta* and *Laconia*. How did the relation of *Thebes* to *Boeotia* differ from that of Sparta to Laconia? Which of these two relations was most like that of *Athens* to *Attica?* Have you any buildings in your city in which Greek columns are used? Of which order, in each case? (Take several leading buildings in a large town.) Explain the following terms: constitution; Helot; tyrant; Lycurgus; Clisthenes; Areopagus; archon; deme; clan; tribe; a "tribe of Clisthenes."

(To *explain* a term, in such an exercise, is to make such statements concerning it as will at least prevent the term being confused with any other. Thus if the term is *Solon*, it will not do to say, "A Greek lawgiver," or "A lawgiver of the sixth century B.C." The answer *must* at least say, "An *Athenian* lawgiver of about 600 B.C."; and it *ought* to say, "An Athenian lawgiver *and democratic reformer* of about 600 B.C." Either of the first two answers is worth *zero*.)

CHAPTER X

A LITTLE GEOGRAPHY AND REVIEW

(Based on the Maps after pages 80, 90, and 108)

Note the three great divisions: *Northern Greece* (Epirus and Thessaly); *Central Greece* (a group of eleven districts, to the Isthmus of Corinth); and the *Peloponnesus* (the southern peninsula). Name the districts from Phocis south, and the chief cities in each, as shown on the map. Which districts have no coast? Locate Delphi, Thermopylae, Tempe, Parnassus, Olympus, Olympia, Salamis, Ithaca, eight islands, three cities on the Asiatic side. Draw the map with the amount of detail just indicated. *Keep in mind that the islands shown are only a few of the many score that dot the Aegean.* Examine the map frequently in preparing the next lesson. (*The index tells on what map each geographical name used in the book can be found, — except in a few cases, like* Pacific Ocean.)

"Hellas" and "Hellenes"

The Greeks called themselves *Hellenes* (as they do still). Hellas meant not European Greece alone, but *all the lands of the Hellenes.* It included the Greek peninsula, the shores and islands of the Aegean, Greek colonies on the Black Sea, to the east, and in Sicily and southern Italy, to the west, with scattered patches elsewhere along the Mediterranean. Still, the European peninsula, or Greece, remained the heart of Hellas. Epirus and Thessaly had little to do with Greek history. Omitting them, the area of Greece is less than a fourth of that of New York.

Many small divisions

The islands and the patches of Greek settlements on distant coasts made *many distinct geographical divisions.* Even little Greece counted more than twenty such units, each shut off from the others by its strip of sea and its mountain walls. Some of these divisions were about as large as an American township, and the large ones (except Thessaly and Epirus) were only seven or eight times that size.

A varied civilization

The little states which grew up in these divisions differed widely from one another. Some became monarchies; some, oligarchies; some, democracies. In some, the chief industry became trade; in some, it was agriculture. In some, the people were slow and conservative; in others, they were enterprising and progressive. Oriental states were marked by great *uniformity:* the civilizations of European countries have been marked by a wholesome *diversity,* and this character was found especially among the Greeks.

Intercourse by the sea

Mountain people, living apart, are usually rude and conservative; but *from such tendencies Hellas was saved by the sea.* The sea brought Athens as closely into touch with Miletus (in Asia) as with Sparta or Olympia. The very heart of Greece is broken into islands and promontories, so that it is hard to find a spot thirty miles distant from the sea. Sailors and traders come in touch constantly with new manners and new ideas, and they are more likely to make progress than a purely agricultural people. Exchanging commodities, they are ready to exchange ideas also. The *seafaring* Hellenes were "always seeking some new thing."

"Always seeking some new thing"

Vicinity of older civilizations in the East

These early seekers *found "new things" within easy reach.* This "most European of all European lands" lay nearest of all Europe to the old civilizations of Asia and Egypt. Moreover, it *faced this civilized East* rather than the barbarous West. On the other side, toward Italy, the coast of Greece is cliff or marsh, with only three or four good harbors. On the east, however, the whole line is broken by deep bays, from whose mouths chains of inviting islands lead on and on. In clear weather, the mariner may cross the Aegean without losing sight of land.

Influence of physical geography

Very important, too, was *the appearance of the landscape.* A great Oriental state spread over vast plains and was bounded by terrible immensities of desolate deserts. But, except in Thessaly, Greece contained no plains of consequence. It was a land of intermingled sea and mountain, *with everything upon a moderate scale.* There were no mountains so astounding as to

awe the mind. There were no destructive earthquakes, or tremendous storms, or overwhelming floods. Oriental man had bowed in superstitious dread before the mysteries of nature, with little attempt to explain them. But in Greece, nature was not terrible; and men began early to search into her secrets. *Oriental submission to tradition and custom was replaced by fearless inquiry and originality.* In government, Oriental

Scene in the Vale of Tempe. — From a photograph.

despotism gave way to Greek *freedom*. Greece had no parallel to the slavish Babylonian or Persian submissiveness before their kings, or to the Egyptian's before his priests.

No doubt, too, the moderation and variety of the world about them had a part in producing the many-sided genius of the people and their lively but well-controlled imagination. And the varied beauty of hill and dale and blue, sunlit sea, the wonderfully clear, exhilarating air, and the soft splendor of the radiant sky helped to give them deep joy in mere living.

Above all other peoples, they developed *a love for harmony and proportion*. Moderation became their ideal virtue, and they used the same word for *good* and *beautiful*.

A temperate climate

Like most of Europe, Greece has a more temperate climate than the semi-tropical river valleys of Asia, and *food crops demand more cultivation*. This called for greater exertion upon the part of man. The beginnings of civilization were slower in Europe; but man was finally to count for more there than in Asia.

Protected from Asiatic conquest by the Mediterranean

Finally, Greece was saved from Asiatic conquest largely by its position behind the broad moat of the Mediterranean. Persia subdued the Asiatic Greeks almost without a blow: against the European Greeks, we shall see, her supreme efforts failed.

To understand this value of the Mediterranean as a *barrier*, we must keep in mind the character of ships in early times. The sea was the chief *highway* for merchants, traveling in single vessels and certain of friendly welcome at almost any port. But oars were the main force that drove the ship (sails were used only when the wind was very favorable); and the small vessels of that day could not carry many more people than were needed to man the benches of oarsmen. To transport a large army, in this way, with needful supplies, — in condition, too, to meet a hostile army at the landing place, — was almost impossible.

Summary for 1000–500 B.C.

During the five centuries from 1000 to 500 B.C., the Hellenes came to think of themselves as *one people* — though not as one nation — and they had developed a brilliant, jostling society. For more than half the period they had been busy sowing Hellenic cities broadcast along distant Mediterranean shores. They had found a capable leadership for war in Sparta. Everywhere they had rid themselves of the old monarchic rule; and, in Athens in particular, they had gone far toward a true democracy. Toward the close of the period, they had developed art, poetry, and philosophy. Their civilization had become nobler and more promising than any other the world had yet seen.

A civilization like our own.

Moreover, this civilization was essentially one with our own. The remains of Egyptian or Babylonian sculpture and architecture arouse our admiration and interest as curiosities; but they are foreign to us. With a Greek temple or a Greek poem we feel at home. *It might have been built, or written, by an American.* Some of our most beautiful buildings are copied from Greek models. Our historians venerate the Greek Herodotus and Thucydides as their masters. Our children delight in the stories that the blind Homer chanted, and older students still find his poems a necessary part of literary culture.

Exercise. — Name five distinct features of Greek geography favorable to civilization. Name two features favorable to an *early* civilization (as compared with the rest of Europe). Can you justify the phrase "*Most* European of European lands" for Greece, by pointing out two or more respects in which important European characteristics are emphasized in Greek geography? Make a table — in two parallel columns — of leading dates, approximate or fixed, in Oriental and in Greek history, down to 500 B.C., when the two streams join.

CHAPTER XI

THE PERSIAN WARS

East and West come into conflict

So far the story of the despotic Oriental world and of the free European world have been separate stories; but about 500 B.C. they join into one story. We have seen how the Persians had stretched their rule swiftly over the territory of all preceding empires, beside adding vast regions before unknown. By 500, they had advanced even into Europe across Thrace (map after p. 66). This brought their western frontier into touch with the scattered groups of Greek cities, bustling and energetic but small and disunited. The mighty world-empire now advanced confidently to add these little communities to its dominions. East and West joined battle.

Persia and the Asiatic Greeks

The first struggle was on Asiatic ground. For two centuries (750–550 B.C.) the *Asiatic* Hellenes had excelled all other branches of the Greek race. Unfortunately for them, the Empire of Lydia arose near them. Croesus, king of that great state, wished access to the Aegean Sea, and subdued all the Greek cities on the Asia Minor coast. Croesus, however, admired the Greeks and favored them in many ways, leaving them almost independent.

When Cyrus, the Persian, attacked Croesus (p. 67), these Greek cities fought gallantly for Lydia — in spite of tempting offers from Persia. After Croesus' overthrow, Cyrus turned upon them for stern punishment. Thales (p. 112) urged a federation of all Ionia, with one government and one army, to resist this attack. But the Greeks could not rise to so wise a plan (p. 96). So the Asiatic cities fell to Persia, one by one (540 B.C.), and Ionia's leadership in civilization was gone forever.

The Ionian Revolt, 500 B.C.

But in the year 500 these cities of Asia Minor broke into the famous Ionian Revolt against Persia. They made a fruitless

appeal for aid to Sparta (Davis' *Readings*, I, No. 57); but Athens sent them twenty ships and little Eretria sent five. At first the Ionians and these allies won swift success. They even took Sardis, the old capital of Lydia, far in the interior. But they were divided by mutual suspicions; the Persians used gold skillfully to stir up treachery; and at the first defeat, the loose Ionian league broke up. Then Persia quickly subdued the cities again one by one.

Bearing of the Ionian Revolt on the European struggle

Herodotus says that Darius, the great Persian king, was so angered by the sack of Sardis that during the rest of his life he had a herald cry out to him thrice each day at dinner, — "O king, remember the Athenians!" But Persia would soon have attacked European Greece anyway. Her expanding frontier had reached Thessaly just before 500 B.C., and the same motives that had carried Persian arms through Thrace and Macedonia would have carried them on into Greece. The Greek cities were becoming wealthy, and Persia coveted their ships and their trade. The Ionian war delayed the Persian onset upon Europe for seven or eight years, until the Greeks were better prepared. The Athenians had been wise, as well as generous, in aiding the Ionians. Their expedition to Asia was really *defensive* warfare.

Discouraging conditions in Europe

Even in Europe the conditions were discouraging enough. After the fall of Ionia there remained two great divisions of Hellas, — (1) the *European peninsula*, which we usually call "Greece," and (2) *Magna Graecia and Sicily*. Elsewhere the scattered Greek cities, like those along the shores of the Black Sea, were too small or too busy defending themselves against surrounding savages to count for much in the coming struggle. And now the two main divisions were attacked at the same time, — Greece by Persia, Sicily by Carthage.

Carthaginian attack on Sicily

Carthage was a Phoenician colony on the north coast of Africa. It had built up an extensive empire in the western Mediterranean, and had often been in conflict with the Greek cities in Sicily. That island was an important position from which to control Mediterranean trade. Instigated by Persia,

Carthage now made a determined effort to drive out her rivals. The Greek cities there were still ruled by tyrants. These rulers united under *Gelon*, tyrant of Syracuse, and repelled the Carthaginian onset. But the struggle kept these western Greeks from helping their kinsmen in the Greek peninsula against Persia.

Internal struggles in Greece

Within that peninsula, the forces that could be mustered against the master of the world were small, at best; and, as at almost all times, they were being wasted in internal struggles. Athens was at war with Aegina and with Thebes; Sparta had renewed an ancient strife with Argos; Phocis was engaged in war with Thessalians on one side and Boeotians on the other. Many cities, too, were torn by cruel class strife at home, oligarchs against democrats. To almost all Greeks, Sparta's Peloponnesian League (p. 126) seemed the one hope.

First Persian expedition: Mt. Athos

Immediately after the end of the Ionian revolt, Darius began vast preparations to invade Greece. A mighty army was gathered at the Hellespont under *Mardonius*, son-in-law of the king; and a large fleet was collected, to sail along the coast, in touch with the army, and to furnish it, day by day, with supplies. In 492, this double expedition set out, advancing along the shores of the Aegean; but, as the fleet was rounding the rocky promontory of *Mount Athos*, a terrible storm dashed it to pieces. Mardonius had no choice but to retreat into Asia.

Second expedition: Marathon

In the spring of 490, the Persians were ready for a second expedition. This time, taking warning from the disaster at Mount Athos, the troops were embarked on a mighty fleet, which proceeded directly across the Aegean. Stopping only to receive the submission of islands by the way, the fleet reached Euboea without a check.

There Eretria was captured, through the treachery of some of its oligarchs. The city was destroyed, and most of the people were sent in chains to Persia. Then the Persians landed on the plain of *Marathon* in Attica, to punish Athens. Hippias, the exiled tyrant (p. 123), was with the invaders, hoping to get back his throne as a servant of Persia; and he

had pointed out this admirable place for disembarking the Persian cavalry.

At first most of the Athenians wished to fight only behind their walls. Sooner or later, this must have resulted in ruin, especially as there were some traitors within the city hoping to admit Hippias. Happily *Miltiades*, one of the ten Generals (p. 125), persuaded the commanders to march out and attack the Persians at once.[1]

Spartan hesitation

From the rising ground where the hills of Mount Pentelicus meet the plain, the ten thousand Athenian hoplites faced the Persian host for the first struggle between Greeks and Asiatics on European ground. Sparta had promised aid; and, at the first news of the Persian approach, a swift runner, Phidippides, had raced the hundred and fifty miles of rugged hill country to implore Sparta to hasten. He reached Sparta on the second day; but the Spartans waited a week, on the ground that an old law forbade them to set out on a military expedition before the full moon. The Athenians felt bitterly that Sparta was ready to look on, not unwillingly, while the "second city in Greece" was destroyed.

PLAN OF MARATHON. — Cf. map on p. 147.

At all events, Athens was left to save herself (and our Western world) as best she could, with help from only one city. This was heroic little *Plataea*, in Boeotia, near by. Athens had sometimes protected the democratic government of that city from attack by the powerful oligarchs of Thebes. The Plataeans remembered this gratefully, and, on the eve of the battle, marched into the Athenian camp with their full force

[1] This story should be read in Herodotus, or, even better in some ways, in the extracts in Davis' *Readings*, with Dr. Davis' admirable introductions.

of a thousand hoplites. Then Athenians and Plataeans won a marvelous victory over several times their number[1] of the most famous soldiery in the world.

Miltiades drew out his front as thin as he dared, to prevent the long Persian front from overlapping and "flanking" him. To accomplish this, he weakened his center daringly, *so as to* **Generalship of Miltiades**

MARATHON TO-DAY. — From a photograph. The camera stood a little above the Athenian camp in the Plan on the opposite page. That camp was in the first open space in the foreground, where the poplar trees are scattered. The land beyond the strip of water is the narrow peninsula running out from the "Marsh" in the Plan.

mass all the men he could spare from there in the wings. These wings he ordered to advance more rapidly than the thin center. Then he moved his forces down the slope toward the Persian lines. While yet an arrow's flight distant, the advancing Greeks

[1] All numbers given for the Persian army, in this or other campaigns, are guesses. Ancient historians put the Persians at Marathon at from a quarter to half a million. Modern scholars are sure that no ancient fleet could possibly carry any considerable part of such a force, and *estimate* the Persian numbers all the way from 100,000 down to 20,000.

broke into a run, so as to cover the rest of the ground before the Persian archers could get in their deadly work. Once at close quarters, the heavy weapons of the Greeks gave them overwhelming advantage. Their dense array, charging with long, outstretched spears, by its sheer weight broke the light-armed Persian lines. The Persians fought gallantly, as always; but their darts and light scimitars made little impression upon the heavy bronze armor of the Greeks, while their linen tunics and wicker shields offered little defense against the thrust of the Greek spear. For a time, Persian numbers and gallantry did force back the Greek center; but the two Greek wings, having routed the forces in front of them, wheeled upon the Persian center, crushing both flanks at the same moment, and drove it in disorder to the ships. One hundred ninety-two Athenians fell.[1] The Persians left over sixty-four hundred dead upon the field.

In the enthusiasm of victory the Athenians charged even into the sea, laying hold of the Persian ships with their hands; but here they were repulsed. The Persians sailed away on a course that *might* lead to Athens. Moreover, the Greek army had just seen sun-signals flashing to the enemy from some traitor's shield in the distant mountains; and Miltiades feared that this might be an invitation to attack the city in the absence of the army. To check such plots, he sent Phidippides to announce the victory to Athens. Already exhausted by the battle, Phidippides put forth supreme effort, raced the twenty-two miles of mountain road, shouted exultantly to the eager, anxious crowds in the city street, — "Ours the victory!" — and fell dead.[2] This famous run from the battlefield to the city is the basis of the modern "Marathon" race, in which champion athletes of all countries compete.

Athens saved

[1] Recent excavations have shown that this number of bodies were buried under the mound erected to the Athenian slain, — so confirming the old story of Herodotus.

[2] The student will like to read, or to hear read, Browning's poem, *Phidippides*, with the story of both runs by this Greek hero. Compare this story with Herodotus' account in Davis' *Readings*, I, No. 59.

The meaning of Marathon

Meanwhile Miltiades was hurrying his wearied army, without rest, over the same road. Fortunately, the Persian fleet had to sail around a long promontory (map, page 147), and when it appeared off Athens, the next morning, Miltiades and his hoplites had arrived. The Persians did not care to face again the men of Marathon; and the same day they set sail for Asia.

Merely as a military event Marathon is an unimportant skirmish; but, in its results upon human welfare, it is among the few really "decisive" battles of the world. Whether Egyptian conquered Babylonian, or Babylonian conquered Egyptian, mattered little in the long run. But it did matter whether or not the huge, despotic *East* should crush the new free life out of the *West*. Marathon decided that the West should live.

New outburst of Athenian energy

For the Athenians themselves, Marathon began a new era. Natural as the victory came to seem in later times, it took high courage on that day to stand before the hitherto unconquered Persians, even without such tremendous odds. "The Athenians," says Herodotus, "were the first of the Greeks to face the Median garments, . . . whereas up to this time the very name of Mede [Persian] had been a terror to the Hellenes." The sons of the men who conquered on that field could find no odds too crushing, no prize too dazzling, in the years to come.

The ten years' interval

Soon after Marathon, Egypt rebelled against Persia. This gave the Greeks ten years to get ready for the next Persian attack, but the only city to make any good use of the time was Athens. The democracy there had divided into two political parties. The conservative party was content with the reforms of Clisthenes, and wished to follow established customs without further change. Its leader at this time was *Aristides*, surnamed "the Just." The radical party wished further reforms and favored many changes. It was led by *Themistocles*. Themistocles was less upright than Aristides; but he was one of the most far-sighted and resourceful statesmen in all history.

Preparation at Athens

Aristides and Themistocles

Themistocles passionately wished one change in Athenian practice *in war*. He saw that Persia could not attack Greece successfully without command of the sea, to transport men and supplies. Moreover, huge as the Persian Empire was, it was mainly an inland power: it could not so vastly outnumber the Greeks in ships as in men. Victory for the Greeks, then, was more likely on sea than on land. Accordingly he determined to make Athens a naval power.

But this proposal ran counter to all old custom. Sea-farers though the Greeks were, up to this time they had not used ships much *in war*. Attica, in particular, had almost no war navy. The party of Aristides wished to hold to the old policy of fighting on land, and they had the glorious victory of Marathon to back their arguments. Feeling ran high. Finally, in 483, the leaders agreed to let a vote of ostracism decide.

> While the voting was going on (according to Herodotus), a stupid fellow, who did not know Aristides, asked him to write the name Aristides on the shell he was about to vote. Aristides did so, asking, however, what harm Aristides had ever done the man. "*No* harm," replied the voter. "Indeed, I do not know him; but I am tired of hearing him called 'the Just.'" [1]

Themistocles and the fleet

The vote sent Aristides into banishment, and left Themistocles free to carry out his new policy. Rich veins of silver had recently been discovered in the mines of Attica. These mines *belonged to the city*. It had been proposed to divide the income from them among the citizens; but Themistocles persuaded his countrymen to reject this tempting plan, and instead to build a great fleet. In the next three years Athens became the greatest naval power in Hellas.

Third Persian expedition, 480 B.C.

During the ten-year interval, too, the great Darius died, and the invasion of Greece fell to his feebler son, *Xerxes*. Marathon had proved that no Persian fleet by itself could transport

[1] Read the other anecdotes about Aristides in Davis' *Readings*, I, No. 61.

enough troops; so the plan of Mardonius' expedition (p. 137) was tried again, *but upon a larger scale, both as to army and fleet.*

To guard against another accident at Mt. Athos, a canal for ships was cut through the isthmus at the back of that rocky headland,—a great engineering work that took three years. Supplies, too, were collected at stations along the way; the Hellespont was bridged with chains of boats covered with planks;[1] and at last, in the spring of 480, Xerxes led a mighty host of many nations into Europe. A fleet of twelve hundred ships accompanied the army.

Gloom in Greece

The danger forced the Greeks into something like common action. Sparta and Athens joined in calling *an Hellenic congress* at Corinth, in 481 B.C. The deputies that appeared bound their cities by oath to aid one another, and to join in punishing any states that should help Persia. Ancient feuds were pacified; plans of campaign were discussed; and Sparta was formally appointed leader. Still the outlook was full of gloom. Argos, out of hatred for Sparta, and Thebes, from jealousy of Athens, had refused to attend the congress. These were two of the leading cities in Greece; and every one knew that they were ready to join Xerxes. No wonder that the Delphic oracle warned the Athenians to flee to the ends of the earth.

The three possible lines of defense

The Greeks had three lines of defense. The first was at the Vale of Tempe near Mount Olympus, where only a narrow pass opened into Thessaly. The second was at Thermopylae, where the mountains shut off northern from central Greece, except for a road only a few feet in width. The third was behind the Isthmus of Corinth.

Greek plans

At the congress at Corinth *the Peloponnesians had wished selfishly to abandon the first two lines.* They urged that all patriotic Greeks should retire at once within the Peloponnesus, and fortify the Isthmus by an impregnable wall. This plan was as foolish as it was selfish. Greek troops might have held the Isthmus against the Persian land army; but the Peloponn-

[1] Read Herodotus' story of Xerxes' wrath when the first bridge broke, and how he ordered the Hellespont to be flogged (Davis' *Readings*, I, No. 64).

nesus was readily open to attack by sea, and the Persian fleet would have found it easier here than at either of the other lines of defense to land troops in the Greek rear, *without long losing touch with its own army.* Such a surrender of two thirds of Greece, too, would have meant a tremendous reinforcement of the enemy by excellent Greek soldiery. Accordingly, *it was*

THERMOPYLAE. — The photograph shows the steepness of the mountain; but the sea has now receded from its foot.

finally decided to resist the entrance of the Persians into Greece by meeting them at the Vale of Tempe.

Loss of Thessaly

Sparta, however, had no gift for going to meet an attack. A hundred thousand men should have held the Vale of Tempe; but only a feeble garrison was sent there, and it retreated before the Persians appeared. Xerxes entered Greece without a blow. *Then the Thessalian cities,* deserted by their allies, *joined the invaders with their powerful cavalry.*

This made it evident, even to Spartan statesmen, that to abandon central Greece would strengthen Xerxes further; and

Thermopylae: loss of Central Greece

it was decided in a half-hearted way to make a stand at Thermopylae. The pass was only some twenty feet wide between the cliff and the sea, and the only other path was one over the mountain, equally easy to defend. Moreover, the long island of Euboea approached the mainland just opposite the pass, so that the Greek fleet *in the narrow strait* could guard the land army against having troops landed in the rear.

The Greek fleet at this place numbered 270 ships. Of these the Athenians furnished half. Sparta sent only 16 ships, but her admiral was in supreme command of the whole fleet. The land defense had been left to the Peloponnesian league; but the force which Sparta had sent to attend to it was shamefully small. The Spartan king, *Leonidas*, held the pass with three hundred Spartans and a few thousand allies. *The main force of Spartans was again left at home, on the ground of a religious festival.*

The Persians reached Thermopylae without a check. Battle was joined at once on land and sea, and raged for three days. Four hundred Persian ships were wrecked in a storm, and the rest were checked by the Greek fleet in a sternly contested conflict at *Artemisium*. On land, Xerxes flung column after column of chosen troops into the pass, to be beaten back each time in rout. But on the third night a Greek traitor guided a force of Persians over the mountain path, which the Spartans had left only slightly guarded. Leonidas knew that he could no longer hold his position. He sent home his allies; but he and his three hundred Spartans remained to die in the pass which their country had given them to defend. They charged joyously upon the Persian spears, and fell fighting, to a man.

Sparta had shown no capacity to command in this great crisis. Twice her shortsightedness had caused the loss of vital positions. But at Thermopylae her citizens set an example of calm heroism that has stirred the world ever since. In later times the burial place of the Three Hundred was marked by this inscription, "Stranger, go tell at Sparta that we lie here in obedience to her command."

Athens destroyed

Xerxes advanced on Athens and was joined by most of central Greece. The Theban oligarchs, in particular, welcomed him with joy. The Peloponnesians would risk no further battle outside their own peninsula. They withdrew the army, and fell back upon their first plan of building a wall across the Isthmus.

The news threw Athens into uproar and despair. The Delphic oracle was again appealed to, but it prophesied utter destruction. Themistocles finally secured from the priestess an additional prophecy, that when all else was destroyed, "wooden walls" would still defend the Athenians. Many citizens then wished to retire within the wooden palisade of the Acropolis; but Themistocles persuaded them that the oracle meant the "wooden walls" of their ships.

The Greek fleet had withdrawn from Artemisium, after the Persians won the land pass; and the Spartan admiral was bent upon retiring at once to the new position of the Peloponnesian army, at the Isthmus. By vehement entreaties, Themistocles persuaded him to hold the whole fleet for a day or two at Athens, so as to remove the women and children and old men to Salamis and other near-by islands. There was no time to save property. The Persians marched triumphantly through Attica, burning villages and farmsteads, and laid Athens and its temples in ashes.

Strategy of Themistocles

But Themistocles, in delaying the retreat of the fleet, planned for more than escape. He was determined that the decisive battle should be a sea battle, and that it should be fought where the fleet then lay. No other spot so favorable could be found. The narrow strait between the Athenian shore and Salamis would embarrass the Persian numbers, and help to make up for the small numbers of the Greek ships. Themistocles saw, too, that if the Greeks withdrew to Corinth, all chance of united action would be lost. The fleet would break up. Some ships would sail home to defend their own island cities; and others, like those of Megara and Aegina, feeling that their cities were deserted, might join the Persians.

The fleet had grown now to 378 ships. The Athenians furnished 200 of these. With generous patriotism, they had yielded the chief command to Sparta, but it was Themistocles who, by persuasion, entreaties, and bribes, had kept the navy from abandoning the land forces at Thermopylae, before the sea fight off Artemisium. There now fell to him a like task,

G, the Greek fleet at Salamis. *PPP*, the Persian fleet. *X*, the Throne of Xerxes. (The "Long Walls" were not built until later; p. 160.)

but a mightier one. Debate waxed fierce in the all-night council of the captains. The Corinthian admiral sneered that the allies need not regard a man who no longer represented a Greek city. Themistocles retorted that he represented two hundred ships, and could make a city, or take one, where he chose; and, by a threat to sail away to found a new Athens in Italy, he forced the allies to remain.

Even then the decision would have been reconsidered, had not the wily Themistocles made use of a strange stratagem. With pretended friendship, he sent a secret message to Xerxes, telling him of the weakness and dissensions of the Greeks, and *advising him to block up the straits to prevent their escape*. Xerxes took this treacherous advice. Aristides, whose ostracism had been revoked in the hour of danger, and who now slipped through the hostile fleet in his single ship to join his countrymen, brought the news that they were surrounded.

Battle of Salamis

There was now no choice but to fight. The Persian fleet was twice the size of the Greek, and was itself largely made up of Asiatic Greeks, while the Phoenicians and Egyptians, who composed the remainder, were famous sailors. The battle of Salamis, the next day, lasted from dawn to night, but the Greek victory was complete.

"A king sat on the rocky brow [1]
Which looks o'er sea-born Salamis;
And ships by thousands lay below,
And men in nations, — all were his.
He counted them at break of day,
And when the sun set, where were they?"

Aeschylus, an Athenian poet who was present in the battle, gives a noble picture of it in his drama, *The Persians*. The speaker is a Persian, telling the story to the Persian queen-mother:

"Not in flight
The Hellenes then their solemn paeans sang,
But with brave spirits hastening on to battle.
With martial sound the trumpet fired those ranks:
And straight with sweep of oars that flew thro' foam,
They smote the loud waves at the boatswain's call . . .
And all at once we heard a mighty shout —
'*O sons of Hellenes, forward, free your country.*
. . . *The fight*
Is for our all.' . .

[1] A golden throne had been set up for Xerxes, that he might better view the battle (see map, p. 147). These lines are from Byron.

And all the shores and rocks were full of corpses,
And every ship was wildly rowed in flight,
All that composed the Persian armament.
And they [Greeks], as men spear tunnies, or a haul
Of other fishes, with the shafts of oars
Or spars of wrecks, went smiting, cleaving down;
And bitter groans and wailings overspread
The wide sea waves, till eye of swarthy night
Bade it all cease. . . . Be assured
That never yet so great a multitude
Died in a single day as died in this."

Bay of Salamis To-day; from a photograph.

Mardonius and Athens

On the day of Salamis the Sicilian Greeks won a decisive victory over the Carthaginians at *Himera*. That battle closed the struggle in the West. In Greece the Persian chances were still good. Xerxes, it is true, fled at once to Asia with his shattered fleet; but he left three hundred thousand chosen troops under Mardonius. Mardonius withdrew from central Greece for the time, to winter in the plains of Thessaly; but he would be ready to renew the struggle in the spring.

The Athenians began courageously to rebuild their city. Mardonius looked upon them as the soul of the Greek resistance, and in the early spring, *he offered them an alliance*, with

many favors and with the complete restoration of their city at Persian expense. Terrified lest the Athenians should accept so tempting an offer, Sparta sent profuse promises of help, begging them not to desert Hellas. There was no need of such anxiety. The Athenians had already sent back the Persian messenger: "Tell Mardonius that so long as the sun holds on his way in heaven, the Athenians will come to no terms with Xerxes." Of Sparta they asked only that she take the field early enough so that Athens need not be again abandoned without a battle.

Spartan delay or treachery

Sparta made the promise, but did not keep it. Mardonius approached rapidly. The Spartans found another sacred festival before which it would not do to leave their homes; and the Athenians, in bitter disappointment, a second time took refuge at Salamis. Mardonius burned Athens a second time, laid waste the farms over Attica, cut down the olive groves (the slow growth of many years), and then retired to the level plains of Boeotia.

Battle of Plataea

Athenian envoys had been at Sparta for weeks pleading for instant action, but they had been put off with meaningless delays. The fact was, in spite of her deceitful promises, Sparta still clung to the stupid plan of defending only the Isthmus. Some of her keener allies, however, at last made the Spartan government see the uselessness of the wall at Corinth if the Athenians should be forced to join Persia with their fleet, as, in that case, the Persians could land an army anywhere they chose in the rear of the wall.

Sparta decided to act, and she gave a striking proof of her power. The Athenian envoys had given up hope, and one morning they announced indignantly that they would at once return home. To their amazement, they were told that during the night 50,000 Peloponnesian troops, under the Spartan king Pausanias, had set out for central Greece.

The Athenian forces and other reinforcements raised the total of the Greek army to about 100,000, and the final contest with Mardonius was fought near the little town of *Plataea*. Spartan

generalship again blundered sadly; but the stubborn Spartan valor and the Athenian skill and dash won a victory which became a massacre. Only 3000 Persians escaped to Asia. The Greeks lost 154 men.

The meaning of the Greek victory

Plataea closed the first great period of the Persian Wars. *No hostile Persian ever again set foot in European Greece.* To the Greeks themselves their victory opened a new epoch. They were victors over the greatest of world-empires. New energies stirred in their veins. The matchless bloom of Greek art and thought, in the next two generations, had its roots in the soil of Marathon and Plataea.

Exercises. — 1. Summarize the causes of the Persian Wars. 2. Devise and memorize a series of *catch-words* for rapid statement that shall suggest the outline of the story quickly. Thus:

Persian conquest of Lydia and so of Asiatic Greeks; revolt of Ionia, 500 B.C.; Athenian aid; reconquest of Ionia. *First expedition against European Greece,* 492 B.C., through Thrace: *Mount Athos. Second expedition,* across the Aegean, two years later: capture of Eretria; landing at Marathon; excuses of Sparta; arrival of Plataeans; *Miltiades and battle of Marathon, 490 B.C.* (Let the student continue the series. *In this way, the whole story may be reviewed in two minutes,* with a *reference* to every important event.)

For Further Reading. — *Specially suggested:* Davis' *Readings* (I, Nos. 62–73) gives the whole story of Xerxes' invasion as the Greeks themselves told it, in about 47 pages. Nowhere else can it be read so well; and the high school student who does read that account can afford to omit modern authorities.

Additional: Cox's *Greeks and Persians* is an admirable little book: chs. v–viii may be read for this story. Many anecdotes are given in Plutarch's *Lives* ("Themistocles" and "Aristides"); some of these should be told in class.

CHAPTER XII

ATHENIAN LEADERSHIP, 478–431 B.C.

(From the Persian War to the Peloponnesian War)

The history of Athens is for us the history of Greece. — Holm.

League of Plataea

While the Greeks were still camped at Plataea, they agreed to hold there each year a Congress of all Greek cities. This League of Plataea was a wise attempt to turn the makeshift union of the patriotic Greek states into a complete and lasting union. Athens proposed the plan, with the generous understanding that Sparta should hold the headship. The noble project failed, and gave way to an Athenian league, because of Sparta's incompetence and pettiness — as we shall now see.

Athens builds walls

After Plataea, the Athenians began once more to rebuild their temples and homes. Themistocles, however, persuaded them to leave even these in ashes and first surround the city with walls. Corinth, hoping basely to gain Athens' old commercial prosperity for herself, urged Sparta to interfere; and, to her shame, Sparta did demand that the Athenians give up the plan: such walls, she said, might prove an advantage to the Persians if they should again occupy Athens.

Attica, which had been ravaged so recently by the Persians, was in no condition to resist a Peloponnesian army. So the wily Themistocles gained precious time by having himself sent to Sparta to discuss the subject. There he put off the settlement of the matter from day to day, with skillful excuses; and meanwhile the Athenians, neglecting all private matters, toiled at the walls with desperate haste — men, women, children, and slaves. No material was too precious. Inscribed tablets

and fragments of sacred temples and even monuments from the burial grounds were seized for the work. Then, when messengers informed Themistocles that the walls were high enough to be defended, he came before the Lacedaemonians [1] and told them bluntly that henceforward "they must deal with the Athenians as with men who knew quite well what was best for their own and the common good."

After so providing security for Athens, Themistocles went on to establish her naval and commercial supremacy by two great measures.

1. He secured a vote from the Assembly ordering that twenty new ships should be added *each year* to the war fleet.

2. He provided the city with a port secure against either storm or human attack.

Piraeus fortified

Athens lay some miles from the shore. Until a few years before, her only port had been an open and unsafe roadstead, — the Phalerum; but during his archonship in 493, Themistocles had given the city a magnificent harbor, by improving the inclosed bay of the *Piraeus*, at great expense. Now he persuaded the people to *fortify* this port on the land side with a massive wall of solid masonry, clamped with iron, sixteen feet broad and thirty feet high, so that old men and boys might easily defend it against any enemy. *The Athenians now had two walled cities*, each four or five miles in circuit, and only four miles apart; and the alien merchants, who dwelt at the Athenian ports, and who had fled at the Persian invasion, — many of them to Corinth, — came thronging back.

Victory at Mycale

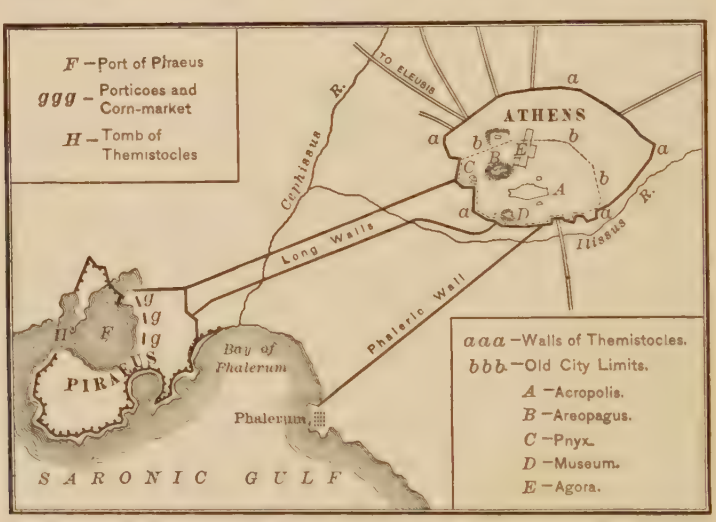
The war with Persia was still going on, but only on the Ionian coast. In the early spring of 479, a fleet had crossed the Aegean to assist Samos in revolt against Persia. A Spartan commanded the expedition, but three fifths of the ships were Athenian. On the very day of Plataea these forces defeated a great Persian army at *Mycale*, on the coast of Asia Minor, and

[1] Lacedaemonia is the name given to the whole Spartan territory. See map, p. 126. Read in Thucydides (p. 174) the story of how Themistocles provided for his own safety at Sparta.

seized and burned the three hundred Persian ships. *No Persian fleet showed itself again in the Aegean for nearly a hundred years.* Persian garrisons remained in many of the islands, for a time; but Persia made no attempt to reinforce them.

Sparta withdraws: Athens the leader against Persia

This victory of Mycale was a signal for the cities of Ionia to revolt again against Persia. The Spartans, however, shrank from the task of defending Hellenes so far away, *and proposed instead to remove the Ionians to European Greece.* The Ionians



ATHENS AND ITS PORTS.[1]

refused to leave their homes, and the Athenians in the fleet declared that Sparta should not so destroy "Athenian colonies." *The Spartans seized the excuse to sail home*, leaving the Athenians to protect the Ionians as best they could. The Athenians gallantly undertook the task, and began at once to expel the Persian garrisons from the islands of the Aegean.

The next spring (478) Sparta thought better of the matter, and sent her king *Pausanias* (p. 150) to take command of the allied fleet. Pausanias had always had his full share of Spartan

[1] The "Long Walls" were built later (p. 160).

arrogance, and the victory at Plataea had turned his head completely. The Ionians soon found his insolence unbearable, and asked the Athenians to take the leadership. Just then, too, it was discovered that Pausanias had been offering to betray Hellas to Persia. Sparta recalled him, to stand trial, and sent another general to the fleet. The allies, however, refused to receive another Spartan commander. *Then Sparta and the Peloponnesian league withdrew from the war*, and leadership fell to Athens.

Confederacy of Delos

The allies now organized a new confederacy. *Aristides*, the commander of the Athenian ships, proposed a plan of union, appointing the number of ships and the amount of money that each of the allies should furnish each year for the war. The courtesy and tact of the Athenian, and his known honesty, made all the states content with his arrangements.[1]

This union was called the Confederacy of Delos, because its seat of government and its treasury were to be at the island of Delos (the center of an ancient Ionian amphictyony). Here an annual congress of deputies from the different cities of the League was to meet. Each city had one vote — like the American States under the old Articles of Confederation. Athens was the "president" of the League, and her generals commanded the fleet. In return, she furnished nearly half of all the ships and men, — far more than her proper share.

The purpose of the League was to free the Aegean completely from the Persians, and to keep them from ever coming back. The allies meant to make the union *perpetual*. Lumps of iron were thrown into the sea when the oath of union was taken, as a symbol that the oath should be binding until the iron should float. *The League was composed mainly of Ionian cities, interested in commerce.* It was a natural rival of Sparta's *Dorian inland league*. The short-lived League of Plataea had dissolved into these two hostile leagues.

The League of Delos did its work well. Its chief military

[1] Exercise. — 1. Could Themistocles have served Athens at this time as well as Aristides did? 2. Report upon the later life of Themistocles.

Growth of the League

hero was the Athenian *Cimon*, son of Miltiades. Year after year, under his command, the allied fleet reduced one Persian garrison after another, until the whole region of the Aegean — all its coasts and islands — was free. Naturally, the League grew in size. It came to include nearly all the islands of the Aegean and the cities of the northern and eastern coasts. The cities on the shores of the Black Sea, too, were added; and, even more than before, the rich trade of that region streamed through the Hellespont to the Piraeus.

All the cities of the Aegean regions enjoyed the benefits of the League; but some of its members soon began to shirk. As

PART OF A TRIREME, an Athenian warship, — from an Athenian relief. Only the highest "bank" of rowers is visible, but the oars of the two other banks are shown. See p. 161.

The "League" of equals becomes the Athenian Empire

soon as the pressing danger was over, *many cities chose to pay more money, instead of furnishing ships and men.* Athens, on the other hand, eagerly accepted both burdens and responsibilities. The fleet became almost wholly Athenian. Then it was no longer necessary for Athens to consult the allies as to the management of the war, and the congress at Delos became of little consequence.

Then, here and there, cities began to refuse even the payment of money. This, of course, was secession. Such cities said that Persia was no longer dangerous, and that the need of the League was over. But the Athenian fleet, patroling the Aegean, was all that kept the Persians from reappearing; and Athens,

with good reason, held the allies by force to their promises. In 467, when the union was only ten years old, Naxos, one of the most powerful islands, refused to pay its contributions. Athens at once attacked Naxos, and, after a stern struggle,

Map of Athens, with some structures of the Roman period. — The term "Stoa," which appears so often in this map, means "porch" or portico. These porticoes were inclosed by columns, and their fronts along the Agora formed a succession of colonnades. Only a few of the famous buildings can be shown in a map like this. The "Agora" was the great public square, or open market place, surrounded by shops and porticoes. It was the busiest spot in Athens, the center of the commercial and social life of the city, where men met their friends for business or for pleasure.

brought it to submission. *But the conquered state was not allowed to return into the union.* It lost its vote in the congress, and *became a mere subject of Athens.*

From time to time, other members of the League attempted secession, and met a like fate. Athens took away their fleets, leveled their walls, and made them pay a tribute. Usually a

subject city was left to manage its internal government in its own way; but it could no longer have political alliances with other cities, and sometimes its citadel was held by an Athenian garrison.

Athens a "tyrant city"

Under these conditions, Athens grew more and more arbitrary, until she treated the loyal cities much like those that had rebelled. The confederacy of equal states became an empire, with Athens for its "tyrant city." [1] The meetings of the congress ceased altogether. Athens removed the treasury from Delos, and began to use the funds and resources of the union for her own glory.

And her work

Athens, however, did continue faithfully to do the work for which the union had been created; and on the whole, despite the strong tendency to city independence, the subject cities seem to have been well content. In nearly all of them the ruling power became an Assembly like that at Athens; and the bulk of the people looked gratefully to Athens for protection against the oligarchs. As an Athenian orator said, "*Athens was the champion of the masses, denying the right of the many to be at the mercy of the few.*"

For Further Reading. — *Specially suggested:* The only passage in Davis' *Readings* for this period is I, No. 74, on Cimon. Bury, 228–242, covers the period. *Instead of* Bury, the student may well read Chapter 1 in Cox's *Athenian Empire*. Plutarch's *Themistocles* and *Aristides* continue to be valuable for *additional* reading.

[1] By 450 B.C. Lesbos, Chios, and Samos were the only states of the League which had not become "subject states." Athens, however, had other independent allies that had never belonged to the Delian Confederacy — like Plataea and Corcyra in Greece, Rhegium in Italy, and Segesta in Sicily.

ATHENIAN EMPIRE
at its height
(Omitting Allies in Sicily and Italy)
SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 80 100
Allied States
Dependent States
Longitude East from Greenwich
Epidamnus
Apollonia
CORCYRA
IONIAN SEA
LEUCAS
CEPHALLENIA
ZACYNTHUS
THESSALY
ACHAEA
AETOLIA
Naupactus
Corinth
Megara
Athens
Piraeum
AEGINA
Troezene
ARGOLIS
Argos
Sparta
MESSENIA
LACONIA
Messenian Gulf
Laconian Gulf
Argolic Gulf
Corinthian Gulf
Ambracian Gulf
Potidaea
Olynthus
Mt. Olympus
Pella
Amphipolis
Eion
THASOS
LEMNOS
AEGEAN SEA
LESBOS
SCYROS
CHIOS
SAMOS
Miletus
DELOS
PAROS
NAXOS
MELOS
THERA
RHODES
Xanthus
Lazonienne
Sardia
Tmolus Mt.
Lampsacus
Troy
Mt. Ida
Rhyndacus R.
Hermus R.
Caicus R.
Cayster R.
Maeander R.
Mycale
Mt. Dindymus
Byzantium
PROPONTIS
Hellespont
Strymon R.
Axius R.
Haliacmon R.
Peneus R.
Achelous R.
Thermaic Gulf
Strymonic Gulf
Pagasaean Gulf
Boeotia
Thebes
Chalcis
Eretria
Oenophyta
Marathon
Phlius
Mycenae
Nemea
Cleonae
Argos
Tiryns
Epidaurus
Hermione
Asine
Cape Malea
Cape Taenarum
Cape Matapan
Cape Acritas
Cape Tenos
Cape Malea
Cape Krio
Cape Sigrium
Cape Khelidonia
Cape Chelidonia
Cape Phoenix
Cape Pachynus
Cape Carpathus
Cape Crio
Cape Alexandretta
Cape Anemurium
Cape Chelidonia
Cape Khelidonia
Cape Sigrium
Cape Krio

CHAPTER XIII

FIRST PERIOD OF STRIFE WITH SPARTA, 461–445 B.C.

Rivalry of Sparta and Athens

Meantime Sparta and Athens had quarreled, and their strife made the history of Hellas for many years. Sparta took the first step. In 465 Thasos, a member of the Confederacy of Delos, revolted; and Athens was employed for two years in conquering her. During the struggle, Thasos asked Sparta for aid; and Sparta, though still pretending friendship for Athens, began secret preparations to invade Attica.

Sparta calls for Athenian help

This treacherous attack was prevented by a terrible earthquake which destroyed part of Sparta and threw the whole state into confusion. The Helots revolted, and Messenia (p. 126) made a desperate attempt to regain her independence. Instead of attacking Athens, Sparta, in dire need, called upon her for aid.

Spartan insult and an open quarrel

At Athens this request led to a sharp dispute. The democratic party was opposed to sending help; but *Cimon* (p. 156), leader of the aristocratic party, urged that the true policy was for Sparta and Athens to aid each other in keeping a joint leadership of Hellas. Athens, he said, ought not to let her yoke-fellow be destroyed and Greece be lamed. This generous advice prevailed; and Cimon led an Athenian army to Sparta's rescue.

A little later, however, the Spartans began to suspect the Athenians, groundlessly, of the same bad faith of which they knew themselves guilty, and sent back the army with insult. Indignation ran high at Athens. Cimon was ostracized (461 B.C.), and the two great powers of Greece stood in open opposition, ready for war.

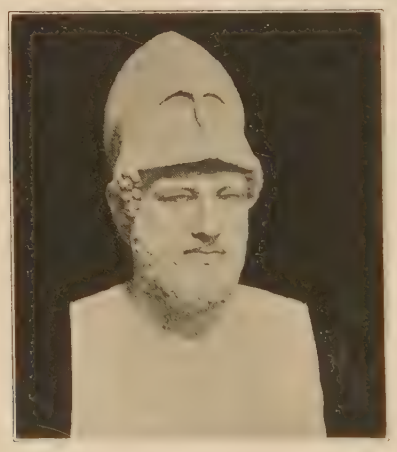
Pericles' plans for Athens

The leader of the Athenian democracy now was a young man known as Pericles, already famous as an orator and a general.

Thus far, Athens had been a sea power: Pericles planned to make her mistress also of inland Greece, in Sparta's place.

Pericles shuts Sparta up in the Peloponnesus

Sparta's most powerful ally was Corinth. To protect herself against conquest by Corinth, little Megara asked Athenian protection. To accept Megara as an ally meant war, but Pericles welcomed her because of her ports on the Corinthian Gulf (map, p. 126). By joining Megara and these ports by long walls across the Isthmus, Pericles then shut Sparta safely up within the Peloponnesus.



PERICLES. — A portrait bust now in the Vatican, Rome.

And builds up Athenian allies in central and northern Greece

In Central Greece, oligarchic Thebes had become Sparta's friend. Therefore, to lessen the power of Thebes, Pericles set up democracies in the other cities of Boeotia. Phocis and Locris then joined Athens, — so that she held the gate of Central Greece at Thermopylae, toward the north, as well as that at the Isthmus. Beyond those gates, even at Sparta's door, Argos leagued herself with Athens; and from the far north, friendly Thessalian chiefs sent their famous cavalry to fight Pericles' battles.

The Long Walls

At this time, too, Athens completed her own fortifications by building the *Long Walls* to the Piraeus (maps, pages 147, 154). These walls were 30 feet high and 12 feet thick — so that a chariot-road ran along the top. They made Athens absolutely safe from siege, so long as she could keep her supremacy on the sea; and they added to the city a large open space where the country people might take refuge if Attica were invaded.

The Empire was at its height about the year 460. The activity of Athens was amazing, and it is impossible for us even

to name the many instances of her splendid daring. She captured Aegina, her ancient enemy, struck Corinth staggering blows again and again, and repeatedly swept the coasts of the Peloponnesus, burning the Spartan docks there. At the same time, without lessening her usual fleet in the Aegean, she sent a mighty armament of 250 ships to continue the war against Persia by helping Egypt to revolt.

The Athenian Empire at its height

Such a fleet called for from 2500 to 5000 soldiers and for 50,000 sailors. A Greek warship of this period was a "three-banker" (p. 156). It was rowed by oarsmen arranged on three benches, one above another. The wars which the Greeks waged in these three-bankers were hardly more fierce than those that modern scholars have waged — in ink — about them. Some have held that each group of three oarsmen held only one oar. This view is now abandoned — because of the evidence of the "reliefs" on Greek monuments. Plainly each group of three had three separate oars, of different lengths. The oars projected through port-holes, and the 174 oarsmen were protected from arrows by the wooden sides of the vessel. Sometimes the upper bank had no protection. There were about 20 other sailors to each ship, for helmsman, lookouts, overseers of the oarsmen, and so on. And a warship never carried less than ten fully armed soldiers. The Athenians usually sent from 20 to 25 in each ship.

The ships were about 120 feet long, and less than 20 feet wide. The two masts were always lowered for battle. Two methods of attack were in use. If possible, a ship crushed in the side of an opponent by ramming with its sharp bronze prow. This would sink the enemy's ship at once. Almost as good a thing was to run close along her side (shipping one's own oars on that side just in time), shivering her long oars and hurling her rowers from the benches. This left a ship as helpless as a bird with a broken wing.

Twice, when Athens' hands were fullest and when every available man of military age was absent, Corinth managed to land an army in Athenian territory. Athens scorned to recall a man. Each time her boys and old men drove out the invaders.

Disaster and peril

But the resources of the city had been severely strained in these imperialistic schemes, and a sudden series of blows well-nigh ruined her. The expedition to Egypt had at first been brilliantly successful, promising to shut Persia off altogether from the Mediterranean — and from contact with Europe.

But disaster followed, and the ships and whole army in Egypt were lost. This stroke alone would have broken down any other Greek state. Next, Megara massacred the Athenian garrison it had invited in, turning over the Isthmus gate to Sparta, and a Spartan army invaded Attica. At the same moment, the oligarchs won the upper hand in the Boeotian cities: and all Boeotia, except faithful Plataea, fell away from Athens.

THE ACROPOLIS. — A "restoration" by Lambert.

The Thirty Years' Truce, 445 B.C.

The activity and fine generalship of Pericles saved Attica and the Aegean Empire; but the inland possessions and alliances were for the most part lost. In 445 B.C. a Thirty-Years' Truce was made with Sparta. The long struggle with Persia had worn itself out just before. For the next fifteen years, Athens had peace. Then the truce was to be broken by the great Peloponnesian War. That struggle ruined the promise of Greece. Before taking up its story, we will stop to survey Greek life at its highest glory, in the Athens of Pericles.

FOR FURTHER READING. — *Specially suggested:* Davis' *Readings*, I, Nos. 73–75; Bury, 352–363. *Additional:* Cox's *Athenian Empire* and the opening chapters of Grant's *Greece in the Age of Pericles* and of Abbott's *Pericles*.

CHAPTER XIV

THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE IN PEACE

I. POWER AND GOVERNMENT

Athens the leading power of the world in 450 B.C.

The Athenians had proved more than a match for huge Persia. Their fame was enough to keep Carthage from renewing her attack on Sicily. Their colonies in Thrace easily held in check the rising Macedonian kingdom. Rome was still a barbarous village on the Tiber bank. In the middle of the fifth century B.C., the center of power in the world was the Athenian Empire.

Population and wealth

The cities of the Empire counted some three millions of people. The number seems small to us; but the population of the world was much smaller then than now, and these were all wealthy, progressive communities.

Attica itself contained 300,000 people (about as many as live in Minneapolis). Nearly half of these were slaves or aliens. This left some 175,000 citizens, of whom 35,000 were men fit for soldiers. Outside Attica, there were 75,000 more citizens, — *cleruchs* (p. 121), whom Pericles had sent to garrison outlying parts of the empire.

The Empire was rich. Athens drew a yearly income of about four hundred talents ($440,000 in our values) from her Thracian mines and from the port dues and the taxes on alien merchants. The tribute from the subject cities amounted to $660,000. This was much less than it would have cost the cities merely to defend themselves against pirates, had Athenian protection been removed. *The Asiatic Greeks paid only one sixth as much as they had formerly paid Persia.* Athens continued to bear her full share of the imperial burden.

Growth of democracy

Seventy years had passed between the reforms of Clisthenes and the truce with Sparta. During this time the government was not made over at any one moment as at the time of Solon and of Clisthenes, but it had continued to grow more and more democratic. The poorest citizens had been made eligible for office. Otherwise, the change had been not so much in the letter of the law as in the spirit of the people — in their will and their skill to use their power. *Four steps* in this development are worth noting.

Power of the elected Generals

1. When Themistocles carried his great measures, like improving the Piraeus and building a fleet, he was an Archon. But when Pericles guided Athenian policy, he was a *General* (p. 125). The Generals had become the "administration." It was they who usually proposed the levy of troops, the building of ships, the raising of money, the making of peace or war. Any other citizen *might* propose these things; but the Assembly was most likely to listen to those whom it had chosen to plan for them. Then when the Assembly had decided to do any of these things, the Generals saw to the execution of them. They could also call special meetings of the Assembly at will and they had the right to speak in the meeting whenever they wished.

And the "demagogues"

But any prominent speaker, trusted by the people, was known as a "demagogue," or "leader of the people." Though out of office, a "leader of the people" exercised greater influence than any General without the people's confidence. To make things work smoothly, therefore, it was desirable that the Board of Generals should contain the most trusted "leader of the people" for the time being.

Pericles' rule

Pericles was recognized "demagogue" for many years, and was fifteen times elected "president of the Board of Generals." Almost always he was the spokesman of that Board before the Assembly. For a quarter of a century he was practically an elected dictator. Thucydides calls Athens for this period "a democracy in name, ruled really by its ablest citizen."

Pericles belonged to the ancient nobility of Athens, but

to families that had always taken the side of the people. His mother was a niece of Clisthenes. His supremacy rested in no way upon flattering arts. His proud reserve verged on haughtiness, and he was rarely seen in public. He scorned to show emotion. His stately gravity and unruffled calm were styled Olympian by his admirers — who added that, like Zeus, he could on occasion overbear opposition by the majestic thunder of his oratory. The long and steady confidence given him

PART OF THE PNYX. — The photograph shows little more than the Bema, or platform, from which the speaker faced the people on the gently rising hillside, which is not shown.

honors the people of Athens no less than it honors Pericles himself. His noblest praise is that which he claimed for himself upon his deathbed, — that, with all his authority, and despite the bitterness of party strife, "no Athenian has had to put on mourning because of me."

The Assembly

2. The Assembly met on the Pnyx, a sloping hill whose side formed a kind of natural theater. There were forty regular meetings each year, and many special meetings. Thus a patriotic citizen was called upon to give at least one day a week to the state in this matter of political meetings alone.

The Assembly had made great gains in power. All public officials had become its obedient servants. The Council (p. 119) existed not to guide it, but to do its bidding. The Generals were its creatures, and *might be deposed by it any day*. No act of government was too small or too great for it to deal with. It was as if the citizens of Boston or Chicago were to meet day by day to govern the United States, and, at the same time, to attend to all their own local affairs.

Juries

3. "Juries" of citizens had been introduced by Solon, and their importance became fully developed under Pericles. Six thousand citizens were chosen each year for this duty, — mostly from the older men past the age for active work. One thousand of these were held in reserve. The others were divided into *ten jury courts* of five hundred men each. Such a jury was "both judge and jury": it decided each case by a majority vote, *and there was no appeal from its verdict.*

Grumblers and wits said savage things sometimes about these juries, very much as like writers attack *our* judicial system to-day. No doubt the Athenian juries gave some wrong verdicts. Passion and bribery at times interfered with justice. But on the whole the system worked well. In particular, any citizen of a subject city, wronged by an Athenian officer, was sure of redress before these courts, — which was one reason why Athenian officials in subject cities behaved well.

Payment for all public service: a democratic device

4. Since these courts tried political offenders, it was essential that they should not fall wholly into the hands of the rich. To prevent this, Pericles wisely introduced a small payment for jury duty. The amount, three obols a day (about nine cents), would furnish a day's food for one person in Athens, but it would not support a family. Afterward payment was extended to other political services. It used to be said that such payment "corrupted" the Athenians; but it was as proper and necessary as payment of congressmen and judges with us.

A Restoration of the Parthenon

Political intelligence in Athens

About 10,000 Athenians were engaged at all times in public work. Scattered over the empire were some 700 leading officials to represent the imperial city, with many assistants. In the city itself, there were 700 city officials (overseers of weights and measures, harbor inspectors, and so on), 500 Councilmen, and the 6000 jurymen. Always about a fourth of the grown-up citizens were in the civil service.[1] Many of the offices, too, could be held only once by the same man, *so that each Athenian citizen could count upon serving his city at some time in almost every office.*

Such a system could not have worked without a high *average* of intelligence in the people. It *did* work well. With all its faults, the rule of Athens in Greece was vastly superior to the rude despotism that followed under Sparta. Indeed it was far the wisest and the best that had been seen in any great state up to that time. Of the effect upon the Athenians themselves, a great English historian has said (Freeman, *Federal Government*):

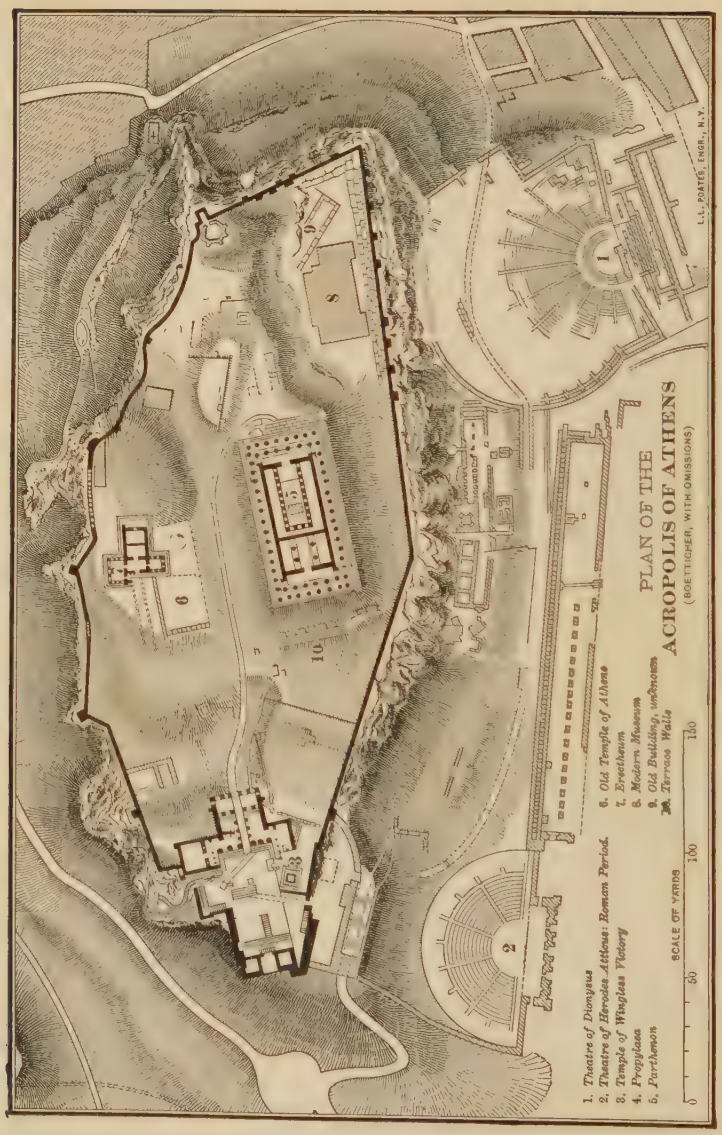
"The Athenian democracy made a greater number of citizens *fit to use power* than could be made fit by any other system. . . . The Assembly was an assembly of citizens — of *average* citizens — but it was an assembly of citizens among whom the *political average stood higher than it ever did in any other state.* . . . The Athenian, by constantly hearing questions [of government] argued by the greatest orators the world ever saw, received a political training which nothing else in the history of mankind has been found to equal."

II. INTELLECT AND ART

Architectural splendor of Athens

Great as was the service of Hellas to the world in free government, still her chief glory lies in her art and her literature; and it was in the Athens of Pericles that these forms of Greek life developed most fully. Pericles made Athens the most beautiful city in the world, so that, ever since, her mere ruins have enthralled the admiration of men. Greek art was just

[1] *Civil* service is a term used in contrast to *military* service. Our postmasters are among the civil servants of the United States, as a city engineer or a fireman is in the city civil service.


1. Theatre of Dionysus
2. Theatre of Herodes Atticus; Roman Period.
3. Temple of Wingless Victory
4. Propylaea
5. Parthenon
6. Old Temple of Athena
7. Erechtheum
8. Modern Museum
9. Old Building, unknown
10. Terrace Walls
PLAN OF THE
ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS
(DOERPFELD, WITH OMISSIONS)
SCALE OF YARDS
0 60 100 130
L. L. POATES, 1908., N.Y.

reaching perfection; and everywhere in Athens, under the charge of the greatest artists of this greatest artistic age, arose temples, colonnades, porticoes, inimitable to this day.

The center of this architectural splendor was the ancient citadel, the Acropolis. That massive rock now became the "holy hill." No longer needed as a fortification, it was crowned with white marble, and devoted to religion and art (p. 162). It was inaccessible except on the west. Here was built a stately

The Acropolis

The Propylaea of the Acropolis To-day. — The Temple of the Wingless Victory (left) has been shown on a larger scale on page 117.

stairway of sixty marble steps, leading to a series of noble colonnades and porticoes (*the Propylaea*) of surpassing beauty. From these the visitor emerged upon the leveled top of the Acropolis, to find himself surrounded by temples and statues, any one of which alone might make the fame of the proudest modern city. Just in front of the entrance stood the colossal bronze statue of *Athene the Champion*, whose broad spear point, glittering in the sun, was the first sign of the city to the mariner far out at sea. On the right of the entrance, and a little to the rear, was the temple of the *Wingless Victory;*

and near the center of the open space rose the larger structures of the *Erechtheum* (p. 197) and the *Parthenon*.

The Parthenon

The Parthenon ("maiden's chamber") was the temple of the virgin goddess Athene. It remains peerless in loveliness among the buildings of the world. It was in the Doric style (p. 116), and of no great size, — only some 100 feet by 250, while the marble pillars supporting its low pediment rose only 34 feet from their base of three receding steps. The effect

FIGURES FROM THE PARTHENON FRIEZE. — These sculptures are now in the British Museum (p. 171).

was due, not to the sublimity and grandeur of vast masses, but to the perfection of proportion, to exquisite beauty of line, and to the delicacy and profusion of ornament.

In the pediments were carved fifty life-size or colossal statues; and, within the colonnade, around the entire wall of the inner building, ran a broad band of relief sculptures, some four feet high, containing nearly 500 figures. This "frieze" represented an Athenian procession carrying offerings to the patron goddess Athene. All these sculptures, large or small, were finished with perfect skill, even in those parts so placed that no

observer could see them "without going on the roof or opening a wall." [1]

Greek sculpture

The ornamentation of the Parthenon, within and without, was cared for by *Phidias* and his pupils. Phidias still ranks as the greatest of sculptors. Much of the work on the Acropolis he merely planned, but the great statues of Athene were his special work. The bronze statue has already been mentioned. Besides this, there was, *within the temple*, an even more glorious statue in gold and ivory, smaller than the other, but still five or six times larger than life.

When the Turks held Greece, they used the Parthenon as a powder house. In 1687 an enemy's cannon ball exploded the powder, and left the temple in ruins, much as we see it to-day. About the year 1800, Lord Elgin secured most of the sculptures from the ruin for the British Museum, where they are known now as the *Elgin Marbles*.

In the age of Pericles, the chief form of poetry became the *tragic drama* — the highest development of Greek literature. As the tenth century was the epic age, and the seventh and sixth the lyric (p. 111), so the fifth century begins the dramatic period.

The drama

The drama *began* in the songs and dances of a chorus in honor of Dionysus, god of wine, at the spring festival of flowers and at the autumn vintage festival. The *leader* of the chorus came at length to recite stories, between the songs. Thespis at Athens, in the age of Pisistratus, had developed this leader into an *actor, — apart from the chorus and carrying on dialogue with it.* Now *Aeschylus* added another actor, and his younger rival, *Sophocles*, a third. All the action had to be such as could have taken place in one day, and without change of scene.

[1] Compare Longfellow's lines:

"In the older days of art,
Builders wrought, with utmost care,
Each obscure and unseen part, —
For the gods see everywhere."

Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides

Aeschylus, Sophocles, and their successor, *Euripides*, are the three greatest Greek dramatists. Together they produced some two hundred tragedies, of which thirty-one survive.

Aristophanes

Comedy also grew out of the worship of the wine god, — not from the great religious festivals, however, but from the rude village merrymakings. Even upon the stage, comedy kept traces of this rude origin in occasional coarseness; and it was sometimes misused, to abuse men like Pericles and Socrates. Still, its great master, *Aristophanes*, for his wit and genius, must always remain one of the bright names in literature.

SOPHOCLES. — A portrait statue, now in the Lateran Museum at Rome.

The theater

Every Greek city had its "theater." A theater was a semicircular arrangement of rising seats, often cut into a hillside, with a small stage at the open side of the circle for the actors. There was no *inclosed* building, except sometimes a few rooms for the actors, and there was none of the gorgeous stage scenery which has become a chief feature of our theaters. Neither did the Greek theater run every night. Performances took place at only two periods in the year — at the spring and autumn festivals to Dionysus — for about a week each season, and in the daytime.

The great *Theater of Dionysus*, in Athens, was on the southeast slope of the Acropolis — the rising seats,[1] cut in a semicircle

[1] The stone seats were not carved out of the hill until somewhat later. During the age of Pericles, the men of Athens sat all over the hillside, on the ground or on stools which they brought with them.

into the rocky bluff, looking forth, beyond the stage, to the hills of southern Attica and over the blue waters of the Aegean. It could seat almost the whole free male population.

Pericles secured from the public treasury the admission fee to the Theater for each citizen who chose to ask for it. The Greek stage was the modern pulpit and press in one, and this free admission was for religious and intellectual training, rather than for amusement. *It was a kind of public education for grown-up people.*

THEATER OF DIONYSUS AT ATHENS — present condition.

Oratory

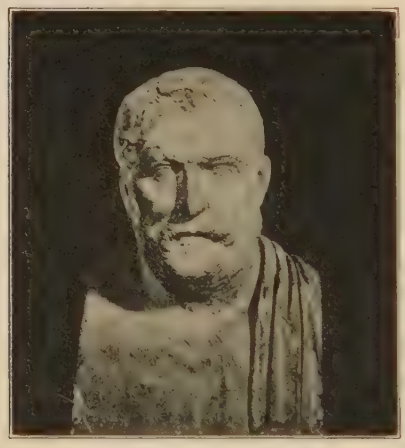
The art of public speech was studied zealously by all who hoped to take part in public affairs. Among no other people has oratory been so important and so effective. For almost two hundred years, from Themistocles to Demosthenes (p. 210), great statesmen swayed the Athenian state by their sonorous and thrilling eloquence; and the citizens, day after day, packed the Pnyx (p. 165) to hang breathless for hours upon the persuasive lips of their leaders.

Unhappily, Pericles did not preserve his orations. But fortunately we *do* still have many of the orations of Demos-

thenes, of the next century; and from them we can understand how the union of fiery passion and convincing reasoning and polished beauty of language made oratory rank with the drama and with art as the great means of public education.

History

Prose literature now began, with history as its leading form. The three great historians of the time are *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, and *Xenophon*. For charm in story-telling they have never been excelled. Herodotus was a native of Halicarnassus in Asia Minor. He traveled widely, lived long at Athens as the friend of Pericles, and finally in Italy completed his great *History of the Persian Wars*, with an introduction covering the world's history up to that event. Thucydides, an Athenian general, wrote the history of the Peloponnesian War (pp. 195 ff.) in which he took part. Xenophon also was an Athenian. He completed the story of the Peloponnesian War, and gave us, with other works, the *Anabasis*, an account of the expedition of the Ten Thousand Greeks through the Persian Empire in 401 B.C. (p. 204).



THUCYDIDES — a portrait bust, now in the Capitoline Museum at Rome.

Philosophy

The age of Pericles saw also a rapid development in philosophy,[1] — and this movement, too, had Athens for its most important home. *Anaxagoras* of Ionia, the friend of Pericles, taught that the ruling principle in the universe was Mind: "In the beginning all things were chaos; then came Intelligence, and set all in order." He also tried to explain comets

[1] This section can best be read in class, and talked over. It may well be preceded by a reading of pp. 112–113 upon the *earlier* Greek philosophy.

and other strange natural phenomena, which had been looked upon as miraculous, and he amazed men of his time most of all by asserting that the sun was a red-hot mass probably as large as the Peloponnesus.

Compared with the earlier philosophy

The philosophers of the sixth century had tried to answer the question, — How did the universe come to be? The philosophers of the age of Pericles asked mainly, — How does man *know* about the universe? That is, *they tried to explain the working of the human mind.* These early attempts at explanation were not very satisfactory, and so next came the *Sophists*, with a skeptical philosophy. Man, the Sophists held, cannot reach the truth itself, but must be content to know only *appearances.*

Socrates

Socrates is sometimes confounded with the Sophists. Like them, he abandoned the attempt to understand the material universe, and ridiculed gently the attempted explanations of his friend, Anaxagoras. But he really differed widely from the Sophists. He took for his motto, "*Know thyself,*" and considered philosophy to consist in *right thinking upon human conduct.* True wisdom, he taught, is *to know* what is good *and to do* what is right; and he tried to make his followers see the difference between justice and injustice, temperance and intemperance, virtue and vice.

Thus Socrates completes the circle of ancient philosophy.

1. Thales and his followers (p. 112) tried to find out how the world came to be — out of what "first principle" it arose (water, fire, etc.).

2. Anaxagoras and his contemporaries tried to find out how man's mind could understand the outside world. (His teaching that *mind* was the real principle of the universe formed a natural step from 1 to 2.)

3. The Sophists declared all search for such explanations a failure — beyond the power of the human mind.

4. Socrates sought to know, not about the outside world at all, but about himself and his duties.

The "Socratic method"

Socrates was a poor man, an artisan who carved little images of the gods for a living; and he constantly vexed his wife, Xanthippe, by neglecting his trade, to talk in the market place. He wore no sandals, and dressed meanly. His large bald head and ugly face, with its thick lips and flat nose, made him good sport for the comic poets. His practice was to entrap unwary antagonists into public conversation by asking innocent-looking questions, and then, by the inconsistencies of their answers, to show how shallow their opinions were. This proceeding afforded huge merriment to the crowd of youths who followed the bare-footed philosopher, and it made him bitter enemies among his victims. But his beauty of soul, his devotion to knowledge, and his largeness of spirit make him the greatest name in Greek history.

Socrates' trial and death

When seventy years old (399 B.C.) Socrates was accused of impiety and of corrupting the youth. He refused to defend himself in any ordinary way, and was therefore declared guilty. His accusers then proposed a death penalty. It was the privilege of the condemned man to propose any other penalty, and let the jury choose between the two. Instead of proposing a considerable fine, as his friends wished, Socrates said first that he really ought to propose that he be maintained in honor at the public expense, but, in deference to his friends' entreaties, he finally proposed a small fine. The angered jury, by a close vote, pronounced the death penalty.

It happened that the trial had taken place just before the annual sailing of a sacred ship to Delos to a festival of Apollo. According to Athenian law, no execution could take place until the return of this vessel. Thus for thirty days Socrates remained in jail, conversing daily in his usual manner with groups of friends who visited him. Two of his disciples (Plato and Xenophon) have given us accounts of these talks. On the last day, the theme was immortality. Some of the friends fear that death may be an endless sleep, or that the soul, on leaving the body, may "issue forth like smoke . . . and vanish into nothingness." But Socrates comforts and consoles them, —

convincing them, by a long day's argument, that the soul is immortal, and picturing the lofty delight he anticipates in questioning the heroes and sages of olden times when he meets them soon in the abode of the blest. Then, just as the fatal hour arrives, one of the company (Crito) asks, "In what way would you have us bury you?" Socrates rejoins:

"'In any way you like: only you must first get hold of me, and take care that I do not walk away from you.' Then he turned to us, and added, with a smile: 'I cannot make Crito believe that *I* am the same Socrates who has been talking with you. He fancies that I am another Socrates whom he will soon see a dead body — and he asks, How shall he bury me? I have spoken many words to show that *I* shall leave you and go to the joys of the blessed. . . . Be of good cheer, then, my dear Crito, and say that you are burying my *body* only — and do with that what is usual, or as you think best.'"

Friends of Socrates had made arrangements for his escape from prison before the day set for his execution; but he steadfastly refused to go. To their pleadings he answered only by a playful discourse to the effect that "Death is no evil; but for Socrates to 'play truant' and injure the laws of his country, would be an evil." And so he drank the fatal hemlock with a gentle jest upon his lips.[1] His condemnation is the greatest blot upon the intelligence of the Athenian democracy.

Extent of Athenian culture

In the fifth century B.C. Athens gave birth to more great men of the first rank, it has been said, than the whole world has ever produced in any other equal period of time, and to that same center there swarmed other famous men from less-favored parts of Hellas. Despite the condemnation of Socrates, no other city in the world afforded such freedom of thought, and nowhere else was ability, in art or literature, so appreciated. The names that have been mentioned give but a faint impression of the splendid throngs of brilliant poets, artists, philosophers, and orators, who jostled one another in the streets of the beautiful city that clustered round the temple-crowned Acropolis.

[1] Other anecdotes of Socrates are given in Davis' *Readings*, I, Nos. 89–92.

Pericles' glorification of Athens

At the close of the second year of the Peloponnesian War, Pericles delivered a great oration in honor of the Athenian dead. This famous speech, as Thucydides reports it, contained a splendid glorification of the Athenian spirit.

"And we have not forgotten to provide for our weary spirits many relaxations from toil. . . . In the matter of education, whereas our adversaries from early youth are always undergoing laborious exercises which are to make them brave, we live at ease, and yet are equally ready to face the perils which they face. . . .

THE ACROPOLIS TO-DAY. — Cf. p. 162.

"*We are lovers of the beautiful, yet simple in our tastes; and we cultivate the mind without loss of manliness.* Wealth we employ, not for talk and ostentation, but when there is a real use for it. To avow poverty with us is no disgrace; the true disgrace is in doing nothing to avoid it. An Athenian citizen does not neglect the state because he takes care of his own household; and even those of us who are engaged in business have a very fair idea of politics. *We regard a man who takes no interest in public affairs, not as a harmless, but as a mischievous character.* . . .

"In the hour of trial, Athens is superior to the report of her. No enemy who comes against her is indignant at the reverses which he

sustains at the hands of such a city; no subject complains that his masters are unworthy of him. And we shall assuredly not be without witnesses. There are mighty monuments of our power which will make us the wonder of this and of succeeding ages. . . . For we have compelled every land and every sea to open a path for our valor, and have everywhere planted eternal memorials of our friendship and of our enmity. . . . *Athens is the school of Hellas.*"

Limitations in Greek culture

Three limitations in Greek culture must be noted:

1. It rested on slavery. The main business of the citizen was government and war. Trades and commerce were left

Greek Girls at Play. — Vase painting.

largely to the free non-citizen class, and unskilled hand labor was performed mainly by slaves. As a rule, it is true, this slavery was not harsh. The slaves were frequently Greeks, of the same speech and culture as their masters; but in some ways, this made their lot all the harder to bear. There was always the *possibility* of cruelty; and in the mines, even in Attica, the slaves were killed off brutally by merciless hardships.

2. Greek culture was for males only. It is not likely that the wife of Phidias or of Thucydides could read. The women of the working classes, especially in the country, necessarily

mixed somewhat with men in their work. But among the well-to-do, women had lost the freedom of the simple and rude society of Homer's time, without gaining much in return. Except at Sparta, where physical training was thought needful for them, they passed a secluded life even at home, in separate women's apartments. They had no public interests, appeared rarely on the streets, and never met their husbands' friends. At best, they were only higher domestic servants.

The rule is merely emphasized by its one exception. No account of the Athens of Pericles should omit mention of *Aspasia*. She was a native of Miletus, and had come to Athens as an adventuress. There she won the love of Pericles. Since she was not an Athenian citizen he could not marry her; but, until his death, she lived with him in all respects as his wife — a union not grievously offensive to Greek ideas. The dazzling wit and beauty of Aspasia made her home the focus of the intellectual life of Athens. Anaxagoras, Socrates, Phidias, Herodotus, delighted in her conversation; and Pericles consulted her on the most important public matters. But she is the only woman who need be named in Greek history after the time of Sappho and Corinna (p. 112).

3. With all their intellectual power, the Greeks of Pericles' day had not thought of finding out the secrets of nature by *experiment*. They had only such knowledge of the world about them as they had *chanced upon*, or such as they could attain by *observation of nature as she showed herself to them*. To ask questions, and make nature answer them by systematic experiment, is a method of reaching knowledge which belongs, in any marked degree, only to recent times. But, *before* the Greeks, men had reached about all the mastery over nature that was possible without that method. The Greek mind achieved wonders in literature and art and philosophy; *but it did little to advance man's power over nature.*

This limitation should not be overrated. *We* sometimes think of civilization as consisting mainly in material comforts. The Greeks knew little of such things. It is none too easy for

us really to picture a world without railways, or telegraphs, or automobiles, or telephones, or electric lights, or gas, or coal, or refrigerator cars to bring to our breakfast table the fruits of distant lands. But, to make the Greek world at all real to us, we must peel off from our world much more than this. We must think of even the best houses without plumbing — or drains of any sort; beds without sheets or springs; rooms without fire; traveling without bridges and without even a stage coach; shoes without stockings; clothes without buttons, or even a hook and eye. The Greek had to tell time without a watch, and to cross seas without a compass. He was civilized without being what we should call "comfortable." But, perhaps all the more, he felt keenly the beauty of sky and hill and temple and statue and the human form.

GREEK WOMEN AT THEIR MUSIC. — Vase painting.

In one important respect, however, this lack of control over nature was a serious lack. Without modern scientific knowledge, and modern machinery, it has never been possible for man to produce wealth fast enough so that *many* could take sufficient leisure for refined and graceful living. *There was too little wealth to go round.* The civilization of the few rested *necessarily* upon slavery. This third limitation was the cause of the first.

Religion and morals

The moral side of Greek culture falls short of the intellectual side. Their religion had little to do with conduct toward men. The good sense and clear thinking of the Greeks had freed their religion from the grossest features of Oriental worship; but their moral ideas are to be sought mainly in their philosophy and literature, rather than in their stories about the gods.

The Greeks accepted frankly the search for pleasure as natural and proper. Self-sacrifice had little place in their ideal; but they did deeply admire the beauty of self-control and moderation. No society ever produced so many great men, but many societies have produced better men. The wily Themistocles, rather than Socrates or Pericles, is the *typical* Greek hero.

At the same time, a few Greek teachers give us some of the noblest morality of the world, as the following brief quotations show:

a. From Aeschylus.

"Justice shines in smoke-grimed houses and holds in regard the life that is righteous; she leaves with averted eyes the gold-bespangled palace which is unclean, and goes to the abode that is holy."

b. Antigone, the heroine of a play by *Sophocles*, had knowingly incurred the penalty of death by disobeying an unrighteous command of a wicked king. She justified her deed proudly, —

> "Nor did I deem thy edicts strong enough
> That thou, a mortal man, should'st overpass
> *The unwritten laws of God that know no change.*"

c. From Socrates to his Judges after his condemnation to death (Plato's *Apology*). — "Wherefore, O judges, be of good cheer about death, and know this of a truth — that no evil can happen to a good man, either in life or after death. He and his are not neglected by the gods. . . . The hour of departure has arrived, and we go our ways — I to die, you to live. Which is better, God only knows."

d. From Plato (the greatest disciple of Socrates, p. 231). — "My counsel is that we hold fast ever to the heavenly way and follow justice and virtue. . . . Thus we shall live dear to one another and to the gods, both while remaining here, and when, *like conquerors in the games*, we go to receive our reward."

e. A Prayer of Socrates (from Plato's *Phaedrus*). — "Beloved Pan, and all ye other gods who haunt this place, give me beauty in the inward soul; and may the outward and inward man be at one. May I reckon the wise to be the wealthy, and may I have such a quantity of gold as none but the temperate can carry."

For Further Reading. — *Specially suggested:* Davis' *Readings*, I, Nos. 76–80 (11 pages, mostly from Plutarch and Thucydides); and Nos. 88–97 (24 pages on moral ideas); Bury, 363–378.

Additional: Readable treatments will be found in Cox's *Athenian Empire*, Grant's *Age of Pericles*, or Abbott's *Pericles*. Dr. Davis' *Victor of Salamis* is the best fiction. *A Day in Old Athens*, by the same author, is a vivid presentation of various matters touched upon in this and the next chapter.

CHAPTER XV

LIFE IN THE AGE OF PERICLES

The home

Houses, even those of the rich, were very simple. The poor could not afford more; and the rich man thought his house of little account. It was merely a place to keep his women folk and young children and some other valuable property, and to sleep in. His real life was passed outside.

The poor man's house was a one-story mud hut; and even a "well-to-do" house was merely a wooden frame, covered with sun-dried clay. Houses were built flush with the street, and on a level with it, — without even sidewalk or steps between. The door, too, usually opened out — so that passers-by were liable to bumps, unless they kept well to the middle of the narrow street.

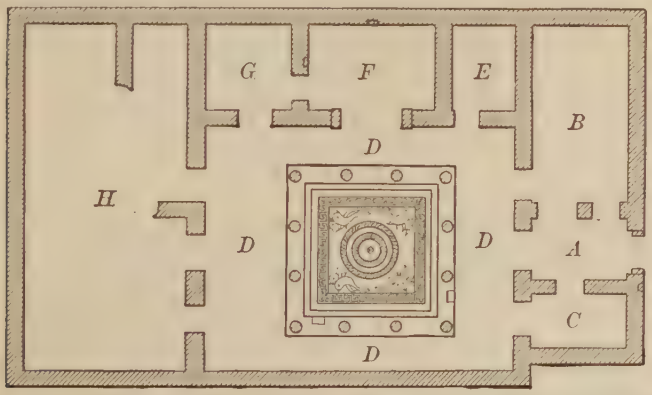
These buildings have not left many remains; and most of what we know about them comes from brief references in Greek literature. On the opposite page is given the ground plan of one of the few private houses of the fifth century which has been unearthed in a state to be traced out. This house was at Delos; and it was something of a mansion, for the times.

The street door opened into a small vestibule (*A*), about six feet by ten. This led to a square "hall" (*D*, *D*, *D*, *D*), which was the central feature of every Greek house of importance. In the center of the hall there was a "court," *open to the sky*, and surrounded by a row of columns ten feet high. The columns were to uphold their side of the hall ceiling, — since the hall had no wall next the court. The court was paved with a beautiful mosaic. (Commonly, however, all floors in private houses were made of concrete, or merely of beaten earth.)

From the hall there opened six rooms more. The largest (*H*) was the dining room and kitchen, with a small recess for the chimney in one corner. The other rooms were store rooms, or sleeping rooms. Any

overflow of guests could be taken care of by couches in the hall. This whole floor was for males only. There was an upper story for the women, reached by a steep stairway in the lower hall, and projecting, perhaps, part way over the street. Near the street door, on the outside, there was a niche in the wall for the usual statue of Hermes.

If a rich man's house had only one story, there was at the rear a second half for the women, connected with the men's half by a door in the partition wall. This rear half of the house, in such cases, had its own central hall and open court, and an arrangement of rooms similar to that in the front half.



Plan of a Fifth Century Delos House. — After Gardiner and Jevons.

The doorways of the interior were usually hung with curtains; but store rooms had doors with bronze locks. Bronze keys are sometimes found in the ruins. The door between the men's and women's apartments was kept locked: only the master of the house, his wife, and perhaps a trusted slave, had keys to it. Sometimes a rear door opened into a small, walled garden.

City houses were crowded close together, with small chance for windows on the sides. Sometimes narrow slits in the wall opened on the street. Otherwise, except for the one street door, the front was a blank wall. The Greeks did not have glass panes for windows. The houses were dark; and most of

the dim light came from openings on the central court, through the hall.

Discomfort

In cold damp weather (of which, happily, there was not much), the house was exceedingly uncomfortable. The kitchen had a real chimney, with cooking arrangements like those in ancient Cretan houses (p. 88). But for other rooms the only artificial heat came from small fires of wood or charcoal in braziers, — such as are still carried from room to room, on occasion, in Greece or Italy or Spain. The choking fumes which filled the room were not much more desirable than the cold, which they did little to drive away. Sometimes a large open fire in the court gave warmth to the hall. At night, earthenware lamps, on shelves or brackets, furnished light. *There were no bathrooms, and no sanitary conveniences.*

Professional lodging houses had begun to appear, with several stories of small rooms, for unmarried poor men and for slaves who could not find room in the master's house.

Street squalor

The residence streets were narrow and irregular, — hardly more than crooked, dark alleys. They had no pavement; they were littered with all the filth and refuse from the houses; and slops from upper windows sometimes doused unwary passers-by. Splendid as were the *public* portions of Athens, the residence quarters were much like a squalid Oriental city of to-day. Public fountains, supplied by aqueducts (p. 122) with pure water, furnished drinking water; but there was no provision for sewers or for flushing the streets with water. Wealthy men were beginning to build more comfortably on the hills near the city; but war kept this practice from becoming common.

The Greek family

In the Oriental lands a man was at liberty to have as many wives in his household as he chose to support. Poor men usually were content with one; but, among the rich, polygamy was the rule. *A Greek had only one wife.* Imperfect as Greek family life was, the adoption of "monogamy" was a great step forward.

The Homeric poems give many pictures of lovely home life; and the Homeric women meet male guests and strangers with a

natural dignity and ease. In historic Greece, as we have noted (p. 120), this freedom for women had been lost — except, in some degree, at Sparta. Marriage was arranged by parents. The young people as a rule had never seen each other. Girls were married very young — by fifteen or earlier. Not till the

Vase Painting of Women at Their Toilet.

evening before her marriage did the girl put away her doll, — offering it then solemnly on the shrine of the goddess Artemis. Among the wealthy classes, the wives spent the rest of their days indoors — except on some rare festival occasions. The *model* wife learned to oversee the household (Davis, *Readings*, I, No. 99); but in most homes this duty was left to trained

slaves, and the wife dawdled away the day listlessly at her toilet or in vacant idleness, much as in an Eastern harem to-day, waiting for a visit from her master. The vase pictures show her commonly with a mirror. Unwholesome living led to excessive use of red and white paint, and other cosmetics, to imitate the complexion of youth.

Law and public opinion allowed the father to "expose" a new-born child to die. This practice was common among the poor, especially for girl babies. Boys were valued more. They would offer sacrifices, in time, at the father's tomb, *and they could fight for the city*. Till the age of seven, boys and girls lived together in the women's apartments. Then the boy began his school life (p. 192). The girl continued her childhood until marriage. Much of her time was spent at music and in games. One very common game was like our "Jackstones," except that it was played with little bones.

Dress

Greek dress is well known, as to its general effect, from pictures and sculpture. Women of the better classes wore flowing garments, fastened at the shoulders with clasp-pins, and gathered in graceful loose folds at the waist. The robe was so draped as to leave the arms, and sometimes one shoulder, bare. Outside the house, the woman wore also a kind of long mantle, which was often drawn up over the head.

The chief article of men's dress was a sleeveless shirt of plain white linen or wool, which fell about to the knees. For active movements, this was often clasped with a girdle about the waist, and shortened by being drawn up so as to fall in folds over the girdle. Over this was draped a long mantle, merely an oblong piece of white cloth, without fastenings, falling in folds to the feet. (See *Sophocles* on p. 172.) The soles of the feet were commonly protected by sandals. Socrates went barefooted; and this was the rule at Sparta for all men under middle age.

Occupations

Good "society" looked down upon all forms of money-making by personal exertion. A physician who took pay for his services was despised almost as much as was a carpenter or shoemaker. This attitude is natural to a slaveholding society.

It contains less promise for mankind than does even our modern worship of the dollar. The Greek wanted money enough to supply all the comforts that he knew about; but he wanted it to come without *his* earning it. He was very glad to have slaves earn it for him.

Most of the hand labor was busied in tilling the soil. The farmer manured his land skillfully; but otherwise he made no advance over the Egyptian farmer — who had not been compelled to enrich his land. Some districts, like Corinth and Attica, could not furnish food enough for their populations

Vase Painting, showing the Trojan prince enticing Helen away. The painting is of the fifth century, and shows styles of dress of that time.

from their own soil. Athens imported grain from other parts of Hellas and from Thrace and Egypt. This grain was paid for, in the long run, by the export of her factories (p. 109). Davis' *Readings* (I, No. 76) gives a list of twenty-five handicrafts used in beautifying the Acropolis. In these factories, the place taken now by machinery was taken then, in large part, by slaves. The owner of a factory did not commonly own all the slaves employed in it. Any master of a skilled slave might "rent" him out to a factory.

Work of the poor

The villages of Attica, outside Athens, were mainly occupied by farmers and farm laborers. Commerce (as well as much manufacturing) was centered in the Piraeus. In Athens, the

poorer classes worked at their trades or in their shops from sunrise to sunset — with a holiday about one day in three. Their pay was small, because of the competition of slave labor; but they needed little pay to give them most of the comforts of the rich — except constant leisure. And we must understand that the Greek artisan — sometimes even the slave — *took a noble pride in his work*. The stone masons who chiseled out the fluted columns of the Parthenon felt themselves fellow workmen with Phidias who carved the pediments. The Greek artisan worked deliberately and found delight in his work.

Delight in work

GREEK BARBER, in Terra Cotta: from Tanagra.

The rich

A rich Athenian citizen owned lands outside the city, worked by slaves and managed by some trusted steward. Probably he also had money invested in trading vessels, though he left their management to agents in the Piraeus. Some revenue he drew from money at interest with the bankers; and he drew large sums, too, from the "rent" of slaves to the factories.

Daily life

Like the poorer citizens, the rich man rose with the sun. A slave poured water over his face and hands, or perhaps over his naked body, from a basin. (Poor men like Socrates bathed at the public fountains.) He then broke his fast on a cup of wine and a dry crust of bread. Afterward, perhaps he rode into the country, to visit one of his farms there, or for a day's hunting.

If, instead, he remained within the city, he left his house at once, stopping, probably, at a barber's, to have his beard and finger nails attended to, as well as to gather the latest

news from the barber's talk. The latter half of the morning would find him strolling through the shaded arcades about the market place, among throngs of his fellows, greeting acquaintances and stopping for conversation with friends — with whom, sometimes, he sat on the benches that were interspersed among the colonnades. At such times, he was always followed by one or two handsome slave boys, to run errands. At midday, he returned home for a light lunch. In the afternoon, if a student, he took to his rolls of papyrus. If a statesman, perhaps he prepared his speech for the next meeting of the Assembly. Sometimes, he visited the public gaming houses or the clubs. Then he bathed at a public bathing house, hot, cold, or vapor bath, as his taste decided; and here again he held conversation with friends, while resting, or while the slave attendants rubbed him with oil and ointment. The bath was usually preceded by an hour or more of exercise in a gymnasium.

Toward sunset, he once more visited his home, unless he was to dine out. If the evening meal was to be, for a rare occasion, at home and without guests, he ate with his family, — his wife *sitting* at the foot of the couch where he *reclined;* and soon afterward he went to bed. More commonly, he entertained guests — whom he had invited to dinner as he met them at the market place in the morning — or he was himself a guest elsewhere.

Such days were not allowed to become monotonous at Athens. For several years of his life, the citizen was certain to be busied most of the time in the service of the state (p. 167). At other times, the meetings of the Assembly and the religious festivals and the theater took at least one day out of every three.

The banquet

The evening banquet played a large part in Greek life. As guests arrived, they took their places in pairs, on couches, which were arranged around the room, each man reclining on his left arm. Slaves removed the sandals or shoes, washing the dust from the feet, and passed bowls of water for the hands. They then brought in low three-legged tables, one before each couch, on which they afterward placed course after course of food.

The meals were simple. Food was cut into small pieces in the kitchen. No forks or knives were used at table. Men ate with a spoon, or, more commonly, with the fingers; and at the close, slaves once more passed bowls for washing the hands. When the eating was over, the real business of the

School Scenes. — A Bowl Painting. — Instruments of instruction, mostly musical, hang on the walls. In the first half, one instructor is correcting the exercise of a boy who stands before him. Another is showing how to use the flute. The seated figures, with staffs, are "pedagogues."

evening began — with the wine. This was mixed with water, and drunkenness was not common; but the drinking lasted late, with serious or playful talk, and singing and story-telling, and with forfeits for those who did not perform well any part assigned them by the "master of the feast" (one of their

number chosen by the others when the wine appeared). Often the host had musicians come in, with jugglers and dancing girls. Respectable women never appeared on these occasions. Only on marriage festivals, or some special family celebration, did the women of a family meet male guests at all.

Education at Athens was in marked contrast with Spartan education (p. 128). It aimed to train harmoniously the intellect, the sense of beauty, the moral nature, and the body. At the age of seven the boy entered school, but he was constantly under the eye not only of the teacher, but of a trusted servant of his own family, called a pedagogue.[1] The chief subjects for study were Homer and music. Homer, it has well been said, was to the Greek as Bible, Shakespeare, and Robinson Crusoe. The boy learned to write on papyrus with ink. But papyrus was costly, and the elementary exercises were carried on with a sharp instrument on tablets coated with wax. No great proficiency was expected from the average rich youth in writing — since he would have slaves do most of it for him in after life. The schoolmaster indulged in cruel floggings on slight occasion (Davis' *Readings*, I, No. 94).

Education

THE WRESTLERS. — Myron.

Physical training began with the child and continued through old age. No Greek youth would pass a day without devoting some hours to developing his body and to overcoming any physical defect or awkwardness that he might have. All

[1] The word meant "boy-leader." Its use for "teacher" is later.

classes of citizens, except those bound by necessity to the workshop, met for exercise. The result was a perfection of physical power and beauty never attained so universally by any other people.

Imaginative Exercises. — 1. A captive Persian's letter to a friend after Plataea. 2. A dialogue between Socrates and Xanthippe. 3. An address by a Messenian to his fellows in their revolt against Sparta. 4. Extracts from a diary of Pericles. 5. A day at the Olympic games (choose some particular date).

Greek Women. — From a vase painting.

CHAPTER XVI

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR

431–404 B.C.

Distrust between Sparta and Athens

The cities of the Athenian empire were Ionian in blood, democratic in politics, commercial in interests. Most of the cities of the Peloponnesian league were Dorian in blood and aristocratic in politics, and their citizens were landowners. Athens stood for progress. Sparta was the champion of old ways. The differences between the Athenian and Spartan states gave rise to mutual distrust and dislike. It was easy for any misunderstanding to ripen into war.

Sparta breaks the Truce

Still, if *none* of the Peloponnesian cities had had interests on the sea, the two powers might each have gone its own way without crossing the other's path. But Corinth and Megara (members of Sparta's league) were trading cities; and, with the growth of the Athenian Empire, they felt the basis of their prosperity slipping from under them. They had lost the trade of the Aegean; and now Athens was reaching out also for the commerce of the western coasts of Greece. So Corinth persuaded Sparta to take up arms against Athens, before the Thirty Years' Truce (p. 162) had run quite half its length.

As an excuse [1] for war, Sparta sent an insolent demand that "tyrant Athens" set free the Aegean cities: "then she might still have peace with Sparta." For answer, the Athenian Assembly voted a resolution moved by Pericles: —

"We will grant independence to the cities . . . as soon as the Spartans allow *their* subject states [Messenia and the subject towns of Laconia] to be governed as they choose, and not by the will and interest of

[1] Special report: the narrative of the deliberations at Sparta regarding war or peace (note especially Thucydides' account of the Corinthian speech regarding Sparta and Athens in Davis' *Readings*, I, No. 77).

Sparta. *We are willing also to offer arbitration*, according to the treaty [the treaty of the Thirty Years' Truce]. We do not want to begin war, but shall know how to defend ourselves if we are attacked."

As Pericles frankly warned the Assembly, this reply meant war. And so in 431 began the "Peloponnesian War."

Strength of the two parties

The Peloponnesian league could muster a hundred thousand hoplites, against whom in that day no army in the world could stand; but it could not keep many men in the field longer than a few weeks. Sparta could not hope to capture Athens, therefore, and must depend upon ravaging Attic territory and inducing Athenian allies to revolt.

Athens had only some twenty-six thousand hoplites at her command, and half of these were needed for distant garrison duty. But she *had a navy even more unmatched on the sea than the Peloponnesian army was on land*. Her walls were impregnable. The islands of Euboea and Salamis, and the open spaces within the Long Walls, she thought, could receive her country people with their flocks and herds. Grain ships from the Black Sea coasts could enter the Piraeus as usual, however the Spartans might hold the open country of Attica. Athens could support her population for a time from her annual revenues and from the immense surplus of 6000 talents ($6,600,000) in her treasury.

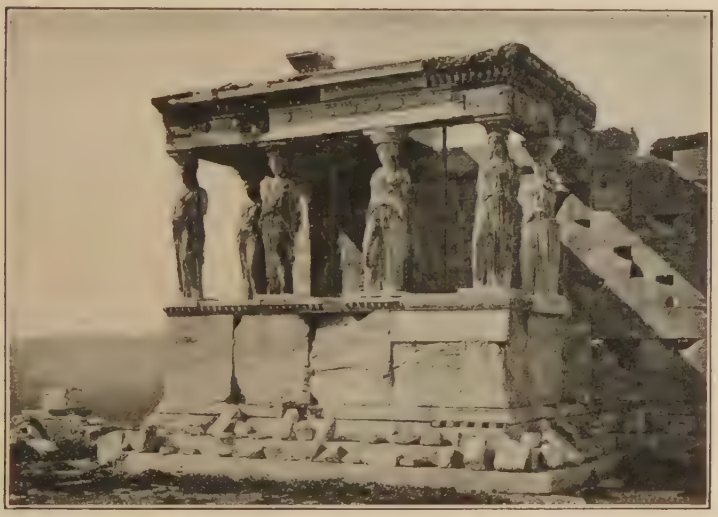
Early campaigns

When war began, the Spartans marched each year into Attica with overwhelming force, and remained there for some weeks, *laying waste the crops, burning the villages, and cutting down the olive groves*, up to the very walls of Athens. At first, with frenzied rage, the Athenians clamored to march out against the invader; but Pericles strained his great authority to prevent such a disaster, and finally he convinced the people that they must bear this insult and ruin with patience. Meantime, an Athenian fleet was always sent *to ravage the coasts and harbors of Peloponnesus* and to conquer various exposed allies of Sparta. Each party could inflict considerable damage, *but neither could get at the other to strike a vital blow*. The war promised to be a matter of endurance.

Athens had the stronger motive for holding out. She could not give up without ruin. Sparta could cease fighting without loss to herself; and Pericles hoped to tire her out.

The plague in Athens

But a tragic disaster fell upon Athens, which no one in that day could have foreseen. A terrible plague had been ravaging western Asia, and in the second year of the war it reached the Aegean. In Athens it was peculiarly deadly. The people of



A Portico of the Erechtheum To-day ("Porch of the Maidens"). — See p. 168. This use of the human figure for columns, to sustain weight, is very rare in Greek architecture, and is not wholly pleasing, even though the artist has secured an effect of serene repose.

all Attica, crowded into the one city, were living under unusual and unwholesome conditions; and the pestilence returned there each summer for several years. *It slew more than a fourth of the population, paralyzed industry,* and shattered for years the proud and joyous self-trust of the Athenian people. Says Thucydides, an eye witness:

"*The new arrivals from the country* were the greatest sufferers, — lodged during this hot season in stifling huts, where death raged without check. The bodies of dying men lay one upon another, and half-

dead creatures reeled about the streets, poisoning all the fountains and wells with their bodies, in their longing for water. The sacred places in which they had camped were full of corpses; for *men, not knowing what was to become of them, became wholly careless of everything.*"

The causes of the pestilence are told by the same author: — "When the country people of Attica arrived in Athens," he says, "a few had homes of their own, or found friends to take them in. But far the greater number had to find a place to live on some vacant spot or in the temples of the gods and chapels of the heroes. . . . Many also camped down in the towers of the walls, or wherever else they could; for the city proved too small to hold them." And, adds Thucydides with grim irony, "While these country folk were dividing the spaces between the Long Walls and settling there," the Generals and Council were "paying great attention to mustering a fleet for ravaging the Peloponnesian coasts."

THE HERMES OF PRAXITELES. — Praxiteles rivaled his master, Phidias (p. 171); and this statue, though so sadly mutilated, remains one of the most famous surviving masterpieces of Greek art. At Rome there is a beautiful copy of Praxiteles' *Satyr* — which plays a part in Hawthorne's story, *The Marble Faun*. See p. 199.

Later years of the war

The war dragged along with varying success for twenty-seven years — a whole generation growing up from the cradle to manhood in incessant war. *The contest ruined all hope of a free and united Greece; but after all it was not of such lasting importance as the preceding struggle between the Greek and Persian civilizations;* and only a few incidents require mention.

Death of Pericles

The deadliest blow of the plague was the striking down of Pericles in the third year of the war. Never had the Athenians

GREECE
at the beginning of the
PELOPONNESIAN WAR
SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 80 100
Athenian Empire
Sparta and her Allies
Longitude East from Greenwich
Epidamnus
Apollonia
Byzantium
PROPONTIS
BITHYNIA
Amphipolis
THASOS
Olyntus
Potidaea
Torone
Thracian Sea
IMBROS
LEMNOS
Lampsacus
Abydos
Cyzicus
Troy
CORCYRA
SYBOTA
Ambracia
Anactorium
LEUCAS
CEPHALLENIA
ZACYNTHUS
THESSALY
AETOLIA
Naupactus
ACHAIA
ARCADIA
Olympia
LACEDAEMON
Sparta
PYLOS
Messenian Gulf
Laconian Gulf
Argolic Gulf
Saronic Gulf
Corinth
Pellene
Megara
ATTICA
Athens
SALAMIS
AEGINA
Epidaurus
CEOS
ANDROS
TENOS
DELOS
NAXOS
MELOS
THERA
AEGEAN SEA
LESBOS
ARGINUSSAE IS.
Mytilene
Phocaea
CHIOS
Erythrae
Clazomenae
Colophon
Ephesus
SAMOS
ICARIA
Miletus
Halicarnassus
COS
Cnidus
Cynossema Pr.
RHODES
Xanthus
MYSIA
LYDIA
Sardis
Smyrna
CARIA
Hermus R.
Caystrus R.
Maeander R.
Macestus R.
Ryndacus R.
Hellespont
Pagasaean Gulf
Thermaic Gulf
Strymon R.
Canbunian Mts.
Mt. Olympus
Mt. Pelion
Mt. Ossa
Mt. Pindus
Mt. Tmolus
Mt. Ida
Mt. Sipylus
Mt. Latmus
Mt. Mycale
Mt. Cithaeron
Mt. Parnes
Mt. Hymettus
Mt. Pentelicus
Mt. Taygetus
Mt. Lycaeum
Mt. Pholoe
Mt. Ithome
Mt. Aenus
Mt. Oeta
Mt. Parnassus
Mt. Helicon
Mt. Pelion
Mt. Ossa
Mt. Olympus
Mt. Pindus
Mt. Tmolus
Mt. Ida
Mt. Sipylus
Mt. Latmus
Mt. Mycale
Mt. Cithaeron
Mt. Parnes
Mt. Hymettus
Mt. Pentelicus
Mt. Taygetus
Mt. Lycaeum
Mt. Pholoe
Mt. Ithome
Mt. Aenus
Mt. Oeta
Mt. Parnassus
Mt. Helicon

so needed his calm and fearless judgment. He was succeeded by a new class of leaders, — men of the people, like *Cleon* the tanner, — men of strong will and much force, but rude, untrained, and ready to surrender their own convictions in order to win the favor of the crowd. Such men led Athens into many blunders and crimes. Over against them stood only a group of incapable aristocrats, led by *Nicias*, a good but stupid man, and *Alcibiades*, a brilliant, unprincipled adventurer.

Athenian disaster in Sicily

The turning-point in the war was an unwise and misconducted Athenian expedition against Syracuse, a Dorian city which had been encroaching upon Ionian allies of Athens in Sicily. Two hundred perfectly equipped Athenian ships and over forty thousand men — among them eleven thousand of the flower of the Athenian hoplites — were pitifully sacrificed in Sicily by the superstition and miserable generalship of their leader, Nicias (413 B.C.).

COPY OF A SATYR BY PRAXITELES. — This is Hawthorne's "Marble Faun."

Even after this crushing disaster Athens refused peace that should take away her empire. Every nerve was strained, and the last resources and reserve funds exhausted, to build and man new fleets. The war lasted nine years more, and part of the time Athens seemed as supreme in the Aegean as ever. Two things are notable in the closing chapters of the struggle, — the attempt to overthrow democracy in Athens, and Sparta's betrayal of the Asiatic Greeks to Persia.

Rule of the Four Hundred

1. For a century, the oligarchic party had hardly raised its head in Athens; but in 411, it attempted once more to seize the government. Wealthy men of moderate opinions were wearied by the heavy taxation of the war. The democracy had shown itself unfit to deal with foreign relations, where secrecy and dispatch were essential; and its new leaders were particularly offensive to the old Athenian families.

Under these conditions, the officers of the fleet conspired with secret oligarchic societies at home. Leading democrats were assassinated; and the Assembly was terrorized into surrendering its powers to a council of *Four Hundred* of the oligarchs. But this body proved more incompetent than the Assembly had been, except in murder and plunder. After a few months, the Athenian fleet deposed its oligarchic officers. Then the democracy at home expelled the Four Hundred and restored the old government.

Sparta betrays the Asiatic Greeks to Persia

2. In 412, immediately after the destruction of the Athenian army in Sicily, Persian satraps appeared again upon the Aegean coast. Sparta at once bought the aid of their gold by betraying the freedom of the Asiatic Greeks, — to whom the Athenian name had been a shield for seventy years. Persian funds then built fleet after fleet for Sparta; and slowly Athens was exhausted, despite some brilliant victories.

Fall of Athens

In 405, the last Athenian fleet was surprised and captured at *Aegospotami* (Goat Rivers). Apparently the officers had been plotting again for an oligarchic revolution; and the sailors had been discouraged and demoralized, even if they were not actually betrayed by their commanders. Lysander, the Spartan commander, in cold blood put to death the four thousand Athenian citizens among the captives.

This slaughter marks the end. Athens still held out, despairing but stubborn, until starved into submission by a terrible siege. In 404, the proud city surrendered to the mercy of its foes. Corinth and Thebes wished to raze it from the earth, but Sparta had no mind to do away with so useful a check upon

those cities. She compelled Athens to renounce all claims to empire, to give up all alliances, to surrender all her ships but twelve, and to promise to "follow Sparta" in peace and war. The Long Walls and the defenses of the Piraeus were demolished, to the music of Peloponnesian flutes; and Hellas was declared free! *It remained only to see to what foreign master Greece should fall.*

For Further Reading. — *Specially suggested:* Davis' *Readings*, I, Nos. 81–86 (16 pages), gives the most striking episodes of the war, as they were told by the Athenian historians of the day, Thucydides and Xenophon. Plutarch's *Lives* ("Alcibiades," "Nicias," and "Lysander") is the next most valuable authority.

The following modern authorities continue to be useful: Bury, chs. x, xi; the closing parts of Grant's *Age of Pericles* and of Abbott's *Pericles;* and Cox's *Athenian Empire.* Bury gives 120 pages to the struggle, — too long an account for required class reading, but useful for special topics.

Exercises, upon some of the following: (1) Cleon's leadership. (2) The trial of the Athenian generals after the victory of Arginusae. (3) The massacre of the Mytilenean oligarchs (story of the decree and the reprieve). (4) Massacre of the Melians by Athens, 415 B.C. (5) Note the merciless nature of the struggle, as shown by other massacres of prisoners: *i.e.*, Thebans by Plataeans, 431 B. C; Plataeans by Thebans, 427 B.C.; thousands of Athenians in the mines of Syracuse; the four thousand Athenians after Aegospotami. (6) The career of Alcibiades. (7) Superiority of Athens in naval tactics — as illustrated by many victories over larger fleets.

CHAPTER XVII

FROM THE FALL OF ATHENS TO THE FALL OF HELLAS

404–338 B.C.

I. SPARTAN SUPREMACY, 404–371 B.C.

The cities of the old Athenian empire found that they had exchanged a mild, wise rule for a coarse and stupid despotism. Their old tribute was doubled; their self-government was taken away; bloodshed and confusion ran riot in their streets.

Rules of decarchies

Everywhere Sparta set up oligarchic governments. Usually the management of a city was given to a board of ten men, called a decarchy ("rule of ten"). To defend these narrow oligarchies against democratic risings, there was placed in many cities a Spartan garrison, with a Spartan military governor. The garrisons plundered at will; the governors grew rich from extortion and bribes; the decarchies were slavishly subservient to their Spartan masters, while they wreaked upon their fellow-citizens a long pent-up aristocratic vengeance, in confiscation, outrage, expulsion, assassination, and massacre.

Spartan decay

In Sparta itself luxury and corruption replaced the old simplicity. Property was gathered into the hands of a few, while many Spartans grew too poor to support themselves at the public mess (p. 128). These poorer men ceased to be looked upon as citizens. They were not permitted to vote in the Assembly, and were known as "Inferiors." The 10,000 citizens, of the Persian War period, shrank to 2000.

The Thirty at Athens

For a time even Athens remained a victim to Spartan tyranny, like any petty Ionian city. After the surrender, in 404, Lysander appointed a committee of thirty from the oligarchic clubs of Athens "to reëstablish the constitution of the fathers." This

committee was expected to undo the reforms of Pericles and Clisthenes and Solon, and to restore the ancient oligarchy. In actual fact they did worse than that: they published no constitution at all, but instead they filled all offices with their own followers and plotted to make their rule permanent.

These men (a triple decarchy) were known as "the Thirty Tyrants." They called in a Spartan garrison, to whom they gave the fortress of the Acropolis. They disarmed the citizens, except some three thousand of their own adherents. Then they began a bloody and greedy reign of terror. Rich democrats and alien merchants were put to death or driven into exile, in order that their property might be confiscated. (Davis' *Readings*, I, No. 100.) Despite the orders of Sparta, such exiles and other democratic fugitives were sheltered by Thebes. That city felt aggrieved that her services in the Peloponnesian War had received no reward from Sparta, and now she would have been glad to see Athens more powerful again. A year later, a daring band of these Athenian exiles marched secretly from Thebes by night and seized the Piraeus. The aliens of the harbor rose in their support, and they defeated the Spartan garrison and the forces of the Thirty.

Athenian democracy restored

The restored democracy showed itself generous as well as moderate. A few of the most guilty of the Thirty were punished, but for all others a general amnesty was declared. This moderation contrasted so favorably with the cut-throat rule of the recent Athenian experiments at oligarchy, that Athens was undisturbed in future by revolution.

March of the Ten Thousand

Meantime, important events were taking place in the East. In 401, the weakness of the Persian empire was shown strikingly. *Cyrus the Younger*, brother of the king Artaxerxes, endeavored to seize the Persian throne. While a satrap in Asia Minor, Cyrus had furnished Sparta the money to keep her fleet together before the battle of Goat Rivers; and now, through Sparta's favor, he was able to enlist ten thousand Greeks in his army.

Cyrus penetrated to the heart of the Persian Empire; but in a great battle near Babylon, he was killed, and his Asiatic troops

routed. *The Ten Thousand Greeks*, however, proved unconquerable by the Persian host of half a million. By treachery the Greek commanders were entrapped and murdered; but, under the inspiration of *Xenophon* the Athenian (pp. 52, 174), the Ten Thousand chose new generals and made a remarkable retreat to the Greek districts on the Black Sea.

New Persian wars

Until this time the Greeks had waged their contests with Persia only along the *coasts* of Asia. After the Ten Thousand had marched, almost at will, through so many hostile nations, *the Greeks began to dream of conquering the Asiatic continent.* In 396, Agesilaus, king of Sparta, invaded Asia Minor with a large army; but no sooner was Sparta engaged with Persia than enemies rose up in Greece itself. Thebes, Corinth, Athens, and Argos formed an alliance against her, and shattered her empire in Europe.

Greek cities league against Sparta

Peace of Antalcidas, 387 B.C.

After a few years of indecisive war, Sparta sought peace with Persia. In 387 the two powers invited all the Greek states to send deputies to Sardis, *where the Persian king dictated the terms.* The document read —

> "King Artaxerxes deems it just that the *cities in Asia, with the islands of Clazomenae and Cyprus, should belong to himself.* The rest of the Hellenic cities, both great and small, he will leave independent, save Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, which three are to belong to Athens as of yore. Should any of the parties not accept this peace, I, Artaxerxes, together with those who share my views [the Spartans], will war against the offenders by land and sea."

Persia and Sparta held that these terms dissolved all the other leagues (like the Boeotian, of which Thebes was the head), but that they did not affect Sparta's control over Laconia, or weaken the Peloponnesian confederacy.

Thus Persia and Sparta again conspired to betray Hellas. Persia helped Sparta to keep the European Greeks divided and weak; and Sparta helped Persia recover her old rule over the Asiatic Greeks. The enemies of Sparta had just before been using Persian aid against her; *but the policy had been first introduced by Sparta in seeking Persian help against Athens*

(p. 200); *and so far no other Greek state had offered to surrender Hellenic cities to barbarians as the price of such aid.*

Sparta's brutal jealousy

Sparta had saved her power by infamy. She used it, with the same brutal cunning as in the past, to keep down the beginnings of greatness elsewhere in Greece. Arcadia had shown signs of growing strength; but Sparta now broke up the leading city, *Mantinea*, and dispersed the inhabitants in villages. In Chalcidice, the city of *Olynthus* had organized its neighbors into a promising league. A Spartan army compelled this league to break up. While on the way to Chalcidice, part of this army, *by treachery, in time of peace, seized the citadel of Thebes.* And, when the Athenian naval power began to revive, *a like treacherous, though unsuccessful, attempt was made upon the Piraeus.*

The Disc Thrower. — After Myron. Now in the Vatican.

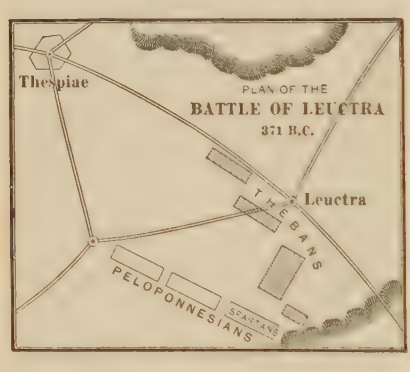
Democratic revolution in Thebes

But soon there came a revolution at Thebes. The Spartan garrison there had set up an oligarchic Theban government, which had driven crowds of citizens into exile. Athens received them, just as Thebes had sheltered Athenian fugitives in the time of the Thirty Tyrants. In 379, a number of daring young men among the exiles returned secretly to Thebes, and, through the aid of friends there, were admitted (disguised as dancing girls) to a banquet where the Theban oligarchs were already deep in wine. They killed the drunken traitors with their daggers. Then, running through the streets, they called the people to expel the Spartans from

the citadel. *Thebes became a democracy; and Thebes and Athens joined in a new war upon Sparta.*

In 371 B.C., the contending parties, wearied with fruitless strife, concluded peace. But when the treaty was being signed, *Epaminondas*, the Theban representative, *demanded the right to sign for all Boeotia*, as Sparta had signed for all Laconia. Athens would not support Thebes in this position. So Thebes was excluded from the peace, and Sparta turned to crush her.

Battle of Leuctra



A powerful Spartan army at once invaded Boeotia — and met with an overwhelming defeat *by a smaller Theban force at Leuctra.* This amazing result was due to the military genius of Epaminondas. Hitherto the Greeks had fought in long lines, from eight to twelve men deep. Epaminondas massed his best troops in a solid column, *fifty men deep*, on the left, opposite the Spartan wing in the Peloponnesian army. His other troops were spread out as thin as possible. The solid phalanx was set in motion first; then the thinner center and right wing advanced more slowly *so as to engage the attention of the enemy opposite*, but not to come into action. The weight of the massed Theban charge crushed through the Spartan line, and trampled it under. Four hundred of the seven hundred Spartans, with their king and with a thousand other Peloponnesian hoplites, went down in ten minutes.

And Epaminondas

Fall of Sparta

The mere loss of men was fatal enough, now that Spartan citizenship was so reduced (the number of full citizens after this battle did not exceed fifteen hundred); but the effect upon the military prestige of Sparta was even more deadly. *At one stroke Sparta sank into a second-rate power;* but she met her fate with heroic composure. The news of the overthrow did

not interfere with a festival that was going on in Sparta, and only the relatives of the *survivors* of the battle appeared in mourning.

II. THEBAN SUPREMACY

Leadership of Epaminondas

For a brief time after Leuctra, Thebes was the head of Greece, and Epaminondas was the head of Thebes, much as Pericles had been of Athens. Epaminondas was great as general, statesman, and philosopher, and greatest as a man, lofty and lovable in nature. In his earlier days he had been looked upon as a dreamer; and when the oligarchs of Thebes drove out "*active*" patriots they only sneered while Epaminondas continued calmly to *talk* of liberty to the young. Later, it was recognized that, more than any other man, he had prepared the way for a free democracy. Unhappily, the few years remaining of his life Epaminondas was compelled to give mainly to war. Laconia was repeatedly invaded. During these campaigns, on one side of Sparta, Epaminondas freed Messenia — which for two centuries had been a mere district of Laconia — and on the other side, organized Arcadia into a federal union, so as to "surround Sparta with a perpetual blockade." The great Theban aided the Messenians to found a new capital, *Messene*, and in Arcadia he restored *Mantinea*. In this district he also founded *Megalopolis*, "the Great City," by combining forty scattered villages.

Death of Epaminondas and fall of Thebes

The leadership of Thebes, however, rested solely on the supreme genius of her one statesman. In 362, for the fourth time, Epaminondas marched against Sparta, and at *Mantinea* won another complete victory. The Spartans had been unable to learn; and went down again before the same tactics that had crushed them nine years earlier at Leuctra. Mantinea was the greatest land battle ever fought between Hellenes; but the victory bore no fruit, for Epaminondas fell on the field, and his city sank at once to a slow and narrow policy.

The failure of the Greek cities to unite into larger states made it certain that sooner or later they must fall to some outside power. Sparta and Thebes (with Persian aid) had

been able to prevent Athenian leadership; Thebes and Athens had overthrown Sparta; Sparta and Athens had been able to check Thebes. Twenty years of anarchy followed; and then Greece fell to a foreign master.

From the Persian wars to the coming Macedonian conquest, Greek life had lasted only a century and a half. The first half of this short period was the glorious age of Athenian leadership; the second half was an age of Spartan shame and of profitless wars.

For Further Reading. — Davis' *Readings*, I, Nos. 100 (the "Thirty Tyrants"), 101 (Epaminondas), and 102 (Leuctra). Plutarch's *Lives* ("Agesilaus" and "Pelopidas").

III. THE MACEDONIAN CONQUEST

Who the Macedonians were

Until some years after Leuctra, the Macedonians (part of the outer rim of the Greek race) had been only a loose union of barbarous tribes. Forty years later, Alexander the Great could say to them: —

> "My father, Philip, found you a roving, destitute people, without fixed homes and without resources, most of you clad in the skins of animals, pasturing a few sheep among the mountains. . . . He gave you the soldier's cloak to replace the skins, and led you down from the mountains into the plain. . . . He made you to dwell in cities, and provided you with wholesome laws and institutions. Over those same barbarians, who before had plundered you and carried off as booty both yourselves and your substance, he made you masters and lords."

Philip II

This Philip II of Macedon was ambitious, crafty, sagacious, persistent, unscrupulous, an unfailing judge of character, and a marvelous organizer. He had made his people a nation, and he set himself to make them true Greeks by making them the leaders of Greece.

Philip's methods

At his accession Macedon was a poor country without a good harbor. The first need was an outlet on the sea. Philip found one by conquering the Chalcidic peninsula. Then his energy developed the gold mines of that district until they

furnished him a yearly revenue of a thousand talents — as large as that of Athens at her greatest power.

After other conquests at the expense of barbarous neighbors (map below), Philip turned to Greece itself. Here he used an adroit mingling of cunning, bribery, and force. In all Greek

states, among the pretended patriot statesmen, there were secret servants in his pay. He set city against city; and the constant tendency to quarrels among the Greeks played into his hands.

The phalanx

Philip's wealth made it possible for him to keep a disciplined army ready for use. This army was as superior to the two-months citizen armies of Hellas as his secret and persistent

"diplomacy" was more cunning and effective than the changing counsels and open plans of a public assembly. During a stay at Thebes while a boy, Philip had become familiar with the Theban phalanx. He now enlarged and improved it, so that the ranks presented five rows of bristling spears projecting beyond the front soldier. The flanks were protected by light-armed troops, and the Macedonian nobles furnished the finest of cavalry.

PHILIP II OF MACEDON. — A gold medallion by Alexander.

At the same time a field "artillery" first appears, made up of curious engines able to throw darts and great stones three hundred yards. *Such a mixture of trained troops, on a permanent footing, was altogether novel.* Philip created the instrument with which his son was to conquer the world.

Demosthenes and his Philippics

The only man who saw clearly the designs of Philip, and constantly opposed them, was Demosthenes the Athenian. Demosthenes was the greatest orator of Greece (p. 174). To check Macedonia became the one aim of his life; and the last glow of Greek independence flames up in his passionate appeals to Athens that she defend Hellas against Macedon as she had once done against Persia. "Suppose," he cried, "that you have one of the gods as surety that Philip will leave *you* untouched, in the name of all the gods, it is a shame for you in ignorant stupidity to sacrifice the rest of Hellas!" But the noble orations (the *Philippics*) by which Demosthenes sought to move the Athenian assembly to action against Philip, though unrivaled in oratory, had little practical effect.

In 338 B.C. Philip threw off the mask and invaded Greece. Athens and Thebes combined against him, — to be hopelessly

crushed at the battle of Chaeronea. Then a congress of Greek states at Corinth *recognized Macedonia as the head of Greece.* It was agreed that the separate states should keep their local self-government, but that foreign matters, including war and peace, should be committed to Philip. Philip was also declared *general in chief of the armies of Greece for a war against Persia.*

Philip's conquest of Greece

Philip posed, wisely, not as the conqueror, but as the champion of Greece. None the less, *the history of Hellas had closed.*

EXERCISE. — Note the *three* elements in Philip's preparation to attack Hellas, — and compare them with Germany's preparations before 1914 A.D.

PART III — THE GRAECO-ORIENTAL WORLD

The seed-ground of European civilization is neither Greece nor the Orient, but a world joined of the two. — BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER.

CHAPTER XVIII

ALEXANDER JOINS EAST AND WEST

Alexander "the Great"

Philip of Macedon was assassinated in 336, two years after Chaeronea. He was just ready to begin the invasion of Asia; and his work was taken up by his son *Alexander*. As a boy, Alexander had been fearless and self-willed, with fervent affections.[1] He was devoted to Homer, and he knew the *Iliad* by heart. Homer's Achilles he claimed for an ancestor and took for his ideal. His later education was directed by *Aristotle* (p. 231), and from this great teacher he learned to admire Greek art and culture.

Order restored

At his father's death Alexander was a stripling of twenty years. He was to prove a rare military genius. He never lost a battle and never refused an engagement, and he could be shrewd and adroit in diplomacy; but at this time he was known only as a rash boy. Revolt broke out everywhere; but the young king showed himself at once both statesman and general. With marvelous rapidity he struck crushing blows on this side and on that. A hurried expedition restored order in Greece; the savage tribes of the north were quieted by a rapid march beyond the Danube; then, turning on rebellious Illyria, Alexander forced the mountain passes and overran the country.

In the south, meantime, it was rumored that he was slain among the barbarians, and insurrection again blazed forth. But, with forced marches, he hastened back once more into

[1] Special report: anecdotes from Plutarch regarding Alexander.

Greece, and fell with swift and terrible vengeance upon Thebes, the center of the rising. The city was sacked and leveled with the ground, except the house of Pindar (p. 112), and the miserable thirty thousand survivors of the population were sold as slaves. Then, with his authority firmly reëstablished, Alexander turned to attack Persia.

Conquest of the Persian Empire

In 334 B.C., Alexander crossed the Hellespont with 35,000 troops, an army quite enough to scatter any Oriental force, and as large as any general could handle well in that day on long marches in a hostile country. The route of march can best be traced on the map (after p. 214). The conquest of the empire took five years, and the story falls into three parts, each marked by a famous battle.

Asia Minor: the Granicus

1. The Persian satraps of *Asia Minor* met the invaders at the *Granicus*, a small stream in ancient Troyland. Alexander himself led the Macedonian charge through the river and up the steep bank into the midst of the Persian cavalry, where he barely escaped death. The Persian nobles fought, as always, with gallant self-devotion, but in the end they were utterly routed. The victory cost Alexander only 120 men, and it made him master of all Asia Minor.

Syria: Issus

2. To strike at the heart of the empire at once would have been to leave behind him a large Persian fleet, to encourage revolt in Greece. *Alexander wisely determined to secure the entire coast*, and so make safe his "line of communication" with Europe. Accordingly he turned south, to reduce Phoenicia and Egypt. Meantime the Persians had gathered a great army; but at *Issus* Alexander easily overthrew their host of six hundred thousand men led by King Darius in person. Darius allowed himself to be caught in a narrow defile between the mountains and the sea. The cramped space made the vast numbers of the Persians an embarrassment to themselves. They soon became a huddled mob of fugitives, and the Macedonians wearied themselves with slaughter.

Alexander now assumed the title, King of Persia. The siege of Tyre (p. 76) detained him a year; but Egypt welcomed him

as a deliverer, and by the close of 332, all the sea power of the Eastern Mediterranean was his. While in Egypt he showed his constructive genius by founding *Alexandria* at the mouth of the Nile — a city destined to be for many centuries a commercial and intellectual center for the world, where before there had been only a haunt of pirates.

Interior of Asia: Arbela

3. Darius now proposed that he and Alexander should share the empire between them, with the Euphrates for the dividing line. Rejecting this offer contemptuously, *Alexander took up his march for the interior.* Following the ancient route from Egypt to Assyria (p. 42), he met Darius near *Arbela*, not far from ancient Nineveh. The Persians are said to have numbered a million men. Alexander purposely allowed them choice of time and place, and by a third decisive victory *proved* the hopelessness of their resistance. Darius never gathered another army. The capitals of the empire — Babylon, Susa, Ecbatana, Persepolis — surrendered, with enormous treasure in gold and silver, and the Persian Empire had fallen (331 B.C.).

Campaigns in the East

The next six years went, however, to much more desperate warfare in the eastern mountain regions, and in India. Alexander carried his arms as far east from Babylon as Babylon was from Macedonia. He traversed great deserts; subdued the warlike and princely chiefs of Bactria and Sogdiana up to the steppes of the wild Tartar tribes beyond the Oxus; twice forced the passes of the Hindukush; conquered the valiant mountaineers of what is now Afghanistan; and led his army into the fertile and populous plains of northern India. He crossed the Indus, won realms *beyond* the ancient Persian province of the Punjab, and planned still more distant empires; but on the banks of the Hyphasis River his faithful Macedonians refused to be led farther, to waste away in inhuman perils; and the chagrined conqueror was compelled to return to Babylon. This city he made his capital, and here he died of a fever two years later (323 B.C.) at the age of thirty-two, in the midst of preparations to extend his conquests both east and west.

CAMPAIGNS
AND EMPIRE OF
ALEXANDER
THE GREAT
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 400 600
Marches of Alexander
Voyage of Nearchus
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
RED SEA
PERSIAN GULF
ARABIAN SEA
EGYPT
ARABIA
MEDIA DESERT
THRACE
PHRYGIA
CAPPADOCIA
ARMENIA
SYRIA
MESOPOTAMIA
ARBELIA
BABYLONIA
SUSIANA
PERSIA
CARMANIA
GEDDROSIA
ARACHOSIA
PARTHYNIA
ARIA
BACTRIANA
SOGDIANA
INDIA
Lake Oxus
Maracanda
Alexandria Oxiana
Bactra
Alexandria
Taxica
Alexandria
Superior
Alexandria Sogdiorum
Inferior
Pura
Persepolis
Susa
Babylon
Alexandria
Alexandria
Arbela
Eubatina
Damascus
Jerusalem
Tyre
Memphis
Alexandria
Paraetonium
Ammon
Mecca
Ancyra
Sardis
Ephesus
Miletus
Corinth
Pella
Ister R.
Jaxartes R.
Oxus R.
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Indus R.
Euphrates R.
TROPIC OF CANCER
20°
30°
40°
50°
60°
70°
80°

Merging of East and West

Alexander began his conquest to avenge the West upon the East. But he came to see excellent and noble qualities in Oriental life, and he rose to a broader view. He aimed no longer to hold the Persian world in subjection to little Greece, but rather *to mold Persian and Greek into one people on terms of equality,* — to fuse the East and the West into a new civilization. Persian youths were trained by thousands in Macedonian fashion to replace the veterans of Alexander's army; Persian nobles were welcomed at court and given high offices; and the government of Asia was intrusted largely to Asiatics, on a system similar to that of Darius the Great (p. 69). Alexander himself adopted Persian manners and customs, and he bribed and coaxed and forced his officers and soldiers to do the like.

Hellenism the leaven for the mass

At the same time Alexander saw that to fulfill this mission he must open the East to Greek ideas. The races might mingle their blood; the Greek might learn much from the Orient, and in the end be absorbed by it; *but the thought and art of little Hellas, with its active energy, must leaven the vast passive mass of the East.*

The many Alexandrias

One great measure, for this end, was the founding of chains of cities, to bind the conquests together and to become the homes of Hellenic influence. Alexander himself built seventy of these towns (usually called from his name, like the Alexandria in Egypt). Their walls sprang up under the pick and spade of the soldiery along the lines of march. One great city, we are told, walls and houses, was completed in twenty days. Sometimes these places were mere garrison towns on distant frontiers, but oftener they became mighty emporiums at the intersection of great lines of trade. There was an Alexandria on the Jaxartes, on the Indus, on the Euphrates, as well as on the Nile. Many of these cities remain great capitals to this day, like Herat and Kandahar. (Iskandar, or Kandahar, is an Oriental form of the Greek name Alexander.)

This building of Greek cities was continued by Alexander's successors. Once more, and on a vaster scale than ever before, the Greek genius for colonization found vent. *Each new city*

Greek colonies in the Orient

had a Greek nucleus. At first this consisted mainly of worn-out veterans, left behind as a garrison; but adventurous youth, emigrating from old Hellas to win fortune, continued to reinforce the Greek element. The native village people roundabout were gathered in to make the bulk of the inhabitants; and these also soon took on Greek character. From scattered, ignorant rustics, they became artisans and merchants, devotedly attached to Greek rule and zealous disciples of Greek culture.

Cities in the Age of Alexander

These cities were well paved. They had ample provision for lighting by night, a good water supply, and police protection. Even in that despotic East, they enjoyed a large amount of

ALEXANDER.

ALEXANDER IN A LION-HUNT.

The two sides of a gold medallion struck by Alexander at Tarsus.

self-government: they met in their own assemblies, managed their own courts, and collected their own taxes. For centuries they made the backbone of Hellenism throughout the world. Greek was the ordinary speech of their streets; Greek architecture built their temples, and Greek sculpture adorned them; they celebrated Greek games and festivals. No longer in little Hellas alone, but over the whole East, in Greek theaters, vast audiences were educated by the plays of Euripides. The culture developed by a small people became the heritage of a vast Graeco-Oriental world.

The victorious Hellenic civilization was modified by its

victory, even in its old home. Sympathies were broadened. The barrier between Greek and barbarian faded away.

Reaction of the East upon Hellas

Wealth was enormously augmented in the West. The vast treasure of gold and silver which Oriental monarchs had hoarded in secret vaults was thrown again into circulation, and large sums were brought back to Europe by returning adventurers. These adventurers brought back also a new taste for Oriental luxuries. This stimulated trade and encouraged a higher standard of living. Manifold new comforts and enjoyments adorned and enriched life.

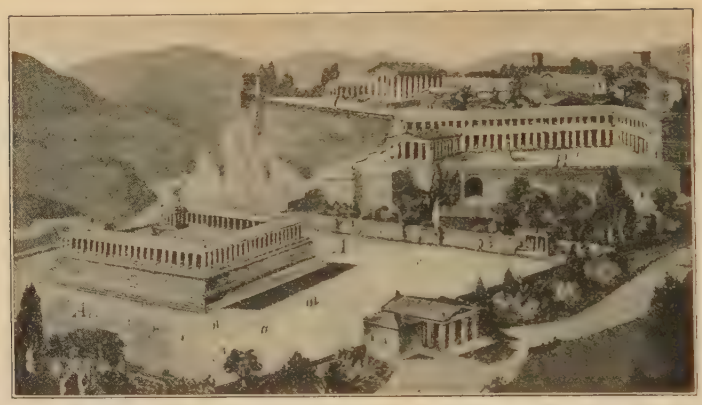
Wealth augmented

A new era of scientific progress began. Alexander himself had the zeal of an explorer. When he first touched the Indus, he thought it the upper course of the Nile; but he built a great fleet of two thousand vessels, sailed down the river to the Indian Ocean, and then sent his friend Nearchus to explore that sea and to trace the coast to the mouth of the Euphrates. After a voyage of many months, Nearchus reached Babylon. He had mapped the coast line, made frequent landings, and collected a mass of observations and a multitude of strange plants and animals. This expedition was more important for its day than the famous scientific exploration by Lewis and Clark, from the Missouri to the Pacific, was in its day. At other times, scientific collections were made by Alexander, to be sent to his old instructor Aristotle, who embodied the results of his study upon them in a *Natural History* of fifty volumes.

Science advanced

Thus the mingling of East and West gave a product different from either of the old factors. Alexander's victories enlarged the map of the world once more, and made these vaster spaces the home of a higher culture. *They grafted the new West upon the old East, — a graft from which sprang the plant of our later civilization.*

For Further Reading. — Davis' *Readings*, I, Nos. 108–118, and Wheeler's *Alexander the Great.*



PUBLIC BUILDINGS OF PERGAMOS, a Greek city of Asia, as "restored" by Thiersch. The city lay lower down, upon the plain.

CHAPTER XIX

STORY OF THE HELLENISTIC WORLD, 323–220 B. C.

Wars of the Succession, 323–280 B. C.

Alexander left no heir old enough to succeed him. On his deathbed, asked to whom he would leave his throne, he replied grimly, "To the strongest." As he foresaw, at his death his leading generals instantly began to strive with one another for his realm; and for half a century the history of the civilized world was a horrible welter of war and assassination — the "Wars of the Succession."

The third century B. C.

About 280 B.C., something like a fixed order emerged. Then followed a period of sixty years, known as the *Glory of Hellenism*. The Hellenistic [1] world reached from the Adriatic to the Indus, and consisted of: (1) three great kingdoms, *Syria*, *Egypt*, and *Macedonia;* (2) a broken chain of smaller monarchies scattered from *Media* to *Epirus* (some of them, like *Pontus* and *Armenia*, under dynasties descended from Persian princes); and (3) many single free cities like *Byzantium* and *Rhodes*.

[1] *Hellenic* refers to the old Hellas; *Hellenistic*, to the wider world, of mixed Hellenic and Oriental character, after Alexander.

Likeness to modern Europe

Politically in many ways all the vast district bore a striking resemblance to modern Europe. There was a like division into great and small states, ruled by dynasties related by intermarriages; there was a common civilization, and a recognition of common interests as against outside barbarism; and there were jealousies and conflicts similar to those in Europe in recent centuries. There were shifting alliances, and many greedy wars to preserve "the balance of power" or to secure trade advantages. There was a likeness to modern society, too, as we shall see more fully later, in the refinement of the age, in its excellences and its vices, the great learning, the increase in skill and in criticism, and, toward the close, in socialistic agitation among hungry sullen mobs against the ostentatious and wasteful wealth that jostled them in the cities.

THE APOLLO BELVIDERE, — representing the god defending his temple at Delphi from a raid of Gauls by his thunderbolt. The statue commemorates a raid which in some way was repulsed in disorder.

Invasion by the Gauls

The history of the third century is a history of many separate countries, but there was one event of *general* interest. This was the great Gallic invasion of 278 B.C. It was the first formidable barbarian attack upon the Eastern world since the Scythians had been chastised by the early Persian kings (p. 68). A century before, hordes of these same Gauls had devastated northern Italy and sacked the rising city of Rome. Now they poured into exhausted Macedonia, penetrated into Greece as far as Delphi, and carried havoc even into Asia. For a long

period every great sovereign of the Hellenic world turned his arms upon them, until they were finally settled as peaceful colonists in a region of Asia Minor, which took the name *Galatia* from these new inhabitants.

Syria

The largest of the great monarchies was Syria. For long, it comprised most of Alexander's empire in Asia, except for a few small states in Asia Minor. In the Wars of the Succession it

The Dying Gaul. — The Hellenic patriotism aroused by the repulse of the Gauls, like that in little Hellas two hundred years before by the repulse of the Persians, played a part in a splendid outburst of art and literature that followed. See also p. 219.

fell to *Seleucus*. His descendants (Seleucidae) excelled all other successors of Alexander in building cities and extending Greek civilization over barbarous regions. Seleucus himself founded seventy-five cities.

Egypt

Egypt now included Cyprus, and possessed a vague control over many coast towns of Asia Minor. Immediately upon Alexander's death, one of his generals, *Ptolemy*, chose Egypt for his province. His descendants, all known as Ptolemies, ruled the land until the Roman conquest.

The early Ptolemies were wise, energetic rulers. Ptolemy I established a great naval power, improved harbors, and *built*

PYLON OF PTOLEMY III AT KARNAK. — The reliefs represent that monarch (a famous conqueror) in religious thanksgiving, sacrificing, praying, offering trophies to the gods. At the top is a "conventionalized" winged sundisk, a common feature in Egyptian art. Note the general likeness to the older Egyptian architecture.

the first lighthouse. Ptolemy II (better known as *Ptolemy Philadelphus*) restored the old canal from the Red Sea to the Nile (pp. 31, 70), constructed roads, and fostered learning more

than any great ruler before him. Many of the later Ptolemies were weaklings or infamous monsters.

One other state of this period is of such interest to the American student that it is given a separate chapter. This state is *the Achaean League,* the most important ancient experiment in federal government.

CHAPTER XX

THE ACHAEAN LEAGUE

Greece a dependency of Macedon

During the ruinous Wars of the Succession, Greece had been a favorite battleground for the great powers, Egypt, Syria, and Macedonia. Many cities were laid waste; the people were sunk in misery; and at the close of the contests, the country was left a vassal of Macedonia. To make her hold firmer, Macedonia set up tyrants in many cities. From this humiliation, Greece was lifted for a time by the *Achaean League* — the most remarkable federal union in history before the foundation of the United States of America.

The Achaean League frees Achaea

There was a rude federation in Achaea as early as the Persian War, but it had little influence on other parts of Greece. Under Macedonian rule, the league was destroyed and tyrants were set up in several of the ten Achaean cities. But, about 280 B.C., four small towns revived the ancient confederacy. This union swiftly drove out the tyrants from the neighboring towns, and absorbed all Achaea.

So far Macedonia had not interfered. The Gallic invasion just at this time had spread ruin over all the north of Hellas, and probably prevented hostile action by the Macedonian king.

Government of the League

The chief authority of the league was placed in a *Federal Assembly*. This was not a *representative* body, but a mass meeting of all citizens of the league who chose to attend. To prevent the city where the meeting was held from outweighing the others, each city was given only one vote.[1] That is, ten or twelve men — or even one man — from a distant town cast the vote of that city, and counted as much as several hundred

[1] This principle was practically universal among all federations until the adoption of the present constitution by our country. The one exception was the Lycian Confederacy in Asia Minor. This union was absorbed by Rome in 54 A.D., before it played an important part in history. In

from a city nearer the place of meeting. The Assembly was held twice a year, for only three days at a time, and in some small city, so that a great capital should not overshadow the rest of the league. It chose yearly a *Council of Ten*, a *Senate*, and a *General* (or president), with various minor officers. The same General could not be chosen two years in succession.

THE ACHAEAN AND AETOLIAN[1] LEAGUES, ABOUT 225 B.C.

This government raised federal taxes and armies, and managed all foreign relations. Each city remained a distinct state, with full control over all its internal matters — but no city of itself could make peace or war, enter into alliances, or send ambassadors to another state. The Achaean League was a true federation, and not a mere alliance. Its cities corresponded to the American States under our old Articles of Confederation.

Aristocratic character

In theory, this constitution was extremely democratic: in practice, it proved otherwise. Men attended the Assembly at their own expense. Any Achaean *might* come, but *only the*

its Assembly, the vote was taken by cities, *but the cities were divided into three classes: the largest had three votes each, the next class two each, and the smallest only one.* In the Philadelphia Convention, in 1787, several American statesmen wished to adopt this Lycian plan for our States in the Federal Congress.

[1] The Aetolians were rude and warlike mountaineers, who came into prominence as soldiers of fortune during the wars of Alexander's successors. The ancient league was originally a loose union for mutual protection. After this time it became sometimes eager for plunder.

wealthy could afford to do so, as a regular thing. Moreover, since the meetings of the Assembly were few and brief, great authority had to be left to the General and Council. Any Achaean was eligible to these offices, but *poor men could hardly afford to take them, because they had no salaries. The Greek system of a primary assembly was suited only to single cities. A primary assembly made the city of Athens a perfect democracy: the same institution made the Achaean League highly aristocratic.*

Aratus and the growth of the League

The most remarkable of the leaders of the league was *Aratus*[1] of Sicyon. Sicyon was a city just outside Achaea, to the east. It had been ruled by a vile and bloody tyrant, who drove many leading citizens into exile. Among these exiles was the family of Aratus. When a youth of twenty years (251 B.C.), Aratus planned, by a night attack, to overthrow the tyrant and free his native city. The daring venture was brilliantly successful; but it aroused the hatred of Macedon, and, to preserve the freedom so nobly won, Aratus brought Sicyon into the Achaean federation.

Five years later, Aratus was elected General of the league, and thereafter he held that office each alternate year (as often as the constitution permitted) until his death, thirty-two years later. In his second generalship, Aratus freed Corinth from her Macedonian tyrant by a desperate night attack upon the garrison of the citadel. That powerful city then entered the union. So did Megara, which itself drove out its Macedonian garrison. The league now commanded the Isthmus, and was safe from attack by Macedonia.

Aratus hated tyrants, and longed for a free and united Greece. He extended the league far beyond the borders of Achaea, and made it a champion of Hellenic freedom. He aimed at a noble end, but did not refuse base means. He was incorruptible himself, and he lavished his vast wealth on the union; but he

[1] The first statesman known to us from his own memoirs — which Plutarch drew upon for his *Life of Aratus*. What earlier source of historical information does this new source most resemble? In what respect should such a source be used cautiously?

was bitterly jealous of other leaders. With plenty of daring in a dashing project, as he many times proved, he lacked nerve to command in battle, and he never won a real victory in the field. Still, despite his many defeats, his persuasive power and his merits kept him the confidence of the union to the end of a long public life.

In 234, Megalopolis (p. 207), then a leading city of Greece, was taken into the league. Some years earlier the government of Megalopolis had become a tyranny. *Lydiadas*, a gallant and enthusiastic youth, seized despotic power, meaning to use it for good ends. The growth of the Achaean League opened a nobler way: *Lydiadas resigned his tyranny*, and as a private citizen brought the Great City into the union. This act made him a popular hero, *and Aratus became his bitter foe*. The new leader was the more lovable figure, — generous and ardent, a soldier as well as a statesman. Several times he became General of the league, but even in office he was often thwarted by the disgraceful trickery of the older man. Finally, in battle with Sparta, while leading a gallant charge, Lydiadas was overpowered by numbers, while Aratus, calmly looking on, refused to let the Achaean phalanx advance to save him.

The league now was the commanding power in Hellas. It included all Peloponnesus except Sparta and Elis. Moreover, all Greece south of Thermopylae had become free, — largely through the influence of the Achaean league, — and most of the states not inside the union had at least entered into friendly alliance with it.

Struggle for democracy in Sparta

But now came a fatal conflict with Sparta. This struggle was connected with a great reform within that ancient city. The forms of the ancient constitution had survived through many centuries, but now Sparta had only seven hundred full citizens (cf. pp. 202, 206). This condition brought about a violent agitation for reform. And about the year 243, *Agis*, one of the Spartan kings, put himself at the head of this movement.

Agis of Sparta

Agis was a youthful hero, full of noble daring and pure enthusiasm. He gave his own property to the state, and per-

suaded his relatives and friends to do the like. He planned to abolish all debts, and to divide the land among forty-five hundred Spartan "Inferiors" (p. 202) and fifteen thousand other Laconians, so as to re-found the state upon a broad and democratic basis. He could easily have won by violence; but he refused such methods, and sought his ends by constitutional means only. The oligarchs rose against him; and the young king, with his noble mother and grandmother, was murdered in prison, — "the purest and noblest spirit that ever perished through deeming others as pure and noble as himself."

Cleomenes

But the ideals of the martyr lived on. His wife was forced to marry *Cleomenes*, son of the other king; and, *from her, this prince adopted the hopes of Agis.* Cleomenes became king in 236. He had less of high sensitiveness and of stainless honor than Agis, but he is a grand and colossal figure. He bided his time; and then, when the oligarchs were planning to use force against him, he struck first.

War between Sparta and the League

Aratus had led the Achaean League into war with Sparta in order to unite all the Peloponnesus; but the military genius of Cleomenes made even enfeebled Sparta a match for the powerful league. He won two great victories. Then, the league being helpless for the moment, he used his popularity to secure reform in Sparta. The oligarchs were plotting against him, but he was enthusiastically supported by the disfranchised multitudes. Leaving his Spartan troops at a distance, he hurried to the city by forced marches with some chosen followers. There he slew the leaders of the oligarchs, and proclaimed a new constitution which contained the reforms of Agis.

Sparta victorious

Cleomenes wished to make this new Sparta the head of the Peloponnesus. He and Aratus each desired a free, united Greece, but under different leadership. Moreover, Sparta now stood forth the advocate of a kind of socialism, and so was particularly hateful to the aristocratic government of the league.

The struggle between the two powers was renewed with fresh bitterness. Cleomenes won more victories, and then, with the league at his feet, he offered generous terms. He

demanded that Sparta be admitted to the union as virtual leader. This would have created the greatest power ever seen in Greece, and, for the time, it would have made a free Hellas sure. The Achaeans were generally in favor of accepting the proposal; but Aratus — jealous of Cleomenes and fearful of social reform — broke off the negotiations by underhanded methods.

Aratus calls in Macedon

Then Aratus bought the aid of Macedon against Sparta, *by betraying Corinth*, a free member of the league and the city connected with his own most glorious exploit. The war now became a struggle for Greek freedom, waged by Sparta under her hero king against the overwhelming power of Macedon assisted by the confederacy *as a vassal state*. Aratus had undone his own great work.

For a while, Sparta showed surprising vigor, but in the end Macedon prevailed. Cleomenes fled to Egypt, to die in exile; Sparta opened her gates for the first time to a conquering army; and the glory of the great league was forever gone.

Decline of the rest of the Hellenistic world

At almost the same time the rest of the widespread Hellenistic world fell into rapid decline. In 220 A.D. the thrones of Syria, Egypt, and Macedonia passed to youthful heirs, and all three of these new monarchs showed a degeneracy which is common in Oriental ruling families after a few generations of greatness. Only a little later began the absorption of the East by *Rome*. Before turning to this new power, we will note a few more things about Hellenistic civilization.

CHAPTER XXI

HELLENISTIC SOCIETY

The Alexandrian Age

Hellenism began to decline *politically*, we have said, about 220 B.C.; but the splendor of Hellenistic civilization grew for more than a half-century longer. From 280 to 150 B.C. that civilization had its chief glory. This period is often known as "the Alexandrian Age," from the Egyptian capital which now led the many other homes of culture.

Society was refined; the position of woman improved; private fortunes abounded, and private houses possessed works of art which, in earlier times, would have been found only in palaces or temples. For the reverse side, there was corruption in high places, and hungry and threatening mobs at the base of society.

Literature

The many-sided age produced new forms in art and literature: especially (1) *the prose romance*, a story of love and adventure, the forerunner of the modern novel; (2) *the pastoral poetry* of *Theocritus*, which was to influence Virgil and Tennyson; and (3) *personal memoirs*. Treatises on literary criticism abounded; the science of grammar was developed; and poets prided themselves upon writing all kinds of verse equally well. Intellectually, in its faults, as in its virtues, the time strikingly resembles our own.

Painting and sculpture

Painting was carried to great perfection. According to popular stories, *Zeuxis* painted a cluster of grapes so that birds pecked at them, while *Apelles* painted a horse so that real horses neighed at the sight.

Greek sculpture, too, produced some of its greatest work in this period. Multitudes of splendid statues were created — so abundantly, indeed, that even the names of the artists are

not preserved. Among the famous pieces that survive are the *Dying Gaul* (p. 220), the *Apollo Belvidere* (p. 219), the *Venus of Milo* (Melos), and the *Laocoön* group.

Venus of Melos. — This most beautiful statue in the world is now in the Louvre.

Philosophy after Socrates

After Socrates, Greek philosophy had three periods. (*For the period of Spartan and Theban leadership.*) The most famous disciple of Socrates is known to the world by his

nickname *Plato*, the "broad-browed." His name, and that of his pupil and rival, *Aristotle*, of the next period, are among the greatest in the history of ancient thought, — among the very greatest, indeed, in all time. Plato taught that things are merely the shadows of ideas, and that *ideas* alone are real. But this statement gives a very imperfect picture of his beautiful and mystical philosophy — which is altogether too complex to treat here.

(*For the Macedonian period.*) *Aristotle*, on the other hand, cared more about *things*. Besides his philosophical treatises, he wrote upon rhetoric, logic, poetry, politics, physics and chemistry, and natural history; and he built up all the knowledge gathered by the ancient world into one complete system. For the intellectual world of his day he worked a task not unlike that of his pupil Alexander in the political world. More than any other of the ancients, too, he was many-sided and modern in his way of thinking.

(*For the period after Alexander.*) During the Wars of the Succession, two new philosophical systems were born, — *Epicureanism* and *Stoicism*. Each called itself highly "practical." Neither asked, as older philosophies had done, "What is true?" Stoicism asked (in a sense following Socrates), "What is right?" and Epicureanism asked merely, "What is expedient?" One sought virtue; the other, happiness. Neither sought knowledge.

The Epicureans

1. Epicurus was an Athenian citizen. He taught that every man *must* pursue happiness as an end, but that the highest pleasure was to be obtained by a wise choice of the refined pleasures of the mind and of friendship, — not by gratifying the lower appetites. He advised temperance and virtue as means to happiness; and he himself lived a frugal life, saying that with a crust of bread and a cup of cold water he could rival Zeus in happiness. Under cover of his theories, however, some of his followers taught and practiced gross living.

The Epicureans denied the supernatural, and held death to be the end of all things. Epicureanism produced some lovable characters, but no exalted ones.

The Stoics

2. Zeno the Stoic also taught at Athens, in the painted porch (*stoa*) on the north side of the market place. His followers made virtue, not happiness, the end of life. If happiness were to come at all, it would come, they said, as a result, not as an end. They placed emphasis upon the dignity of human nature: the wise man should be superior to the accidents of fortune.

The Stoics believed in the gods as manifestations of one Divine Providence that ordered all things well. The noblest characters of the Greek and Roman world from this time belonged to this sect. Stoicism was inclined, however, to ignore the gentler and kindlier side of human life; and with bitter natures it merged into the philosophy of the Cynics, of whom *Diogenes*, with his tub and lantern, is the great example.[1]

Both Stoics and Epicureans held to a wide brotherhood of man. (This teaching was one result of the union of the world in the new Graeco-Oriental culture. It would have been unthinkable before the battle of Arbela.) For the educated classes, philosophy now took the place of religion as a guide to life. The philosophers were the clergy of the next few centuries much more truly than the priests of the temples were.

Libraries and museums: "universities"

The closing age of Hellenistic history saw the forerunner of the modern university. The beginning was made at Athens. Plato (p. 231), by his will, left his gardens and other property to his followers, *organized in a club*. Athenian law did not recognize the right of any *group* of people to hold property, unless it were a religious body. Therefore this club claimed to be organized for the worship of the *Muses*, who were the patrons of literature and learning; and the name *Museum* was given to the institution. *This was the first endowed academy, and the first union of teachers and learners into a corporation.*[2]

The idea has never since died out of the world. The model and name were used a little later by the Ptolemies at Alexandria in *their* "Museum." This was a richly endowed institution,

[1] Special report: the stories of Diogenes.

[2] A corporation is a body of men recognized by the law as a "person" so far as property rights go.

SPRING—AN ANCIENT FESTIVAL.

with large numbers of students. It had a great library of over half a million volumes (manuscripts), with scribes to make careful copies of them and to make their meaning more clear, when necessary, by explanatory notes. The accuracy of their work was so generally recognized that every important city in the Hellenic world wished its library to have an "Alexandrian edition" of each famous book, as the standard work upon which to base copies. It is upon such copies of Alexandrian books that our modern printed editions of Greek books are mainly based. One enterprise, of incalculable benefit to the later world, shows the zeal of the Ptolemies in collecting and translating texts. Alexandria had many Jews in its population, but they were coming to use the Greek language. Ptolemy Philadelphus (p. 221), for their benefit, had the Hebrew Scriptures translated into Greek. This is the famous *Septuagint* translation, so called from the tradition that it was the work of *seventy* scholars.

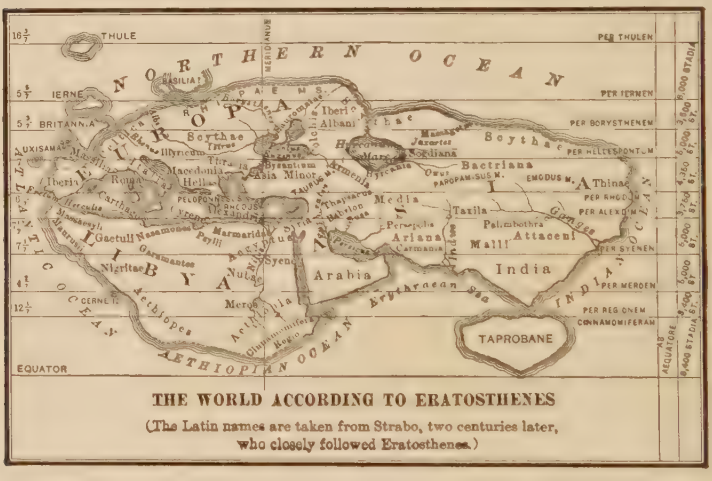
The Alexandrian Museum had also observatories and botanical and zoölogical gardens, with collections of rare plants and animals from distant parts of the world. The librarians, and the other scholars who were gathered about the institution, devoted their lives to a search for knowledge and to teaching; and so they corresponded to the faculty of a modern university.

"The external appearance [of the Museum] was that of a group of buildings which served a common purpose — temple of the Muses, library, porticoes, dwellings, and a hall for meals. . . The inmates were a *community* of scholars and poets, on whom the king bestowed the honor and privilege of being allowed to work at his expense with all imaginable assistance ready to hand." — Holm.

Science

Science made greater strides than ever before in an equal length of time. Medicine, surgery, botany, and mechanics began to be real sciences. *Archimedes* of Syracuse discovered the principles of the lever and of specific gravity, as our high school students learn them in physics, and constructed burning mirrors and new hurling engines which made effective siege artillery. (See Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 27.) *Euclid*, a

Greek at Alexandria, building upon the old Egyptian knowledge, produced the geometry which is still taught in our schools with little addition. *Eratosthenes* (born 276 B.C.), the librarian at Alexandria, wrote a systematic work on geography, invented delicate astronomical instruments, and devised the present way of measuring the circumference of the earth — with results nearly correct. His maps were the first to use meridians and parallels to show latitude and longitude. A little later, *Aristarchus* taught that the earth moved round the sun; and

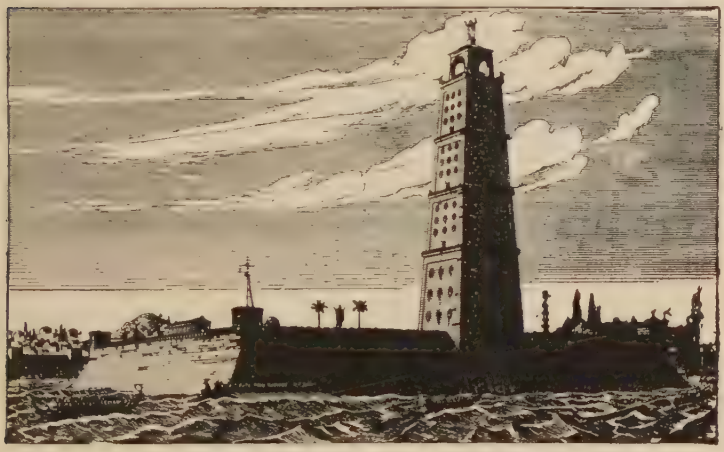


THE WORLD ACCORDING TO ERATOSTHENES

(The Latin names are taken from Strabo, two centuries later, who closely followed Eratosthenes.)

Hipparchus calculated eclipses, catalogued the stars, wrote books on astronomy, and founded the science of trigonometry. Aristotle had already given all the proofs of the sphericity of the earth that are common in our textbooks now (except that of actual circumnavigation) and *had asserted that men could probably reach Asia by sailing west from Europe.* The scientific spirit gave rise, too, to actual voyages of exploration into many regions. Daring discoverers brought back from northern regions wild tales of icebergs gleaming in the cold aurora of the polar skies, and, from southern voyages, stories of hairy men ("Gorillas") in vine-tangled tropical forests.

The first Ptolemy built a lighthouse on the island of *Pharos*, in the harbor of Alexandria, to protect the rapidly growing commerce of that city (p. 221). The new civilization had begun to make practical use of its science to advance human welfare. The tower rose 325 feet (thirty stories) into the air, and from the summit a group of polished reflecting mirrors threw its light at night far out to sea. It seemed to the Jewish citizens of Alexandria to make real once more the old



ALEXANDRIAN LIGHTHOUSE (*Tower of Pharos*), as "restored" by Adler. This structure fell in 1326 A.D.

Hebrew story of the Pillar of Cloud by day and of Fire by night, — to guide wanderers on the wastes of waves. "All night," said a Greek poet, "will the sailor, driving before the storm, see the fire gleam from its top."

Our debt to Hellas

The Greek contributions to our civilization we cannot name and count, as we did those from the preceding Oriental peoples. Egypt and Babylon gave us some very important outer features, — *garments*, if we choose so to speak, *for the body of our civilization. But the Greeks gave us its soul.* This is the truth in the noble sentence quoted at the head of Greek history in this volume (page 82), "We are all Greeks." Said

another great historian, "There is nothing that *moves* in the world to-day that is not Greek in origin."

Because the Greek contributions are of the spirit rather than of the body, they are harder to describe in a brief summary. One supreme thing, however, must be mentioned. The Greeks gave us the *ideal of freedom, regulated by self-control,* — freedom in thought, in religion, and in politics.

References for Further Study. — *Specially suggested:* Davis' *Readings*, I, Nos. 119–125 (19 pages, mostly from Polybius, Arrian, and Plutarch, the three Greek historians of that age).

Additional: Plutarch's *Lives* ("Aratus," "Agis," "Cleomenes," "Philopoemen"); Mahaffy's *Alexander's Empire.*

Exercise. — Review the various confederacies, — Peloponnesian, Delian, Achaean, — noting likenesses and contrasts. Review the period from Chaeronea to the death of Alexander by "catch words." Note the various stages in making war (both as to arms and as to organization) from the Stone Age to Alexander.

This is a good point at which to review certain other "culture topics," — *i.e.*, agriculture, industrial arts, life of rich and poor, philosophy, literature, art, religion, science, — tracing each separately from the dawn of history.

Make a table showing the chief divisions of Greek history, with subdivisions.

Fact Drills on Greek History

1. The class should form a *Table of Dates* gradually as the critical points are reached, and should then *drill* upon it until it says itself as the alphabet does. The following dates are enough for this drill in Greek history. The table should be filled out as is done for the first two dates.

776 B.C.	First recorded Olympiad	338 B.C.
490 "	Marathon	220 "
405 "		146 "
371 "		

2. *Name in order fifteen battles*, between 776 and 146 B.C., stating for each the parties, leaders, result, and importance. (*Such tables also should be made by degrees as the events are reached.*)

3. *Explain concisely the following terms or names:* Olympiads, Mycenaean Culture, Olympian Religion, Amphictyonies, Sappho. (*Let the class extend the list several fold.*)

PART IV

ROME

The center of our studies, the goal of our thoughts, the point to which all paths lead and the point from which all paths start again, is to be found in Rome and her abiding power. — FREEMAN.

CHAPTER XXII

LAND AND PEOPLE

About 200 B.C. the historical "center of gravity" shifted *westward* once more to Italy, which till then had been merely an outlying fragment of the civilized world.

Meaning of "Italy" in ancient times

Modern Italy is made up of two distinct parts, — the level valley of the Po running from east to west, and the slender mountainous peninsula reaching from that valley south into the Mediterranean. But in ancient times the Po valley was always considered part of Gaul. It was called *Cisalpine Gaul*, or *Gaul this side the Alps*. The name *Italy* belonged only to the true peninsula with the Apennine range for its backbone.

Geography of Italy

Three things are important in Italy's geography:

1. The geographical divisions are larger, and less completely set off from one another, than those in Greece; so the inhabitants were more easily united under one government.

2. Italy and Greece stood back to back. Italy faced, not the old East, but the new West. The mountains are nearer the eastern coast than the western: so, on the *eastern* side the short rocky spurs and swift torrents lose themselves quickly in the Adriatic. The western slope is nearly twice as broad: here are rivers and fertile plains, and, as a result, most of the few harbors and the important states. When Italy was ready

for outside work, she gave herself first to conquering and civilizing the lands of the western Mediterranean.

3. European culture *began* in the peninsula which was at once "the most European of European lands" and also the European land nearest to the older civilizations of the East (p. 131). Just as naturally, *the state which was to unite and rule all the coasts of the Mediterranean had its home in the central peninsula* which divides that inland sea. When her struggle for empire began, her central position enabled Italy to cut off the Carthaginian power in Africa and Spain from its allies in the East, and to conquer her enemies one by one.

Map Study

Note that *Liguria*, *Gallia Cisalpina*, and *Venetia* are outside the true Italy (p. 237). Fix the position of *Etruria*, *Latium*, *Campania*, *Samnium*, and the *Sabines*. Observe that the *Arnus* (Arno), in Etruria, the *Tiber*, between Etruria and Latium, and the *Liris*, between Latium and Campania, are the most important rivers. *Their basins were homes of early culture in Italy.*

Races

In prehistoric times, the fame of Italy's rich plains and sunny, vine-covered slopes had tempted swarm after swarm of barbarians across the Alps and the Adriatic; and already at the opening of history the land held a curious mixture of races.

Italians

The center of the peninsula was the home of the *Italians*, who were finally to give their language and law to the whole land. The western Italians were lowlanders, and were called Latins. One of their cities, Rome, on the Tiber, is now to be the subject of our study. The eastern and larger section of Italians were highlanders (Sabines, Samnites, Volscians). The more important of the other races were the *Greeks* in the south (p. 108), the savage *Gauls* of the Po valley, and the *Etruscans* in Etruria across the Tiber from the Latins. The Etruscans were a mysterious people — "the standing riddle of history." They were the first civilized race in Italy, long before the Greek settlements began in the south. They were mighty builders. They

Etruscans

ITALY
REFERENCE MAP
SCALE OF MILES
0 25 50 100
GERMANIA
GALLIA CISALPINA
Rhine
Danube
Aquileia
Vienna
Patavium
Ravenna
Rubicon
Genua
Luna
Pisa
Metaurus
Ancona
Aesis
Asculum Picenum
CYRNOS OR CORSICA
Tarquinii
Ostia
ROMA
LATIUM
Liris
Capua
Neapolis
Vesuvius
Pompeii
Cannae
Brundusium
CALABRIA
Tarentum
Iapygium Pr.
Croton
SARDINIA
TYRRHENIAN SEA
Panormus
Himera
Rhegium
AFRICAN SEA
Lilybaeum
Agrigentum
Gela
Syracuse
Utica
NUMIDIA
Carthage
AFRICA
Longitude East from Greenwich

had a system of writing, and have left many inscriptions, in a language to which scholars can find no key. They were the first people in Italy to engage in commerce; and before they sent out trading ships themselves, they welcomed those of the Phoenicians. Their early tombs contain many articles of Egyptian and Phoenician and early Greek workmanship,

brought them by these early traders, who doubtless taught them many arts. *The Etruscans, in turn, were Rome's first teachers.*

Old legends about early Rome

The Romans had no Homer.[1] Their early history, as it was first put together by their historians about 200 B.C., was

[1]Some modern scholars, however, believe that there must have been a copious ballad literature among the people, from which early historians could draw. Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome* was an attempt to reproduce such ballads as Macaulay thought must once have existed.

a mass of curious legends. These are of interest now mainly because of the place they hold in poem and story.

According to these legends Rome was founded in 753 B.C.,[1] and for the next century and a half was ruled by a line of seven kings. The founder, *Romulus*, was the son of Mars (God of War) and of a Latin princess. As a babe he had been exposed to die, but was preserved and suckled by a wolf. He grew up among rude shepherds; with their aid he built a city on the

Remains of an Etruscan Wall and Arch at Sutri.

Palatine Mount above the old wolf's den; here he gathered about him outlaws from all quarters, and these men seized the daughters of a Sabine tribe for wives. This led to war, and finally to the union of the Romans and the Sabines, who then settled upon one of the neighboring hills. *Numa*, the next king, was a Sabine. He established religious rites, and gave laws and arts of peace, which were taught him by the nymph Egeria in a sacred grove by night. *Tullus Hostilius*, a warlike

[1] Later Romans counted time from this year, as we do from the birth of Christ. We know now that there was a Stone-age settlement of Latins at "Rome" some centuries before 753.

conqueror, is a shadowy Romulus, and *Ancus Marcius* is a faint copy of Numa. The fifth king was *Tarquin the First*, an Etruscan adventurer, who was succeeded by *Servius Tullius*, son of a slave girl. Servius reorganized the government, and was followed by a second Tarquin, *Tarquin the Proud*, whose

Etruscan Tombs at Orvieto, near Rome. — A name on one tomb is made out recently to be *Tarkhnas*, which perhaps is the *Tarquinius* of Roman tradition.

oppression led to his expulsion and to the establishment of a Republic.

Since 1900, excavations have taught us much that the Romans themselves never knew about early Roman history. That history, as we now see it, is told in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XXIII

ROME UNDER THE KINGS

The early Latins

The Latins called their district *Latium*. This territory was about the size of an ordinary American county. It was broken here and there by scattered hills; and on some one of these each Latin tribe had its citadel. Once a year all Latins gathered at one of these hill forts, *Mount Alba*, for a festival in honor of the chief Latin god, Jupiter; and the straggling village Alba Longa (the Long White town) was the recognized leader of the Latin tribes in war against the robber bands of Sabines from the mountains and against the powerful Etruscans across the Tiber.

Trade with Etruscans

Every Etruscan advance was watched with jealous dread by the Latins, with good reason; but in many ways those dangerous neighbors had become necessary to Latin comfort. The Latins themselves were peasant farmers. There were no smiths or artisans among them. If a farmer needed a plowshare or a knife, he drove an ox across the plain to the bank of the Tiber, or sometimes carried grain there, to trade it to some Etruscan for the tool.

In such trade the Etruscans made huge profits. About 12 miles up the Tiber from its mouth (a third of the way from the sea to the mountains) the river could be crossed by a ford at the foot of an island (map, p. 243). To this place Etruscan traders very early began to bring wares of metal and wood on regular "market days," to tempt this profitable Latin trade.

Now and then a Cretan or Phoenician ship thought it worth while to row up the river to share in this trade; and to the same point the Sabines from the foothills of the Apennines

1. Citadel (Arx).
2. Temple of Jupiter (Capitolinus).
3. "Quays of the Tarquins."
4. Citadel at Janiculum.
5. "Wall of Romulus."
6. Temple of Vesta.
7. Senate House (Curia).
8. Comitium.

floated down their wine and grain on flat barges. Just south of the ford rose a remarkable group of seven low hills. The level space between these hills, opening on the river, became the regular marketplace, or *Forum*, for all this trade.

At some early date the Etruscans improved the river-crossing by building a bridge there. This was welcome to the Latins

The square Palatine town: the nucleus of Rome

for trade; but they feared lest the Etruscans use it for armed invasion, and so they guarded their end of it by building a square fort about the top of the Palatine, the steepest hill close by. Here a permanent Latin town at once grew up. This "square town" dates back at least to 1200 B.C.; and in places solidly built walls may still be traced.

Other early settlements on the seven hills; and federation

Early settlements were made also on at least two other of the seven hills. Roman tradition says that one of these towns was founded by an invading tribe of Sabines, and the other by a conquering Etruscan tribe. No doubt, there was a long period of war between the three hill-forts, but, finally, the three settlements were united into one state, with the three tribes on an equal footing, one with another.

The gain from this union was not merely in physical power. That was the least of it. Early societies are fettered rigidly by custom, so that the beginnings of change are inconceivably slow. In Rome, the union of distinct societies broke this bondage at a period far earlier than common. They became accustomed to a variety of customs, and they found how to live together peaceably even when their ways differed. *Compromise* took the place of inflexible custom. *Thus began the process of association that was later to unite Italy.* Rome was a city, not of *one* hill, like most Italian towns, but of *seven* hills.

Etruscan "tyrants" and their works

About 750 B.C. the old kings gave way to "tyrants," like those who seized power in Greek cities at about that same time. Some of these rulers in Rome seem to have been Etruscan adventurers. These "tyrants" drained the marshes and inclosed all seven hills within one wall — the so-called "wall of Servius" — taking in large open spaces for future city growth. The huge drain (Cloaca Maxima) and the remains of a massive wall, pictured in these pages, are supposed to belong to this period, and are undoubtedly due to Etruscan influence.

Rome the head of the Latin confederacy

These new kings also made Rome mistress of a third of all Latium. At the Tiber mouth, they founded *Ostia*, the first Roman colony, for a port; and, on the *north* side of the river, Rome seized *Mount Janiculum* and fortified it against the Etruscans. Before the year 500, several conquered Latin towns

had been razed *and their inhabitants brought to Rome.* Even Alba Longa had been destroyed, and Rome had succeeded to the *headship of the Latin confederacy.*

Home life at early Rome

The life of the early Romans was plain and simple. *Their houses* were like those of the primitive people all about the Mediterranean (p. 82), — small huts, often only one room, with

Cloaca Maxima, as it was before a recent restoration.

no chimney or window. The open door and an opening in the peaked roof let out the smoke from the hearth fire, and let in light; and a slight cavity directly below the roof-opening received the rain.

Religion

Religion centered about the home and the daily tasks. For each house the door had its protecting god *Janus,* two-faced, looking in and out; and each hearth fire had the goddess *Vesta.* When the city grew powerful, it had a city *Janus* and a city

Vesta. In the ancient round temple of Vesta, the holy fire of the city was kept always bright by the priestesses (*Vestal Virgins*), who had to keep themselves pure in thought and act, that they might not pollute its purity. For the fire to go out, or to be defiled in any way, would mean disaster.

Next to the *house gods* came the *gods of the farm:* Saturn, the god of sowing; Ceres, the goddess who made the grain grow; Venus, another goddess of fruitfulness; and Terminus, a god who dwelt in each boundary pillar, to guard the bounds of the farm — and, later, the boundaries of the state.

An Early Roman Coin (*As*). — The head represents Janus; the reverse side shows a ship's prow — a suggestion that the wealth of Rome even then came largely from trade.

The early Romans had also an *ancestor worship* at each family tomb, and each Latin tribe had its ancestral deity. The war god, Mars, father of the fabled Romulus, was at first the special god of Rome. But at the head of all the tribal gods of Latium stood Jupiter (Father Jove); and when Rome became the central Latin power, Jupiter became the center of the Roman religion.

The later Romans borrowed some Greek stories about the gods;[1] but they lacked poetic imagination to create a beautiful mythology, as the Greeks had done. The Roman gods remained vague and misty.

[1] For the correspondence of Greek and Roman gods see page 100.

Worship consisted in a strict observance of ceremonies. Divine favor could be lost by failure to use precise gestures in a service, or by the omission or addition of a single word. On the other hand, if the ceremony was carried through in the proper manner, it almost compelled the aid of the gods, like a conjuror's charm. **Ceremonial worship**

The gods at Rome manifested their will not by oracles but by omens, or *auspices*. These auspices were sought especially in the conduct of birds, and in the color and size of the entrails of animals. The interpretation of such signs became a kind of science, in the possession of a "college" (*collection*) of augurs. Their "science" came from the Etruscans, and seems to have been related to old Babylonian customs. **The augurs**

Religion became a mighty political instrument. No public act (vote, election, or battle) could be begun without divine approval. If the gods were properly consulted concerning a proposed measure and had manifested their approval, then, the Roman felt, they were under obligation to see it carried through. And the thrifty Roman drove hard bargains with his gods. The augurs, or soothsayers, called for fresh animals until the entrails gave the signs desired by the ruling magistrate, and then the gods were just as much bound as if they had shown favor at the first trial. The sky was watched until the desired birds did appear, and, in the later periods, tame birds were kept to give the required indications.

Patricians and plebeians

The descendants of the original three tribes (p. 244) formed "the Roman people," in a strict sense. They were *patricians* (men "with fathers"). They alone could vote, or hold office, or sue in the courts.

But, like the Greek cities, Italian cities contained many non-citizens. In Rome this class was especially large, partly because the city had brought within its walls many clans from conquered cities, and partly because adventurers and refugees thronged to a prosperous commercial center. These non-citizens were *plebeians* (or the plebs). Some of them were

rich; but none of them had any part in the religion, or law, or politics of the city. They could not intermarry with citizens. Policy required the city to protect their lives and property,

So-called Wall of Servius. The old legends said that Servius built a wall about the seven hills. Cf. p. 244. This wall was thirteen feet thick and fifty feet high. It consisted of a huge rampart of earth, faced on each side by a wall of immense stones fitted together, without mortar. Part of this colossal structure has been uncovered recently on the Aventine.

but they had no absolute security against an unscrupulous patrician.

The father's power

The Roman father had complete authority over his sons and grandsons as long as he lived, even when they were grown men and perhaps in the ruling offices of the city. When his son took

a wife, she, too, leaving her own family, came under his control. His own daughters passed by marriage from his hand under that of some other house-father. The father ruled his household, *and the households of his male descendants*, as priest, judge, and king. He could sell or slay his wife, unmarried daughter, grown-up son, or son's wife; and all that was theirs was his. No appeal lay from him to any higher judge. In practice, however, the father was influenced somewhat by near relatives and by public opinion. It is a curious fact that, despite the legal slavery of women, the Roman matrons had a dignity and public influence unknown in Greece.

The patrician government

The patrician government had three parts, — king, Senate, and Assembly (as in Homeric Greece). *The king* stood to the state as the father to the family, and was somewhat more important than the early Greek kings were. *The Senate* seems to have been originally a council of the chiefs of the 300 clans (or gentes) that made up the three tribes. It could *advise* the king, and it could *veto* any change in old custom. *The Assembly* of patricians met only at the call of the king. Its approval was necessary for offensive war and for any change in old customs.[1] It did not debate. It listened to the king's proposals, and voted yes or no.

Gains by the plebs under the tyrants

Before the "tyrants" disappeared, they had helped the plebeians to gain some political power. This advance they made in connection with a change in the army.

Originally the army was made up of the patricians and their immediate dependents. But as the plebeians grew in numbers, the kings needed their service also. According to legend, "Servius" divided all landholders, plebeian as well as patrician, into six classes, armed according to their wealth; and each of these classes was divided into a fixed number of companies, or centuries.

The Assembly of Centuries

In barbarous society, *the obligation to fight* and *the right to vote* go together. (Cf. page 117.) Gradually this army of centuries

[1] Early societies have very little law-making. This process of definitely changing an old custom, on rare occasions, corresponds to modern legislation.

became, in peace, an Assembly of Centuries, which took over the political power of the older patrician Assembly.

The patrician minority manage to control the Assembly

The patricians, however, kept most of the power in the new Assembly. As population increased, the poorer classes grew in numbers faster than the rich; but they did not gain duly in political weight, because *the patricians kept the number of centuries from being changed.* The patricians had a majority in the centuries of the upper classes. These centuries shrank up into skeleton companies, while the centuries of the lower classes came to contain far more than 100 men each. But each century, full or skeleton, counted just one vote. This gave the patricians a vast advantage over the more numerous plebeians.

None the less it was a gain that the position of a man was fixed not by his birth, but by his wealth — something that he might help change. The first great barrier against democracy was broken down.

Exercise. — Can the student point out a likeness between early Rome and early Athens that aided in both cases a more liberal development than was common in cities about them? Point to any other likenesses in the early development of Rome and Greek cities.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE EARLY REPUBLIC, TO 367 B.C.

I. EXPULSION OF THE KINGS

About 500 B.C.[1] the Romans got rid of their kings, as other Italian cities were doing at the same time. We do not know the details, but in some way the patrician nobles succeeded in replacing the life-king by two elected consuls.

King replaced by two consuls

The consuls held office for only one year, but for that year they were "joint kings." They called and dissolved Assemblies at will. They alone could propose measures or nominate magistrates — even to succeed themselves. They filled vacancies in the Senate. They ruled the city in peace, and commanded the army in war.

In two ways, however, even during his year, the consul's real power was less than that of the old kings. (1) Either consul might find any of his proposed acts absolutely forbidden ("vetoed") by his colleague. (2) He knew that, when his short term was over, he might be called to account by the Assembly, and punished for any abuse of power.

An aristocratic (patrician) gain

Moreover, the permanent Senate had gained power. Its relation to a one-year consul was very different from its old relation to a life-king. The king had been jealous of it: the consul wished above all things to become a member of it.

[1] Later historians, familiar with the history of Greece, dated this change in 510, the same year in which Athens finally drove out the last of the tyrants. The stories for this period may be read in Livy. They have no value as *history*, but they have value as literature. Some of them, — the Battle of Lake Regillus, Brutus and his sons, Horatius at the Bridge, and the Porsenna anecdotes, — might be reproduced in class, or in an English class. The second and third of these are given in Davis' *Readings*, II, Nos. 7 and 8. This is a good place for the student, who has not before done so, to become acquainted with Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*. (Cf. p. 239, note.)

Its advice became more and more like a command, until it grew to be the real "government."

The dictator

The division of power between two consuls, with the chance of a deadlock by a mutual veto, might be fatal in a time of foreign peril. Rome found escape from such danger by arranging at need to revive the old kingship under a new name. At the request of the Senate either consul might appoint a *dictator*. This officer was absolute master of Rome, save that his term of office could not exceed *six months*. He was the two consuls in one, with half their length of office. He had power of life and death in the city as in the army; and he could not be questioned for his acts even when he had laid down his powers. *He could not, however, nominate a successor.*

II. CLASS STRUGGLES: METHODS

Class struggles

The first century and a half of the Republic was a stern conflict between patricians and plebeians. *The peculiar mark of this long internal struggle was the absence of extreme violence.* The vehement class conflicts in Greek cities were marked by bloody revolutions and counter-revolutions: the contest in Rome was carried on "with a calmness, deliberation, and steadiness that corresponded to the firm, persevering, sober, practical Roman character." When the victory of the plebs was once won, the result was correspondingly permanent.

The overthrow of the kings was in no sense a democratic movement. It left Rome an oligarchy. The last kings had leaned upon the lower orders. The plebeians found themselves the losers in politics, in law, and in property rights, by the change.

The patrician oligarchy

1. They could hold no office; they controlled only a minority of centuries in the Assembly and they had no way even to get a measure considered. At best, they could vote only upon laws proposed by patrician magistrates, and they could help elect only patrician officers, who had been nominated by other patricians. The patrician Senate, too, had a final veto upon any vote of the centuries; and, in the last resort, the patrician consuls could always fall back upon the patrician augurs to

prevent a possible plebeian victory — since the augurs could forbid a vote by declaring the auspices unfavorable.

2. The kings had found it paid to see justice done the plebs, but now law became again a patrician possession. It was unwritten, and, to the plebs, unknown. It was easy, therefore, for a patrician to take shameful advantage in lawsuits.

3. When Rome conquered a hostile city, she took away a half or a third of its territory. This new territory became *a common pasture ground. It belonged to the state*, and a small tax was paid for the right to graze cattle upon it. By selfish patrician law, only the patricians had the right to use this grazing land, but the kings had extended the privilege to the plebs also. The patricians now resumed their sole right, and thus reduced to painful straits the poorer plebeians who had eked out a scanty income from their small farms by such aid. To make matters worse, the patrician officers ceased to collect the grazing tax. Thus the *public* land was enjoyed by the patricians as *private* property, without purchase or tax, while the tax on plebeian farms had to be increased to supply the falling off to the treasury.

Unjust privilege

The conditions of warfare, also, bore more heavily upon the small farmer than upon the great landlord. The farmer was called away frequently to battle. The plebeian farmer had no servants to till his fields in his absence; and his possessions were more exposed to hostile forays than were the strongly fortified holdings of his greater neighbor. He might return to find his crops ruined by delay, or his homestead in ashes, and he could no longer apply to the king for assistance to rebuild.

War hard upon the poor

Thus, more and more, the plebeians were forced to borrow tax money from patrician money lenders, or to get advances of seed corn and cattle from a neighboring landlord. The debtor's land and his person were both mortgaged for payment. On failure to pay, the plebeian debtor became the property of the creditor. He was compelled thereafter to till his land (no longer his) for the creditor's benefit; or, if he refused to accept this result, he was cast into a dungeon, loaded with chains, and torn with stripes.

Plebeian slavery

Some plebeians were rich in goods and lands; but they, too, were bitterly dissatisfied. This was true especially of the descendants of the ruling families of the conquered Latin towns whose populations had been removed to Rome. These men were aggrieved because they were not allowed to hold office or to intermarry with the old Roman families. Thus they became the natural leaders of the mass of poorer plebeians.

Remains of an Etruscan Wall at Perugia To-day. The large stones on the right are the original wall. The small stones on the upper part of the left, and toward the top, are a later reconstruction. The arch itself was remade in the Middle Ages and shows the Gothic character (p. 562). The picture illustrates the way in which medieval Italy rebuilt its decaying ancient structures for its own uses. Cf. also pp. 360, 381.

Aims of the plebs in their struggles with the patricians

At first the masses clamored for relief from the cruel laws regarding debt, and for a share in the public lands. The leaders cared more for equality with the patricians in the law courts and for social equality and political office. Gradually the whole body of the plebeians, also, began to demand these things *because they found that whatever economic rights they won were of no value, so long as the laws were carried out only by patrician officials.*

And their methods

Livy, an old Roman historian, gives a graphic account of the first great clash between the classes (497 B.C.). Probably the story is essentially correct, and certainly it illustrates the methods by which the plebeians made their gains.

The plebs, driven to despair by the cruelty of patrician creditors, refused to serve in a war against the Volscians, until the consul won them over by freeing all debtors from prison. But when the army

returned victorious, the other consul refused to recognize his colleague's acts; he arrested the debtors again, and enforced the law with merciless cruelty. On a renewal of the war, the betrayed plebs again declined to fight; but finally Manius Valerius (of the great Valerian house "that loved the people well") was made dictator, and him they trusted. Victory again followed; but Valerius was unable to get the consent of the Senate to his proposed changes in the law. So the plebeian army, still in battle array outside the gates, marched away to a hill across the Anio, some three miles from Rome, where, they declared, they were going to build a Rome of their own. The "strike" brought the patricians to some real concessions (p. 257), and the plebs returned from the "Sacred Mount."

Bridge over the Anio To-day, on the old road from Rome to the "Sacred Mount." This bridge was built in the Middle Ages.

Patrician heroes who stood for justice

The patricians were especially bitter toward any of their own order who were great-souled enough and brave enough to dare take the side of the people. The first such hero was *Spurius Cassius*. He had served Rome gloriously in war and in statesmanship, and finally, as consul, he proposed a reform in the selfish patrician management of the public lands. The patricians raised the cry that he was trying to win popular favor so as to make himself tyrant. This was a favorite patrician trick. The foolish plebeians allowed themselves to be

frightened by the charge: they deserted their champion, and he was put to death. Under like conditions, two other heroes, *Spurius Maelius* and *Marcus Manlius*, the man who had saved Rome from the Gauls (p. 261), fell before like charges.

Patrician trickery

Sometimes the later aristocratic historians blackened the memory of such "traitors" even further. There was *Appius Claudius*, who joined the plebeians, in 451 B.C., in an effort to secure fixed *written* laws (p. 257). He was put to death by the patricians, and his overthrow was afterward represented as the work of a popular rising. Claudius, said the patrician story, seized the free maid *Virginia* as his slave girl; her father, Virginius, a popular officer, to save her from such shame, slew her with his own hand, and then called upon the army to avenge his wrongs; his comrades marched upon the tyrants and overthrew them. We cannot tell whether or not there is any truth in the story. Possibly Claudius did put the cause of the people in danger by selfish tyranny, and gave the patricians a handle against him; but in any case we may be sure this was not the real cause of his overthrow. The popular rising, we know, was directed, not against him, but at his patrician murderers who were trying to cheat the people out of their previous gains.

Another instructive feature of the contest is the way in which the aristocratic class by trick and superior skill, over and over again, took back with one hand what they had been forced to surrender with the other; so that the masses had to win their cause many times, to really secure the fruits of victory.

III. STEPS IN THE PLEBEIAN GAINS

Tribunes

The secession of 497 B.C. gave the plebs the right to choose *tribunes*, with power to protect oppressed plebeians against cruel laws. It was agreed that the tribunes should have the right to stop any magistrate in any act by merely calling out *veto* ("I forbid") — just as one consul could "veto" another. This veto could be exercised only within the city (not in war), and *by the tribunes in person*. Hence a tribune's door was left always unlocked, so that a plebeian in trouble might

have instant admission. The person of a tribune was made sacred — to protect him against patrician violence. Two were elected each year. Later the number was increased to ten.

At the close of a patrician consul's term of office, a tribune could bring him to trial before the Assembly, for offenses against the people. The power of veto, too, was extended until a tribune could forbid even the putting of a question to vote in the Assembly; and from a seat just outside the Senate door he could stop any proceeding in that body by crying out a loud *veto. Thus the tribunes could bring the whole patrician government to a standstill.*

Written law

About 460 B.C. the plebeians began to demand written laws. The patricians opposed the demand furiously; but after a ten-year contest a board of ten men (*Decemvirs*) was elected to put the laws into writing. Their laws were engraved on twelve stone tables, in short, crisp sentences, and set up where all might read them.

Laws of the Twelve Tables

These "Laws of the Twelve Tables" were the basis of all later Roman law. Like the first written laws at Athens, they were very severe, and were for the most part simply old customs reduced to writing. The new thing about them was that they were now known to all, and that *they applied to plebeian and patrician alike.*

Assembly by Tribes

At some early date (legend says in the days of Servius), the city and its territory outside the walls had been divided into twenty-one "wards," or "tribes," for the military levy. In some way the meeting of the inhabitants of these local units grew into a regular "Assembly." The plebeians, who had no complete organization in clans, made use of this new Assembly of "Tribes" for purposes of government. It was here they chose their tribunes, and adopted their plans, and passed decrees (*plebiscita*) binding upon *all of their order.* The tribunes called this Assembly together and presided over it, as the consuls did with the Assembly of Centuries. Probably a patrician had a right to attend the meeting of the "tribe" in which he lived; but at this stage he would not care to do so.

Becomes source of law for all

The plebeians, finding themselves helpless in the Assembly of Centuries, began to insist upon bringing oppressive patrician consuls for trial before this Assembly of Tribes. Then, a little later, they demanded that the *plebiscites* of their Assembly should be law, binding *upon the whole state*, just as the decrees of the Assembly of Centuries were. This point they finally carried, though the Senate kept a veto upon the decrees of both Assemblies.

A double state

Thus the first half-century of conflict failed to admit the plebeians into the patrician state; but it set up a double state, — a plebeian state over against the old patrician state, Assembly of Tribes and its tribunes over against the Assembly of Centuries and its consuls. There was no real arbiter, and no check upon civil war except the Roman moderation and preference for constitutional methods. *The next work was to fuse these two governments into one.*

Right of intermarriage

Soon the Assembly of Tribes decreed that plebeians should have the right to marry with patricians, and the Senate was forced to approve this plebiscite by the threat of another secession. The two orders began now to mix in social matters, and this prepared the way for *political* fusion. Those patricians who had plebeian relatives were not likely to oppose bitterly the demands of that class for political honors. Still the final contest was a long one, lasting 78 years more.

Consular Tribunes

In 445 the tribes voted that the people should be allowed to choose a plebeian for *one* of the consuls. The Senate refused to allow the "religious" office of consul to be "polluted," but they offered a compromise. Accordingly it was decided to have no consuls in some years, but instead to elect *military tribunes with consular power, and this office was to be open to both patricians and plebeians.*

Patrician tricks

It had been left to the Senate to decide each year whether consuls or consular tribunes should be elected. The Senate used this authority to secure the election of *consuls* (who, of course, had to be patricians) twenty times out of the next

thirty-five years. And even when *consular tribunes* were chosen, the patrician influence in the Assembly of Centuries kept that office for their own order. **Censors**

At the same time, with their old stronghold threatened, the patricians prepared an inner fortress for defense of their privileges. A new office, the *censorship*, was created, to take over the religious part of the consul's duty and his most important powers. To this office, *only patricians* could be elected. Every fifth year two censors were chosen, with power to revise the lists of the citizens and of the Senate. By their mere order they could deprive any man of citizenship, or degrade a senator. They also exercised a general moral oversight over the state. Either censor could veto action by the other. Their tremendous power was used commonly with moderation, and not for partisan ends.

The Licinian Laws

An invasion by the Gauls in 390 (p. 261) almost ruined Rome and thrust aside party conflict for a time; but in 377 the final campaign began. Under the wise leadership of the tribune *Licinius Stolo*, the whole body of plebeians united firmly on a group of measures. These were proposed to the Assembly by Licinius, and are known as the *Licinian Laws*.

The three most important demands were: (1) that the office of consul should be restored, and that *at least one consul* each year should be a *plebeian;* (2) that no citizen *should hold more than 300 acres* (*500 jugera*) *of the* public *lands;* (3) that payment of debts might be postponed for three years, and that the interest already paid should be deducted from the amount of the debt.

The first measure was what the leaders, like Licinius, cared most for: the second and third secured the support of the masses. The one regarding debts had been made necessary by the distress that followed the invasion by the Gauls. The land acts were not acts of confiscation, from any point of view: like the early attempt of Spurius Cassius (p. 255), they were a righteous effort to recover the people's property from wealthy patrician squatters.

Victory of the plebs

The proposal of these reforms was followed by *ten years* of bitter wrangling. Each year the plebeians reëlected Licinius and passed the decrees anew in the Assembly of the Tribes. Each time the Senate vetoed the measures. Then the tribunes forbade the election of magistrates for the year, and so left the state without regular government (though one year, during danger of foreign war, they patriotically permitted consuls to be chosen). At last the patricians tried to buy off the masses, by offering to yield on the matters of debts and lands if they would drop the demand regarding the consulship. But Licinius succeeded in holding his party together for the full program; and, in 367, the Senate gave way and the plebeian decrees became law.

Then the distinction between the classes soon died out. Plebeian consuls nominated plebeians for praetors and censors; and, since appointments to the Senate were made from those who had held office, that body itself gradually became plebeian.

The long struggle had seen some scattered acts of violence and many bitter crises; but there had been no violent revolutions and no massacres, such as were common in class struggles in Greek cities. Except for a little political trickery now and then, the defeated patricians after each defeat accepted the result in good faith. In its union of moderation and firmness, the contest resembles the long constitutional struggle by which Englishmen have won political rights from their kings and nobles, and the modern contest between labor and capital in our own country.

For Further Reading. — Davis' *Readings*, II, Nos. 9 and 10; Ihne's *Early Rome*, 135–151, 165–190; *or* How and Leigh, 52–58, 65–77, 91–94.

CHAPTER XXV

ROME UNITES ITALY, 367-266 B.C.

The Gallic invasion

While Rome was most weakened by internal strife between patricians and plebs, she was also obliged continually to fight for life against outside foes, — Etruscans, Sabines, Volscians. After the decemvir period, it is true, she gained ground rapidly in her foreign wars; but in 390 B.C. she was for a while once more on the verge of ruin. A horde of Gauls (p. 238), who had overrun Etruria, defeated the Roman army in the battle of the *Allia*, twelve miles from the walls, and cut it off from the city. Fortunately, the barbarians squandered three days in pillage, and so gave time to save Rome. The sacred fire was hastily removed; the helpless inhabitants fled; and a small garrison, under the soldier *Marcus Manlius* (p. 256), garrisoned the Capitoline citadel. Later Romans told the story that one night the barbarians had almost surprised even this last defense, but some hungry geese, kept there for religious sacrifices, awakened Manlius by their noisy cackling just in time for him to hurl back the first-comers from the walls.

Rome sacked

The Gauls sacked the rest of the city and held it seven months. But their host was ravaged by the deadly malaria of the Roman plain, and they had little skill or patience for a regular siege. Finally they withdrew on the payment of a ransom.[1]

Rome expels the Gauls from Italy

Other states in Italy had suffered by the Gauls as much as Rome, or more. Rome at once stood forth as the champion of Italian civilization against the barbarians. After her own immediate peril was past, she followed up the invaders of Italy in

[1] Special reports: the sack of the city; Brennus, the Gallic chief, and his sword at the scales; the later fiction of the Roman victory. See Davis' *Readings*, II, Nos. 12, 13.

vigorous campaigns, until they withdrew to the Po valley. In return, Rome seized for herself half of Etruria and much territory elsewhere. All these acquisitions, too, she garrisoned with Roman colonies.

Wins Campania

Next Campania was added to the Roman dominion. The cities of that fertile plain were being ravaged by the rude "Hill" Samnites, and so they appealed to Rome for aid. Rome repulsed the mountain tribes, and *made the cities of the Campanian plain her tributaries.*

And Latium

Now that the Samnites seemed no longer dangerous, the Latins broke into revolt. This was the great *Latin War of 338 B.C.* In the end, the rising was crushed and the Latin league dissolved. Its public land became Roman. Some of its cities were brought into the Roman state, — their inhabitants being listed as citizens in the Roman "tribes." The less fortunate cities were bound to Rome as *subjects, each by its separate treaty,* and they were allowed no intercourse with one another.

Wars with the Samnites

The leadership of central Italy now lay between Rome, the great city-state of the lowlands, and the warlike Samnite tribes, which were spread widely over the southern Apennines. The decisive struggle between the two lasted 35 years, with brief truces, to 290 B.C. Early in the war (321 B.C.) the Samnites won an overwhelming victory. The whole Roman army was entrapped at the *Caudine Forks* in a narrow pass between two precipices. The Samnite leader, *Pontius*, made a treaty with the consuls by which the Romans were to withdraw all their posts from Samnium and to stop the war. He then let the captives go, after sending them "under the yoke";[1] but the Romans basely refused to abide by the treaty and held their posts.

The Senate declared that only the Roman Assembly, not the consuls alone, had power to make such a treaty. In place of their rescued army, they delivered to the Sam-

[1] This humiliation consisted in obliging the captives to come forth one by one, clad only in shirts, and pass, with bowed heads, between two upright spears upon which rested a third.

nites the two consuls, naked and in chains, saying, through the herald: "These men have wronged you by promising, without authority, to make a treaty with you. Therefore we hand them over to you." Then one of the consuls (who is said to have suggested the whole plan) pushed against the Roman herald, and said, "I am now a Samnite, and, by striking the Roman herald, I have given the Romans the right to make war upon the Samnites." The Romans pretended that these forms released them from all obligation.

Mistress of Italy

Then the Samnites built up a great alliance, which soon came to contain nearly all the states of Italy, together with the Cisalpine Gauls. But Rome's chains of fortress colonies held fast, delaying her enemies; and, using to the full the advantage of her central position, *she beat her foes, one by one*, before they could unite their forces. By 290 B.C. she had become mistress of all the true peninsula, except the Greek cities of the south.

A Coin of Pyrrhus.

War with Pyrrhus

Ten years later began the last great war for territory in Italy. The Greek cities at this moment were harassed by neighboring mountaineers, and they called in Roman aid, as Campania had done sixty years before. Thus Roman lordship became established throughout the south, except in Tarentum. That great city wished to keep her independence, and sought help from *Pyrrhus*, the chivalrous king of Epirus (p. 218).

Pyrrhus was one of the most remarkable of the Greek military adventurers who arose after the death of Alexander. He came to Italy with a great armament and with vast designs. He hoped to unite the Greek cities of Magna Graecia and Sicily, and then to subdue Carthage, the ancient enemy of Hellenes in the West. He knew little of Rome; but at the call of Tarentum he found himself engaged as a Greek champion with this

new power. He won some victories, chiefly through his elephants, which the Romans had never before encountered. Then most of southern Italy deserted Rome to join him; but, anxious to carry out his wider plans, he offered a favorable peace. Under the leadership of an aged and blind senator, *Appius Claudius*, defeated Rome answered haughtily that she would treat with no invader *while he stood upon Italian soil.*

Pyrrhus chafed at the delay, and finally hurried off to Sicily, leaving his victory incomplete. The steady Roman advance called him back, and a great Roman victory at *Beneventum* (275 B.C.) ruined his dream of empire and gave Rome that sovereignty of Italy which she had claimed so resolutely. In 266, she rounded off her work by conquering that part of Cisalpine Gaul which lay south of the Po.

The internal strife between classes in Rome had closed in 367 (p. 260). That strife had fused patricians and plebeians into one Roman people. Then that Roman people at once turned to unite Italy — and completed the task in just a century, 367–266 B.C.

FOR FURTHER READING. — Davis' *Readings*, II, Nos. 13–15; and Pelham's *Outlines*, 68–97.

EXERCISE. — (1) Review the growth of Rome, 510–266 B.C., by catchwords (see p. 151), with the important dates.

CHAPTER XXVI

UNITED ITALY UNDER ROMAN RULE, AFTER 266 B.C.

Italy now contained some 5,000,000 people. More than a fourth of these (some 1,400,000) were *Roman citizens*. The rest were *subjects*, outside the Roman state. These figures do not include slaves; but there were not yet many slaves in Italy.

ROMAN CITIZENS

Classes of citizens

The majority of Roman citizens no longer lived at Rome. Large parts of Latium and Etruria and Campania had become "suburbs" of Rome; and other towns of Roman citizens were found in distant parts of Italy. There were now three classes of citizens: (1) the inhabitants of *Rome itself;* (2) members of *Roman colonies;* and (3) members of *Roman municipia.*

Roman colonies

From an early date (p. 244) Rome had planted colonies of her citizens about the central city as military posts. The colonists and their descendants kept *all the rights of citizens.* Each colony had control over its *local* affairs in an Assembly of its own; but, in order to vote upon matters that concerned the whole Roman state, the colonists had to come to Rome at the meeting of the Assembly there. This, of course, was usually impossible. *Representative government had not been worked out; and of course it was not possible for all the people of a large state to have an equal opportunity to attend meetings of the Assembly and to take part in political affairs.*

Municipia

Rome ruled most of her conquests as *subject* communities. These we shall study presently (p. 266). But there were other conquered towns, — especially the Latin and Sabine towns, — which she *incorporated into the state in full equality.* A town so annexed to the Roman state was called a *municipium.* As in

a Roman colony, the inhabitants managed their own local affairs, and, by coming to Rome, they could vote in the Assembly of the Tribes upon all Roman and imperial questions. *The municipia and the colonies differed chiefly in the matter of origin.*

The *municipia* represent a political advance, — a new contribution to empire-making. Athens had had cleruchies corresponding to the Roman colonies (pp. 123, 163), but she had never learned to give citizenship to *conquered* states. Rome, by 266 B.C., had a "citizen" body five times as large as Athens ever had.

The Tribes increased to thirty-five

To suit this expansion of the state, the twenty-one Roman "tribes" (p. 257) were increased gradually to thirty-five, — four in the city, the rest in adjoining districts. At first these were real divisions of territory. At the point we have reached, however, this was no longer true. A man, once enrolled in a given tribe, remained a member, no matter where he lived, *and his son after him;* and *as new communities were given citizenship, they were enrolled in the old thirty-five tribes,* — sometimes whole new municipia, far apart, in the same tribe. *Each tribe kept its one vote in the Assembly.*

Rights and duties of citizens

Rome and her citizens owned directly one third the land of Italy. All Roman citizens, too, had certain valued rights. Under the head of *private rights*, they might (1) acquire property and (2) intermarry in any of Rome's possessions. Their *public rights* included the right (1) to vote in the Assembly of the Tribes, (2) to hold any office, and (3) to appeal to the Assembly if condemned to death or to bodily punishment.

In return for these privileges, the citizens furnished half the army of Italy and paid all the *direct* taxes.

ITALIAN SUBJECTS

The Latins

Outside the Roman state was subject-Italy, in three main classes, *Latin Colonies*, *Prefectures*, and "*Allies*." Highest in privilege among these stood the *Latins*. This name did not apply now to the old Latin towns (nearly all of which had become municipia), but to thirty-five colonies of a new kind, sent out by Rome (*after 338*) far beyond Latium.

These colonists were not granted citizenship, as were the *Roman* colonies, but only the *Latin right*, based on the rights enjoyed by the towns of the Latin Confederacy under an ancient alliance with Rome. That is, their citizens had the *private rights* of Romans; and they might acquire full *public rights* also, and become Roman citizens in all respects, *by removing to Rome and enrolling in one of the tribes. In local affairs,* like the Roman colonies and the municipia, *the Latin colonies had full self-government;* but they could not make war or coin money. The poorer landless citizens of Rome could well afford the slight sacrifice of citizenship that came from joining one of these colonies, in return for the gain they secured as the aristocracy of a new settlement.

The "Allies"

Most numerous of all the inhabitants of Italy stood the mass of subject Greeks, Italians, and Etruscans, under the general name of *Italian Allies.* These cities differed greatly in condition among themselves. Each one was bound to Rome by its separate treaty, and these treaties varied widely. None of the "Allies" had either the private or public rights of Romans, and they were *isolated jealously one from another;* but in general they bore few burdens and enjoyed local self-government and Roman protection.

The class of prefectures was the least enviable, but it was very small. It consisted of three or four conquered towns, too deep offenders to warrant them in asking either the "Latin right" or "alliance." *They had no self-government.* Alone of all cities in Italy, their local government was administered for them by *prefects* sent out from Rome.

Rome and her subjects: summary

Thus Roman conquest bestowed order, tranquillity, and prosperity. The calamities of great wars strike our imagination; but in all ancient history they cause infinitely less suffering than the everlasting petty wars of neighbors, with pillage and slaughter diffused everywhere. Roman supremacy put a stop to these endless and wasting feuds in Italy.

The following table shows the gradations of Italian communities, and the way in which one class merged into another.

1. Rome
2. Roman Colonies and Municipia } full rights, but able to exercise political power only by coming to Rome to the Assembly.
3. Latin Colonies: private rights of Roman citizens, and possibility of acquiring full citizenship. (A *link* between *citizens* and the *other subjects*.)
4. "Allies": local self-government and Roman protection; lightly burdened, but no Roman rights.
5. Prefectures: no self-government.

Rome's genius for rule

These arrangements show two phases of the Roman genius for rule — one admirable and the other mean but effective.

1. Rome grew strong first by a wise *incorporation* of her conquests into herself on a basis of equal rights. With this strength she won wider victories. And over these later subjects she held dominion not merely by force but by her intelligence, her justice, and by a marvelous *toleration* for local customs and rights.

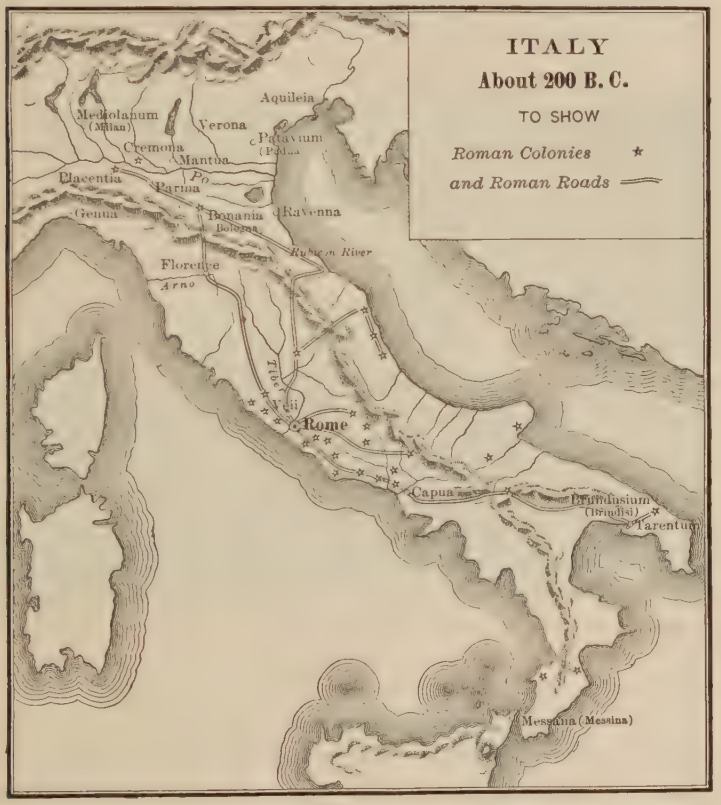
2. At the same time Rome sternly *isolated* the subject communities from one another, and took skillful advantage of the grades of inferiority that she had created among her dependents *to foment jealousies* and to play off one against another. Likewise, within each city, she set class against class, on the whole favoring an aristocratic organization. In politics as in war, the policy of her statesmen was "*Divide and conquer.*"

Thus Rome combined the imperial system of Athens (with even a wider citizenship) with parts of that of Sparta. The general result was admirable. The whole Italian stock had become consolidated under a leading city. *But all the connecting lines radiated from Rome. Italy was a confederacy under a Queen-city.* The Allies had no connection with one another except through the head city. Even the physical ties — the famous roads that marked her dominion and strengthened it — "all led to Rome."

ROADS AND ARMY

Roman roads

The Roman roads were a real part of the Roman system of government. They were bonds of union. Rome began that system of magnificent roads in 312 B.C. by building the *Via Appia* to the new possessions in Campania. This was the



work of the censor Appius Claudius — the man who, old and blind, afterward held Rome firm against Pyrrhus and haughtily claimed for Rome the dominion of all Italy (p. 264). Later, all Italy, and then the growing empire outside Italy, was traversed by a network of such roads. Nothing was permitted

to obstruct their course. Mountains were tunneled; rivers were bridged; marshes were spanned for miles by viaducts of masonry.

The construction was slow and costly. First the workmen removed all loose soil down to some firm strata, preferably the native rock. Then was laid a layer of large stones, then one of smaller, and at least one more of smaller ones still, — all bound together — some two feet in thickness — by an excellent cement. The top was then leveled carefully and paved

THE APPIAN WAY TO-DAY, showing the original pavement. — From a photograph.

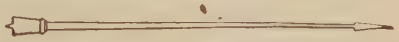
smoothly with huge slabs of rock fitted to one another with the greatest nicety. These roads made the best means of communication the world was to see until the time of railroads. They were so carefully constructed, too, that their remains, in good condition to-day, still "mark the lands where Rome has ruled." They were designed for military purposes; but they also held Italy together socially. (Cf. p. 70, for Persian roads.)

The army

The army with which Rome had conquered Italy can best be surveyed at this point.

Under the kings the army was similar to the old Dorian organization. In Italy, as in Greece, the "knights" of very early times had given way, before history fairly begins, to a dense hoplite array, usually eight deep. In Greece the next step was to deepen and close the ranks still further into the *massive phalanx*. In Italy, instead, they were broken up into three successive lines, and each line was divided further into small companies, forming the *flexible legion*.

The companies were usually six men deep, with twenty in each rank; and between each two companies there was a space, usually narrow but sometimes equal to the front of a company. Thus, if one line fell back, the companies of the line behind could advance through the intervals. Within a company, too, each soldier had about twice the space permitted in the phalanx. The front rank of companies contained the raw recruits. Experienced soldiers made up the second line of companies. The third line contained only veterans, and was usually held in reserve, to deliver a decisive blow at a critical moment in the battle.[1]



Iron Head of a Javelin. — Such a head was about three feet long, and it was fitted into a wooden shaft of the same length. Each soldier carried two javelins.

The arms of legion and phalanx differed also. The phalanx depended upon long spears. While it remained unbroken and could present its front, it was invulnerable; but if disordered by uneven ground, or if taken in flank, it was doomed. The legion used the hurling javelin to disorder the enemy's ranks before immediate contact (as moderns have used musketry), and the famous Roman short sword for close combat (as moderns have used the bayonet). Flexibility, individuality, and constancy took the place of the collective lance thrust of the unwieldy phalanx.

For defensive armor, a legionary wore (1) a bronze *helmet;* (2) a *corselet,* of interwoven leather straps, about the body,

[1] The legion usually had ten "companies" in each of its three lines. Can the student draw a diagram of a legion in battle array, from the description above?

holding a plate of iron; (3) a short leather skirt, strengthened with metal plates, hanging lower than the corselet; (4) metal greaves on the legs; and (5) on the left arm, an oblong shield with a convex surface, to make the weapons of the enemy glance off.

The legion numbered about five thousand, and was made up of Roman citizens. Each legion was accompanied by about five thousand men from the Allies. These *auxiliaries* served on the wings of the legion as light-armed troops, and they furnished also whatever cavalry the army had.

The camp

The Roman camp was characteristic of a people whose colonies were garrisons. Where the army encamped — even if for only a single night — there grew up in an hour a fortified city, with earth walls and regular streets. This system allowed the Romans often "to conquer by sitting still," declining or giving battle at their own option; while, too, when they did fight, they did so "under the walls of their city," with a fortified and guarded refuge in their rear. The importance of these camps, as the sites and foundation plans of cities over Europe, is shown by the frequency of the Roman word *castra* (camp) in English place-names, as in *Chester, Rochester, Winchester, Dorchester, Manchester,* and so on.

CHAPTER XXVII

GOVERNMENT OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

The curule offices

The officers of chief dignity in the Roman Republic, from least to greatest, were: *Aediles* (two), with oversight over police and public works; *Praetors* (two), with the chief judicial power; *Consuls* (two), leaders in war and in foreign policy; *Censors* (two); *Dictator* (one, and in critical times only).

These five were called *curule offices*, because the holders, dividing among themselves the old royal power, kept the right to use the curule chair — the ivory "throne" of the old kings. There were also the two *inferior aediles*, the eight *quaestors* (in charge of the treasury and with some judicial power), and the ten *tribunes*.

The new curule aristocracy

A new aristocracy had appeared, composed of the descendants of curule officers. Each such official, by law, handed down to his descendants the right to keep upon the walls of their living rooms the wax masks of ancestors, and to carry them in a public procession at the funeral of a member of the family. A chief part of such a funeral was an oration commemorating the virtues and deeds of the ancestors, whose images were present (Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 19). Families with this privilege were called *nobles* (nobiles, or "the known").

Before the year 300 B.C., the nobles began to be jealous of the admission of "new men" to their ranks; and their united influence soon controlled nearly all curule elections in favor of some member of their own order. To make this easier, they secured a law fixing the order in which these offices could be attained: no one could be elected aedile until he had held the quaestorship, nor praetor till he had been aedile, nor consul till he had been praetor.

Then the nobles had to watch the elections only of quaestors. By controlling these, they could control admission to their order.[1] *Thus the nobles became practically an hereditary oligarchy of a few hundred families.* And since senators had to be appointed from those who had held curule offices, each "noble" family was sure to have a senator among its near relatives, if not in its own home. "Nobles" became equivalent to *the senatorial order.*

The Assemblies

The old Assemblies *continued to exist side by side;* but the center of gravity had shifted from the centuries to the tribes. The Centuriate Assembly continued to elect consuls, censors, and praetors; but the law-making power and the choice of all other officers had passed to the Tribal Assembly. Of course, as this change came about, the rich citizens took their place in this Assembly; but in deciding the vote of a tribe, each member, rich or poor, counted like any other member. In 287, too, after a sharp clash, *the people took from the Senate its power to veto the plebiscites of the Assembly.*

Indirectly, too, the people now elected even the Senate. The censors, in filling vacancies in that body, were required first to appoint those who had held curule offices, and commonly this left them little choice.

The Senate the guiding force at Rome

None the less the Senate was really the guiding force in the government. It contained the wisdom and experience of Rome. The pressure of constant and dangerous wars, and the growing complexity of foreign relations even in peace, made it inevitable that this far-seeing, compact, experienced body should assume authority which in theory belonged to the clumsy, inexperienced Assembly. *"Rome became a complete aristocracy with democratic forms."*

Each magistrate expected, after his brief term of office, to become permanently a member of the Senate. Therefore he guarded its dignity and dreaded its anger. Thus, as the magistrate controlled the Assemblies, so the Senate con-

[1] Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 14, and the introduction, illustrates the hostility of the aristocrats to the "new men."

trolled the magistrate. No consul would think of bringing a law before the people without the previous approval of the Senate (so that indirectly that body, rather than the Assembly, had become the real legislature). As a last resort, it could usually count upon one or more of the ten tribunes, and could block any action it disliked by his veto. No officer would draw money from the treasury without the Senate's consent. It declared and managed wars. It received ambassadors and made alliances. And certainly, for over a hundred years, by its sagacity and energy, this "assembly of kings" [1] justified its usurpation, earning Mommsen's epithet, — "the foremost political corporation of all time."

A democratic aristocrat

The greatest name in this period of Roman history is that of *Appius Claudius*, the censor of the years 312–307. The Claudian gens were of the proudest patrician rank, but, like the Valerii (p. 255), they too "loved the people well." It was an earlier Appius Claudius who carried through the reforms of the Decemvirs and was rewarded by the aristocrats with slander (p. 256). The later Appius, also, was reviled by Livy, who wrote for the aristocrats; but, even in the story of his foes, he stands out as a great, progressive statesman. As censor, he built the first Roman aqueduct, to bring pure water to Rome from the mountains twelve miles away, and he constructed the Appian Way (p. 269), the first of the famous Roman roads. In order to carry through these important public works, he kept his office during the whole five years, until the next appointment,[2] greatly to the wrath of the aristocracy.

More important still were the political reforms of Appius. He filled the vacancies in the Senate with plebeians (the old distinction had not then died out), and even with the sons of

[1] This was the description of the Senate which an ambassador from Pyrrhus (p. 264) carried back to his master. See Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 18.

[2] Censors were appointed each five years. Customarily, they performed their duties, and laid down their office, by the close of the first eighteen months. But there was no way to compel one to shorten his term in this way.

freedmen; and he gave even the landless citizens of Rome political power by enrolling them in the "tribes" (Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 14).

In later life, Appius became blind. His aristocratic foes called this a punishment from the gods, in return for his attacks upon the "constitution of the fathers." But the blind old man, forty years after his censorship, could still dominate the policy of Rome upon occasion. It was he who checked the Senate when it was about to make peace with Pyrrhus, first enunciating clearly the Roman claim to supremacy in all Italy. Appius also was a lover of learning, and his written speeches and wise maxims were much quoted in later Rome.

CHAPTER XXVIII

ROMAN SOCIETY AT ITS BEST, 367–200 B.C.

Rome's best age

From 367 to about 200 B.C. is the period of greatest Roman vigor. The old class distinctions had died out. A new aristocracy of office was growing up, but it was still in its best age, its "age of service." There was soon to come a new struggle between rich and poor — but this had not yet begun.

A state of small free farmers

The Roman citizens, in the main, patrician or plebeian by descent, were still yeomen farmers, who worked hard and lived plainly. The rapid gain in territory after 367 made it possible to turn the city poor into landowners — in a colony if not near Rome. Each farmer tilled his few acres with his own hands and the help of his own sons. Every eighth day he came to the city with a load of produce for the "market," — wheat, barley, garden vegetables, fruit, horses, cattle, sheep, or hogs. Many modern garden vegetables were not yet known, and the Roman variety was certainly no larger than the Egyptian of a much earlier time (p. 29); but we read frequently of beans, onions, turnips, cabbages, and of such fruits as figs, olives, apples, plums, and pears.

There was little wealth and little extreme poverty. *Manius Curio*, the conqueror of the Samnites and of Pyrrhus, was a peasant. Plutarch tells us that, though he had "triumphed" thrice, he continued to live in a cottage on a little three-acre plot which he tilled with his own hands. Here the Samnite ambassadors found him dressing turnips in the chimney corner, when they came to offer him a large present of gold. Curio refused the gift: "A man," said he, "who can be content with this supper hath no need of gold; and I count it glory, not to

possess wealth, but to rule those who do." This sober history quite matches the more famous but less trustworthy legend of *Cincinnatus* of the fifth century, called from the plow on his three-acre farm to become dictator and save Rome from the Aequians, and returning to the plow again, all in sixteen days.

Craft gilds

In the city itself, as no doubt in all Italian towns, the craftsmen were organized in "unions" (*gilds*). These gilds were not for the purpose of raising wages, as with us, nor mainly for improving the character of the work, as in later centuries in Europe. They were associations for friendly intercourse, and, to some extent, for mutual helpfulness among the members in times of misfortune. They illustrate the extraordinary Roman capacity for team work, — in contrast to the individuality of Greek life. Legend tells us that King Numa organized the gilds of carpenters, shoemakers, dyers, laundrymen, potters, coppersmiths, and flute players. Weavers and bakers were to appear a little later.

Commerce makes new money-kings

Commerce (*trade with other lands*) paid huge profits to those successful adventurers who did not too often lose vessels by shipwreck or pirates. The few rich Romans long disdained the business for themselves; but they early began to use their capital in it through their slaves or former slaves, and toward 200 B.C. their profits were building up a new class of merchants and money-kings.

Roman money

The oldest Roman word for money (*pecunia*, from which comes our *pecuniary*) came from the word for herd (*pecus*). This points to a time when payments were made chiefly in cattle (p. 242). About 400 B.C., rude blocks of copper were stamped with the figure of an ox; and before 300 B.C., under the influence of Magna Graecia, Rome adopted true copper coins in the form of circular discs. Even earlier, the Romans had "*estimated*" in copper (*aes*), counting by the pound weight; and now they made their copper coins each one twelfth of a pound. Such a coin was an "uncia," — one *ounce* (Troy weight). Silver was not used either for money or for household purposes until after the union of Italy.

Home-life

The family and religion as yet showed little change from the early state described in pp. 245–247. The house had added rooms on sides and rear, and openings for windows; but it was still exceedingly simple, like the life within. A plain table, wooden couches, and a few stools and simple cooking utensils comprised the furniture. Artificial warmth and light was secured by "braziers" and lamps, like those of the Greeks (p. 186). The Roman took his chief meal at midday, not in the evening, as the Greeks did. In early times, the main food was a "porridge" of ground meal boiled in water. Pork, especially in the form of sausage, was the favorite meat. Bread, from ground wheat or barley, was baked in flat, round cakes. Water or milk was the common drink, but wine mixed with water was coming into general use, after the fashion of the Greeks. The Romans who conquered Pyrrhus were a frugal, temperate people.

Roman dress

Dress was as simple as the food. The Roman kept the primitive loin cloth of linen. Over this he drew a short-sleeved woolen shirt (*tunic*) falling to the knees. This made the common dress of the house, workshop, and field. In public the Roman wore an outer garment — a white woolen blanket, thrown about him in graceful folds. This was the famous *toga*, borrowed from the old Etruscans. Women wore a long and a short tunic, and, for the street, a blanket-wrap. Foot-gear was like that of the Greeks. Stockings and hats were alike unknown. Women were fond of jewelry, — rings, bracelets, pins, and chains; and each man wore a seal-ring. Members of the senatorial families wore also broad gold rings.

Education

Education was elementary. Until seven, the children were in the mother's care. After that age, boys went to a private school, taught usually by some Greek slave. As in Greece, the pupil was attended by a "pedagogue." He learned merely to read, write, and, in a limited degree, to compute with Roman numerals. The only textbook was the Twelve Tables, which were learned by heart. Physical training was found in athletic games in the Campus Martius (p. 243), where the young Romans

contended in running, wrestling, and in the use of the spear, sword, and javelin.

Science and learning

Literature, under Greek influence, was just beginning at the close of the period. So, too, with art. Roads, bridges, and aqueducts were built in the last half of the period on a magnificent scale; and the use of the round arch was so developed that we often speak of it as "the Roman arch."

Undue praise has been given sometimes to the stern excellence of early semi-barbaric Rome. The real picture is by no means without shadows. The Roman was abstemious, haughty, obedient to law, self-controlled; but too often he was also coarse, cruel, and rapacious. The finest thing in Roman character was the spirit of self-immolation for Rome, — the willingness to sink personal or party advantage for the public weal. Next to this, and allied to it, is the capacity for organization, for working *together* for a common end. *Roman history, up to this point, is not the history of a few brilliant leaders: it is the story of a people.*

A summary: Rome's contributions

Rome began as a village of rude shepherds and peasants. We have seen that village grow into a city state and then into the queen city of a united Italy. During the next hundred years, as we shall see, Italy was to organize the fringes of the three continents bordering the Mediterranean into one Graeco-Roman society.

But it was not Rome's genius in war, great as that was, which made the world Roman. *It was her political wisdom and her organizing power.* As Greece stands for art and intellectual culture, so Rome stands for government and law. A little later her poet Vergil (p. 384) wrote:

"Others, I grant, indeed, shall with more delicacy mold the breathing brass; from marble draw the features to the life; plead causes better; describe with a rod the courses of the heavens, and explain the rising stars. *To rule the nations with imperial sway be thy care, O Roman.* These shall be thy arts: to impose terms of peace, to spare the humbled, and to crush the proud."

Besides their own contributions to civilization, the Greeks had *collected* the arts and science of the older Oriental peoples. Rome, aside from her gift of political institutions, was to *preserve and pass on* this common treasure of mankind. The Roman Empire, as the historian Freeman well says, is the central "*lake in which all the streams of ancient history lose themselves, and which all the streams of modern history flow out of.*"

CHAPTER XXIX

THE WINNING OF THE WEST, 264–146 B.C.

ROME AND CARTHAGE

The five world-powers in 264 B. C.

Italy in 264 B.C. was one of five great Mediterranean states. Alexander the Great had been dead nearly fifty years, and the dominion of the eastern Mediterranean world was divided between the three great Greek kingdoms, Syria, Egypt, and Macedonia, with their numerous satellites (pp. 218–219 ff.). In the western Mediterranean, Carthage had held undisputed sway. Between the three powers of the East and the single mistress of the West now stood forth the new state, Roman Italy.

Carthage and Rome natural rivals

Carthage and Rome had been allied against Pyrrhus, but that adventurer had seen that they were natural rivals. As he abandoned the West, he exclaimed longingly, "How fair a battlefield we are leaving for the Romans and Carthaginians!" In less than ten years the hundred-year conflict began.

Carthage

Carthage was an ancient Phoenician colony (p. 75), on the finest harbor in North Africa. Her government, in form, was a republic, somewhat like Rome, but in reality it was a narrow oligarchy controlled by a few wealthy families. She was now at the height of her power. Polybius, the great Greek historian of the age, called her the richest city in the world. She had built up a vast empire, including North Africa, Sardinia, Corsica, half of Sicily, and the coasts of Spain. In Africa alone she ruled three hundred cities, and her territory merged into the desert where tributary nomads roamed. The western Mediterranean she regarded as a Punic[1] lake: foreign sailors caught

[1] "Punic" is another form for "Phoenician," and is used as a shorter adjective for "Carthaginian."

trespassing there were cast into the sea. But the Greeks of South Italy had traded in those waters for five hundred years; and Rome, now mistress and protector of those Greek cities, was bound to defend their trading rights against this Carthaginian "closed door."

Her Roman foes represented Carthage as wanting in honesty; and with biting irony they invented the term, "Punic faith," as a synonym for treachery. Carthage herself is "a dumb actor on the stage of history." She once had poetry, oratory, and philosophy, but none of it escaped Roman hate, to tell us how Carthaginians thought and felt. *Rome wrote the history;* but, even from the Roman story, the charge of faithlessness and greed is most apparent against Rome.

Carthaginian character

However, the civilization of Carthage was Oriental rather than European. Her religion was the cruel and licentious worship of the Phoenician Baal and Astarte. Her armies were a motley mass of mercenaries. And though, like the mother Phoenician states, she scattered wide the seeds of a *material* culture, like them also, she showed no power of assimilating inferior nations. The conquests of Rome were to be Romanized; *but six centuries of Punic rule had left the Berber tribes of Africa wholly outside Carthaginian society.*

Oriental rather than European

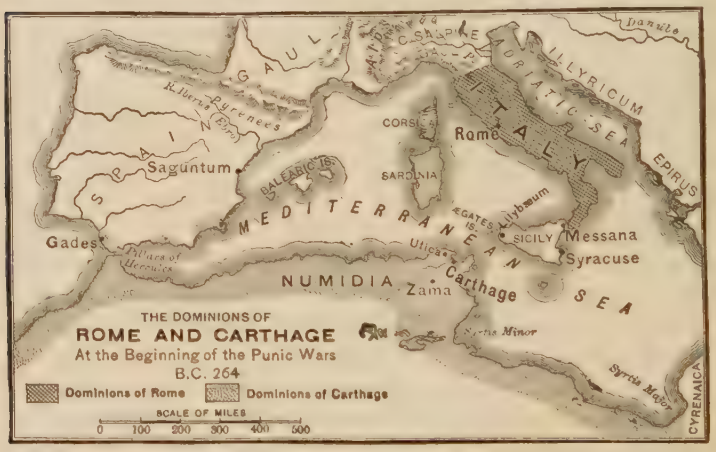
Thus, whatever our sympathy for Carthage and her hero leaders, we must see that the victory of Rome was necessary for the welfare of the human race. *The struggle was the conflict of Greece and Persia, repeated on a western stage.*

THE FIRST PUNIC WAR ("THE WAR FOR SICILY")

Sicily the prize

The *occasion* for the First Punic War was found in Sicily. Sicily is really a continuation of the Italian peninsula. It reaches to within ninety miles of the African coast. A sunken ridge on the bed of the sea shows that it once joined the two continents, and it still forms a stepping-stone between them. For this middle land, European and African struggled for centuries. For two hundred years now, it had been divided, Syracuse holding the eastern half, Carthage the western.

While Rome was still busy with the Pyrrhic war, an event happened which renewed the conflict for Sicily and which was finally to draw Rome into the struggle as a chief actor. A band of Campanian mercenaries, on their way home from service under the tyrant of Syracuse, seized the city of Messana, murdering all the men and taking possession of their wives and goods. The robbers called themselves *Mamertines* ("Sons of Mars"), and for several years, from their walled stronghold, they ravaged and plundered the northeast corner of Sicily. Now, in 265, they were hard pressed by Hiero II, the ruler of Syracuse, and



one faction called in Carthage while another party appealed to Rome for protection.

Both Syracuse and Carthage were then allies of Rome, and it was not easy for that state to find excuse for defending the murderous robbers. The desire to check Carthage and to extend Roman power, however, outweighed all moral considerations, *and, in 264, Roman legions for the first time crossed the seas.* The war with Carthage that followed is known as the *First Punic War.*

Carthage was mistress of an empire huge but scattered and heterogeneous. Rome was the head of a small but compact

nationality. Each state ruled about 5,000,000 people. The strength of Carthage lay in her wealth and in her navy. Her weak points were: the jealousy felt by the ruling families at home toward their own successful generals; the difficulty of dealing with her mercenaries; the danger of revolt among her Libyan subjects; *and the fact that an invading army, after one victory, would find no resistance outside her walls, since her jealousy had leveled the defenses of her tributary towns in Africa.*

Power of the rival states

Rome was strong in the patriotism and vigor of her people, in the discipline of her legions, *and in the fidelity of her walled allies.* Her weakness lay in the lack of a navy and in the want

Coin of Hiero II of Syracuse.

of a better military system than the one of annually changing officers and short-term soldiers.

The war lasted twenty-three years. At first the Carthaginians were undisputed masters of the sea. They therefore reinforced their troops in Sicily at pleasure, and ravaged the coasts of Italy to the utter ruin of seaboard prosperity. Indeed, for a time they made good their warning to the Roman Senate before the war began, — that against their will no Roman could wash his hands in the sea.

Importance of Sea Power

But the Romans, with sagacity and boldness, built their first war fleet — drawing it mainly from Rome's "allies" in Magna Graecia — and soon met the ancient Queen of the Seas on her own element. Winning command there temporarily, in 256, Rome invaded Africa itself. The consul *Regulus* won brilliant successes there, and even laid siege to Carthage. But, as winter

Rome builds navies

came on, the short-term Roman armies were mostly recalled, according to custom, and the weak remnant was soon killed or captured.

Legend of Regulus

Five years later, the weary Carthaginians sent the captive Regulus home with offers of peace and exchange of prisoners, binding him by oath to return to Carthage if Rome rejected the terms. Roman legend tells proudly how Regulus arrived at Rome and advised the Senate not to make peace or to ransom captives who had disgraced themselves by surrender, and how then, despite all entreaties, he steadfastly left Rome, holding his eyes on the ground to avoid sight of wife and child, to return to Carthage and to a cruel death by torture (Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 20).

Hamilcar in Sicily

This fine story may or may not be fact; but the Carthaginian hero of the war is strictly historical. In 247, the general *Hamilcar* appeared in Sicily. He established himself with a small force on the summit of a rugged mountain, and from this citadel, with a mere handful of troops, he held large Roman armies in check for six years, by his remarkable skill in war. His troops grew their own food and forage on the barren mountain slopes; and from time to time he swooped down, eagle-like, to strike telling blows, — earning from friend and foe the surname *Barca* (the Lightning).

Rome's patriotic enterprise

Terrible reverses befell inexperienced Rome upon the sea. In quick succession she lost four great fleets with large armies on board, mainly through lack of seamanship in her commanders. One sixth of her citizens had perished; the treasury was empty; and, in despair, the Senate was about to abandon the effort to secure the sea. In this crisis Rome was saved by the public spirit of private citizens. *Lavish loans built and fitted out two hundred vessels*, and this huge fleet won an overwhelming victory, which closed the war.

These loans were made by "companies" of merchants and capitalists which had recently begun to appear in Rome (p. 309). No security was provided. The Republic merely promised to

repay them when it might be able. If Rome had lost once more, they never would have been repaid. The whole proceeding is very like the way in which, in our Civil War, after Bull Run, our Northern banking syndicates loaned vast sums to the government, without security, to save the Union.

Sicily becomes Rome's

Carthage could no longer reinforce her armies in Sicily. Moreover, she was weary of the war and of the losses to her commerce; and, in 241, she sued for peace. To obtain it, she withdrew from Sicily and paid a heavy war indemnity. Hiero, who after the first years of the war had become a faithful ally of Rome, remained master of Syracuse. *The rest of Sicily passed under the rule of Rome.*

Sardinia and Corsica

Sagacious Romans looked forward to another struggle with Carthage. That conflict, however, did not come for twenty-three years. Meantime, Rome pushed wider the borders of Italy. By a base mingling of treachery and violence, she seized Sardinia and Corsica from war-weary Carthage — making the Tyrrhenian sea a Roman lake; and, provoked by Illyrian pirates, she established order in all the coasts of the Adriatic, making that sea also a Roman waterway.

And Cisalpine Gaul

Still more important was an advance on the north. Rome had begun to plant colonies on the border of Cisalpine Gaul (p. 264). The Gauls were alarmed and angered, and, in 225, for the last time they threatened Italy. They penetrated to within three days' march of Rome; but Italian patriotism rallied around the endangered capital, and the barbarians were crushed. By 222, all Cisalpine Gaul had become a Roman possession, garrisoned by numerous colonies and traversed by a great military road. *At last Rome had pushed her northern boundary from the low Apennines to the great crescent wall of the Alps.*

The system of provinces

In organizing her new conquests, Rome was for a time less successful. *All her conquests since the war with Pyrrhus* — Cisalpine Gaul as truly as the islands — *were looked upon as outside of Italy* (p. 237). Their distance seemed to Rome to forbid for these districts the liberal government given to the "allies"

in Italy. Rome failed at this point to invent a new form of government, and she fell back upon the poorest sort of government she had ever used. All the vast new acquisitions she ruled henceforth much as she had ruled the three or four little prefectures in Italy. Two additional praetors, it was decided, should be elected each year, — one to rule Sicily, the other for Sardinia and Corsica. The two governments received the name of *provinces*.

SECOND PUNIC WAR ("THE WAR FOR SPAIN")

The Barca family

Rome's policy of "blunder and plunder" in seizing Sardinia gave Carthage excuse enough to renew the contest if she could find leaders and resources. These were both furnished by the *Barca* family.

From Rome's high-handed treachery in Sardinia, Hamilcar Barca (p. 286) imbibed a deathless hatred for that state; and immediately he began to prepare for another conflict. To offset the loss of the great Mediterranean islands, he sought to extend Carthaginian dominion over Spain. The mines of that country, he saw, would furnish the needful wealth; and its hardy tribes, when disciplined, would make an infantry which might meet even the legions of Rome.

Hannibal in Spain

When Hamilcar was about to cross to Spain, in 236, he swore his son *Hannibal* at the altar to eternal hostility to Rome. Hannibal was then a boy of nine years. He followed Hamilcar to the wars, and, as a youth, became a dashing cavalry officer and the idol of the soldiery. He used his camp leisure to store his mind with the culture of Greece. At twenty-six he succeeded to the command in Spain, where he had already won the devotion and love of his fickle, mercenary troops. The Second Punic War takes its keenest interest from his dazzling career. The Romans called that struggle the "War with Hannibal."

Rome declares war, 218 B.C.

Hamilcar had made the rich south of Spain a Carthaginian province. Hannibal rapidly carried the frontier to the Ebro, collected a magnificent army of over a hundred thousand men, and besieged Saguntum, an ancient Greek colony near the east

THE MEDITERRANEAN LANDS
AT THE BEGINNING OF THE
SECOND PUNIC WAR
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400
Roman Possessions and Allies
Carthaginian " "
Macedonian " "
Hannibal's Route
Free Greek States
Syrian Possessions
Egyptian "
N.B.
5 Longitude West 0 5 Longitude 10 East
ATLANTIC OCEAN
R. Rhine
R. Seine
R. Loire
R. Garonne
R. Ebro
AQUITANIA
Numantia
SPAIN
CELTIBERIA
Saguntum
New Carthage
TURDETANIA
Gades
Munda
BALEARIC IS.
MEDITERRANEAN
Massilia
Aquae Sextiae
CORSICA
SARDINIA
Rome
Capua
Placentia
Panormus
Drepana
AEGATIAN IS.
Hippo
Lilybæum
Utica
Zama
Carthage
Agrigentum
Thapsus
NUMIDIA
MAURETANIA

om of the Seleucidae had
reater extent to the East
e shown on this map.

coast. Fearing Carthaginian advance, Saguntum had already sought Roman alliance; and now Rome, in alarm and anger, declared war (218 B.C.).

Hannibal invades Italy

Rome had intended to take the offensive. Indeed, she dispatched one consul in a leisurely way to Spain, and started the other for Africa by way of Sicily. But the audacious rapidity of her foe threw into confusion all her plans. In five months Hannibal had crossed the Pyrenees and the Rhone, fighting his way through the Gallic tribes; forced the unknown passes of the Alps, under conditions that made it a feat paralleled only by Alexander's passage of the Hindukush; and, leaving the bones of three fourths of his army between the Ebro and Po, startled Italy by appearing in Cisalpine Gaul, with 26,000 "heroic shadows."

Victories: Ticinus, Trebia, Trasimene

With these "emaciated scarecrows" Hannibal swiftly destroyed two hastily gathered Roman armies — at the *Ticinus* and at the *Trebia*. Then the recently pacified Gallic tribes rallied turbulently to swell his ranks. The next spring he crossed the Apennines, ambushed a Roman army of 40,000 men, blinded with morning fog, near *Lake Trasimene*, and annihilated it, and carried fire and sword through Italy.

Fabius dictator

Quintus Fabius Maximus was now named dictator, to save Rome. That wary old general adopted the wise policy of delay ("Fabian policy") to wear out Hannibal and gain breathing time for Rome. He would not give battle; but he followed close at the Carthaginian's heels, from place to place. Even Hannibal could not catch Fabius unawares; and he did not dare to attack the intrenched Roman camps. But he had to win victories to draw the Italian "Allies" from Rome, or he would have to flee from Italy. So far, not a city in Italy had opened its gates to him as a shelter.

But in Rome many of the common people murmured impatiently, nicknaming Fabius *Cunctator* (the Laggard). Popular leaders, too, began to grumble that the Senate protracted the war in order to gain glory for the aristocratic generals; and the following summer the new consuls were given 90,000

men — by far the largest army Rome had ever put in the field, and several times Hannibal's army — with orders to crush the invader.

Cannae

The result was the battle of Cannae — "a carnival of cold steel, a butchery, not a battle." Hannibal lost 6000 men. Rome lost 60,000 dead and 20,000 prisoners. A consul, a fourth of the senators, nearly all the officers, and over a fifth of the fighting population of the city perished. Hannibal sent home a bushel of gold rings (p. 279) from the hands of fallen Roman nobles.

Fidelity of Rome's Allies

Even this victory yielded little fruit. Hannibal freed his Italian prisoners without ransom, proclaiming that he warred only on Rome and that he came to liberate Italy; and the mountain tribes of the south, eager for plunder, did join him, as did one great Italian city, *Capua*. Syracuse, too, renounced its Roman alliance, and joined its ancient enemy Carthage. And three years later, a cruel Roman blunder drove some of the Greek towns of south Italy into Hannibal's arms. But the other cities — colonies, Latins, or Allies — closed their gates against him as resolutely as Rome itself, — and so gave marvelous testimony to the excellence of Roman rule and to the national spirit it had fostered.

Except Capua and Syracuse

Rome's grandeur in disaster

The surviving consul, Varro, courageously set himself to reorganize the wreckage of his army, and he stifled a plot among some faint-hearted nobles in his camp to abandon Italy. Then he returned to Rome, expecting to face stern judges. He had been elected, in a bitter partisan struggle, as the champion of the democratic party, against the unanimous opposition of the aristocracy. Though an excellent man, he had proved utterly lacking in military talent, and his poor generalship was largely responsible for the disaster. At Carthage, a general, so placed, would have been nailed to a cross or thrown under the feet of enraged elephants. At Rome, faction was silenced, and the aristocratic Senate publicly gave thanks to the democratic and luckless general "because he had not despaired of the Republic."

In other ways, Rome's greatness showed grandly in that hour of gloom. With stern temper and splendid tenacity she refused even to receive Hannibal's envoys or to consider his moderate proposals for peace. Nor would she ransom prisoners. Much as she needed her soldiers back, she preferred to teach her citizens that they ought at such a time to die for the Republic rather than surrender.

A third of the adult males of Italy had fallen in battle within three years, or were in camp, so that all industry was demoralized. Still, taxes were doubled, and the rich gave cheerfully, even beyond these crushing demands. The days of mourning for the dead were shortened. Not a man was called back from Sicily or Spain. Instead *Rome sent out new armies to those places;* and, by enrolling slaves, old men, boys, and the criminals from the prisons (arming them with the sacred trophies in the temples), she managed to put two hundred and fifty thousand troops into the field.

"For the war"

Rome learned, too, from disaster. The legions and generals sent to Spain, Sicily, and other distant lands were no longer recalled at the end of the year. They were enlisted "for the war."

Lack of concert among Rome's foes

Hannibal was now in no peril in Italy. He could maintain himself there indefinitely, with his allies in the south of the peninsula. But he made no more headway. The bulk of Rome's "allies" held to her with steady loyalty. Hannibal had not force enough to capture any important walled town. So his only possible chances for success lay in arousing a general Mediterranean war against Rome, or in receiving himself strong reinforcements from Carthage or Spain. Philip V of Macedonia did ally himself with Hannibal, but he acted timidly and too late. Carthage showed a strange apathy when victory was within her grasp. She made no real attempt even to regain her ancient command of the sea, and so could not send troops to Hannibal, or defend her ally, Syracuse, from Roman vengeance.

Syracuse punished

Meantime Rome guarded her coasts with efficient fleets and transported her armies at will. Especially did she strain every

nerve for success abroad, where Hannibal's superb genius could not act against her. Syracuse had been besieged promptly by land and sea, and (212 B.C.) after a three years' siege, it was taken by storm and, for a time, wiped from the map. Its works of art, accumulated through many centuries, were destroyed or carried away as plunder; and the city never recovered its old place in culture, power, or commerce. Indeed Rome's barbarous cruelty to Syracuse was due, in no small measure, to her greedy wish to seize for herself the rich trade of the fated city.

The siege is memorable also for the scientific inventions of Archimedes (p. 233), used in the defense (Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 27). The philosopher himself was killed during the sack of the city.

Changed character of the war

In Italy itself, Rome fell back upon iron constancy and steadfast caution. She risked no more pitched battles with Hannibal. The policy of Fabius was again adopted, varied by sudden telling blows from the vigorous soldier, Marcellus, who was called the "Sword" of Rome, as Fabius was called her "Shield." The war became a long series of wasting sieges and marchings and counter marchings. Hannibal's genius shone as unsurpassed as ever, earning him from modern military critics the title, "Father of Strategy"; but he found no more chance for dazzling victories. Meantime his African and Spanish veterans died off, and slowly the Romans learned from him how to war.

For thirteen years after Cannae Hannibal maintained himself in Italy without reinforcement in men or money, — always winning a battle when he could engage the enemy in the field, — and directing operations as best he might in Spain, Sicily, Macedonia, and Africa. But it was a war waged by one supreme genius against the most powerful and resolute nation in the world. Says Dr. Davis, "*The greatest military genius* who ever lived attacked *the most military people* which ever existed, and the genius was defeated after a sixteen years' war."

"Hannibal at the Gates"

One more dramatic scene marked the struggle in Italy. The Romans had besieged Capua. In a daring attempt to relieve his ally, Hannibal marched to the very walls of Rome, ravaging

the fields about the city. The Romans, however, were not to be enticed into a rash engagement, nor could the army around Capua be drawn from its prey. The only result of Hannibal's desperate stroke was the fruitless fright he gave Rome, — such that for generations Roman mothers stilled their children by the terror-bearing phrase, "Hannibal at the Gates!" Roman stories relate, however, that citizens were found, even in that hour of fear, to show a defiant confidence by buying eagerly at a public sale the land where the invader lay encamped. And even Hannibal must have felt misgivings when his scouts reported that from another gate a Roman army had just marched away contemptuously, with colors flying, to reinforce the Roman troops in Spain.

Capua punished

Hannibal finally drew off, and Capua fell, — to meet a fate more harsh even than that of Syracuse. That "second city of Italy" ceased to exist as a city. Its leading men were massacred; most of the rest of the population were sold as slaves; and colonies of Roman veterans were planted on its lands. The few remaining inhabitants were governed by a prefect from Rome.

Rome's darkest hour

Hannibal's one remaining chance lay in reinforcements by land from his brother Hasdrubal, whom he had left in charge in Spain. But for year after year, in spite of some great victories, Hasdrubal had been checked by the overwhelming forces Rome sent against him. Finally, in 208, he did elude the Roman Scipio. Rome's peril was never greater than when this second son of Barca crossed the Alps with 56,000 veteran soldiers. If the two Carthaginian armies joined, Hannibal could march at will through Italy, — and leading Latin colonies had already given Rome notice that they could not much longer endure the ravages of the war.

Victory of the Metaurus

Rome put forth its supreme effort, and threw 150,000 men between the two Carthaginian armies. By chance, they captured a messenger from Hasdrubal to his brother, and so learned his plans while Hannibal was left ignorant of his approach. The opportunity was used to the full. The consul, Claudius

Nero, with audacity worthy of Hannibal himself, left a small part of his force to deceive that leader, and hurrying northward with the speed of life and death, joined the other consul and fell upon Hasdrubal with crushing numbers at the Metaurus. The ghastly head of his long-expected brother, flung into his camp with true Roman brutality,[1] was the first notice to Hannibal of the ruin of his cause.

Scipio carries the war into Africa

Still Hannibal remained invincible in the mountains of southern Italy. But Rome now carried the war into Africa. After Hasdrubal left Spain, Publius Cornelius Scipio, the Roman general there, rapidly subdued the whole peninsula, and, in 204, he persuaded the Senate to send him with a great army against Carthage itself. Two years later, to meet this peril, *Carthage recalled Hannibal.* That great leader obeyed sadly, "leaving the country of his enemy," says Livy, "with more regret than many an exile has left his own."

Hannibal's one and fatal defeat at Zama

The same year (202 B.C.) the struggle closed with Hannibal's first and only defeat, at the battle of *Zama* (Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 28). Carthage lay at the mercy of the victor, and sued for peace. She gave up Spain and the islands of the western Mediterranean; surrendered her war elephants and all her ships of war save ten; paid a huge war indemnity, which was intended to keep her poor for many years; and became a dependent ally of Rome, promising to wage no war without Roman consent. Scipio received the proud surname *Africanus.* The Greek cities of the south, and the mountain tribes that had joined Hannibal, lost lands and privileges. And Cisalpine Gaul was thoroughly Romanized by many a cruel campaign.

Rome mistress of the West

Rome had been fighting for existence, but she had won world-dominion. *In the West no rival remained.* Her subsequent warfare there was to be only with unorganized barbarians. In the East, the result showed more slowly; but there, too, Roman

[1] On all occasions Hannibal had given chivalrous treatment and honorable burial to the bodies of dead Roman generals.

conquest was now mainly a matter of time. No civilized power again invaded Italy; but, one by one, Rome absorbed into her dominion all the kingdoms of Alexander's realms.

Exercise. — A Roman had at least three names. The gentile name was the *nomen*, the most important of the three; it came in the middle. The third (the *cognomen*) marked the family. The first (*praenomen*) was the individual name (like our baptismal name). Then a Roman often received also a surname for some achievement or characteristic. Thus *Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus* was the *individual* Publius of the Scipio *family* of the great Cornelian *gens*, *surnamed* Africanus for his conquest of Africa. The first name was often abbreviated in writing. The most common of these abbreviations were: C. for Caius (Gaius); Cn. for Gnaeus; L. for Lucius; M. for Marcus; P. for Publius; Q. for Quintus; T. for Titus.

CHAPTER XXX

THE WEST FROM 201 TO 146 B.C.

SPAIN

Spain's heroic struggle

In Spain Rome created two new provinces. The Roman governors proved rapacious and incompetent; and the proud and warlike tribes of Spain were driven into a long war for independence.

The struggle was marked by the heroic leadership of the Spanish patriot, *Viriathus*, and by contemptible Roman baseness. A Roman general massacred a tribe which had submitted. Another general procured the assassination of Viriathus by hired murderers. Rome itself rejected treaties after they had saved Roman armies. Spanish towns, which had been captured after gallant resistance, were wiped from the face of the earth, so that other towns chose wholesale suicide rather than surrender to Roman cruelty.

Spain Romanized

Still, Roman conquest in the end was a blessing to Spain. The struggle in the most inaccessible districts went on until 133, but long before that year the greater part of the land had been Romanized. Traders and speculators flocked to the seaports. For more than half a century twenty thousand soldiers were left under arms in the province. These legionaries, quartered in Spain for many years at a time, married Spanish wives, and when relieved from military service, they gladly received lands in Spain, as a sort of pension, and settled down in military colonies, to spread Roman language and customs among the neighboring natives. No sooner were the restless interior tribes fully subdued than there appeared the promise — to be well kept later — that Spain would become "more Roman

than Rome itself." (In this same way, settlements of Italians were soon spread over other provinces, as they were conquered, one by one, *to Italianize the world,* as Roman colonies had formerly Romanized Italy.)

South Gaul

Meantime (about 188) Rome had secured a land road, through southern Gaul, from Italy to Spain. This was obtained in the main by friendly alliance with the ancient Greek city Massilia; but there was also some warfare with the native tribes, which laid the foundations for a new Roman province (the modern *Provence*) in South Gaul in the near future.

Imperialism creates military chiefs

We have seen how the Punic wars, especially the war in Spain, with campaigns lasting year after year, had changed the character of the Roman army. Alongside the citizen army, raised as before year by year for summer campaigns, there had grown up a professional army, which was kept under arms, far from Italy, for many years.

This professional army of veterans soon came to furnish most of the officers for the short-term levies. And a still more important result followed in politics. To call home a consul each year from an unfinished campaign in these distant wars was intolerably wasteful. So the commander's term of office was extended, with the title *pro*consul, *for a term of years.* This title was often given also to the governors of provinces. The office was soon the most powerful one in the Republic.

THIRD PUNIC WAR ("THE WAR FOR AFRICA")

Rome's perfidy

Even before Spain was pacified, hatred and greed had led Rome to seize the remaining realms of Carthage. That state was now powerless for harm. But Roman fear was cruel, and her commercial envy was rapacious and reckless; and (after some fifty years) a long series of persecutions forced a needless conflict upon the unhappy Carthaginians. The Third Punic War was marked by *black perfidy on the part of Rome* and by the final *desperate heroism of Carthage.*

First, that city was called upon to surrender Hannibal to

Roman vengeance.[1] Then it was vexed by constant annoyances in Africa on the part of Massinissa, Prince of Numidia. Massinissa had been Rome's ally in the latter part of the Second Punic War, and had been rewarded by new dominions carved out of Carthaginian territory. Now, *encouraged by Rome*, he encroached more and more, seizing piece after piece of the district that had been left to the vanquished city.

Repeatedly Carthage appealed to Rome. Rome sent commissioners to act as arbiters — with secret orders beforehand to favor Massinissa. These carried back to Rome a greater fear of the reviving wealth of Carthage, and told the astonished Roman Senate of a city with crowded streets, with treasury and arsenals full, and with its harbors thronged with shipping. One commissioner, the narrow-minded but zealous *Cato*, closed every speech in the Senate thereafter, no matter what the subject, with the phrase "*Delenda est Carthago*" (Carthage must be blotted out). More quietly but more effectively, *the Roman merchant class strove to the same end*, to prevent Carthage from recovering its ancient trade in the Mediterranean.

And greed

Carthage was cautious, and gave no handle to Roman hate; but at last Massinissa pushed his seizures almost up to her gates, and she took up arms against his invasion. By her treaty with Rome she had promised to engage in no war without Roman permission; and Rome at once snatched at the excuse to declare war.

In vain, terrified Carthage punished her leaders and offered abject submission. The Roman Senate would only promise that the city should be left independent if it complied with the further demands of Rome, to be announced on African soil. The Roman fleet and army proceeded to Carthage, and played out an act of masterful treachery by successive steps.

Heroism of Carthage

First, at the demand of the Roman general, Carthage sent as hostages to the Roman camp three hundred boys from the no-

[1] Hannibal escaped to the East. Roman petty hatred followed him from country to country, until, to avoid falling into Roman hands, he took his own life, "proving in a lifelong struggle with fate, that success is in no way necessary to greatness."

blest families, amid the tears and outcries of the mothers. Then, on further command, the city dismantled its walls and stripped its arsenals, sending, in long lines of wagons, to the Roman army 3000 catapults and 200,000 stand of arms, with vast military supplies. Next the shipping was all surrendered. Finally, now that the city was supposed to be utterly defenseless, came the announcement that it must be destroyed and the people removed to some spot *ten miles inland*, away from the sea from which, from dim antiquity, they had drawn their living.

Despair blazed into passionate wrath, and the Carthaginians chose death rather than ruin and exile. Carelessly enough, the Roman army remained at a distance for some days. Meanwhile the dismantled and disarmed town became one great workshop for war. Women gave their hair to make ropes for catapults; the temples were ransacked for arms, and torn down for timber and metal; and to the angry dismay of Rome, Carthage stood a four years' siege, holding out heroically against famine, pestilence, and war.

At last the legions forced their way over the walls. For seven days more the fighting continued from house to house, until at last a miserable remnant surrendered. The commander at the last moment made his peace with the Roman general; but his disdainful wife, taunting him from the burning temple roof as he knelt at Scipio's feet, slew their two boys and cast herself with them into the ruins.

Carthage "blotted out"

For many days the city was given up to pillage. Then, *by express orders from Rome*, it was burned to the ground, and its site was plowed up, sown to salt, and cursed (146 B.C.). What was left of its ancient territory was made the Roman Province of Africa, with the capital at Utica.

Roman fear and Roman greed had combined to "blot out" Carthage. To carry out this crime fell to the lot of one of the purest and noblest characters Rome ever produced, — *Publius Scipio Aemilianus*, the nephew and adopted grandson of Scipio Africanus, known himself as *Africanus the Younger*. As he watched the smoldering ruins (they burned for seventeen days)

with his friend Polybius the historian, Scipio spoke his fear that some day Rome might suffer a like fate, and he was heard to repeat Homer's lines:

> "Yet come it will, the day decreed by fate,
> The day when thou, Imperial Troy, must bend,
> And see *thy* warriors fall, *thy* glories end."

For Further Reading. — *Specially recommended:* Davis' *Readings*, II, Nos. 20–29 (extracts from Livy and Polybius); How and Leigh, chs. 19–22. *Additional material* of value and interest will be found in W. W. How's *Hannibal*, and in Plutarch's *Lives* ("Fabius" and "Marcellus").

Review Exercise. — Catchword review of Roman expansion in the West from 264 to 146 B.C.

Court of a Roman House (p. 311) — a painting by Boulanger, based upon study of ancient remains.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE WINNING OF THE EAST, 201–146 B.C.

The expansion of Rome in the fifty years after the Second Punic War went on continuously both west and east. The two stories, however, had little connection. We have dealt with the West for that half century in chapter xxx. Now we turn to the East.

First war with Macedon

Ever since the repulse of Pyrrhus, Rome had been drifting into touch with the Greek kingdoms of the East. With Egypt she had a friendly alliance and much trade. Between the First and the Second Punic War, too, she had chastised the formidable pirates of the Illyrian coasts, and so had come to be looked upon by the Greeks as the guardian of order.

Further than this, Rome showed no desire to go. But, in 205, Philip V of Macedon and Antiochus IV of Syria tried to seize Egypt, left just then to a boy king. Philip had been an ally of Hannibal (p. 291). Egypt was an ally of Rome. Moreover, it was already becoming "the granary of the Mediterranean," and Rome could not wisely see it pass into hostile hands. Philip also attacked Athens, another of Rome's allies. So, as soon as Rome's hands were freed by the second peace with Carthage, the Senate persuaded the wearied Assembly to enter upon war with Macedonia (201–196 B.C.).

The decisive battle was fought at *Cynoscephalae* (Dog's heads), a group of low hills in Thessaly; and the result was due, not to generalship, but to the fighting qualities of the soldiery. The two armies were of nearly equal size. They met in mist and rain, and the engagement was brought on by a chance encounter of scouting parties. *The flexible legion*

proved its superiority over the unwieldy phalanx (p. 271). The Roman loss was 700; the Macedonian, 13,000.

Greece a Roman protectorate

Macedonia sank into a second-rate power, and became a *dependent* "ally" of Rome. But Rome herself took no territory. Macedonia was forced to give up her possessions in Greece, and the Roman commander proclaimed the Greeks "free." The many Greek states, along with Rhodes and Pergamus and the other small states of Asia, became Rome's grateful allies. In name they were equals of Rome: in fact, they were *Roman "protectorates."* That is, Rome controlled all the *foreign relations* of each of them.

War with Antiochus

Meanwhile Antiochus had been plundering Egypt's possessions in Asia. Now he turned to seize Thrace and Greece. Rome sincerely dreaded a conflict with the "Great King," the Lord of Asia; but she had no choice. The struggle proved easy and brief. In 190, Roman legions for the first time invaded Asia, and at *Magnesia*, in Lydia, they shattered the power of Syria. That kingdom was reduced in territory and power, somewhat as Macedonia had been. *Rome still kept no territory* for herself, but rewarded her allies with gifts of territory.

System of protectorates in the East

Thus, in eleven years (200–190 B.C.) after the close of the Second Punic War, Rome had set up a virtual protectorate over all the realms of Alexander's successors. She had set out deliberately to conquer the West; but toward the civilized and older East she long showed a modest hesitation. But the weakness of the degenerate Eastern states drew her on. The East had become an "intolerable hubbub," from which men's eyes turned with wonder and hope "to the stable and well-ordered Republic of the West."

Rome and Judea

An interesting illustration of this feeling of the small Oriental States for Rome at this time is found in Jewish history. Antiochus of Syria had sought ardently to Hellenize completely all parts of his dominions. In Judea he felt himself thwarted by the strong national feeling of the people and especially by the Jewish religion. So, in 168 B.C., he had ordered the Jews

to renounce their worship for that of the Greeks, and he even dedicated to Zeus the holy Temple which Solomon had built to Jehovah. This sacrilege drove the gallant little people into revolt, under the hero *Judas Maccabeus*. The Jewish historian of the time tells how this leader naturally turned his eyes toward Rome (1 *Maccabees*, viii):

"And Judas heard of the fame of the Romans, — that they are valiant men . . . and that with their friends they keep friendship . . . Moreover, whomsoever they will to succor and to make kings, these do they make kings; and whomsoever they will, do they depose; and, for all this, *none of them ever did put on a diadem, neither did they clothe themselves with purple, to be magnified thereby* . . . and how they had made for themselves a Senate-House, and day by day three hundred men sat there in council, *consulting alway for the people* . . . and how they commit their government to one man year by year [the consuls] . . . and all are obedient to that one; *and neither is there envy nor emulation among them.*"

Rome changes protectorates into provinces

But Rome could not stop with protectorates. They had neither the blessings of real liberty nor the good order of true provinces. And so gradually Rome was led to *annex territory* in the civilized East, as before in the barbarous West. By 146 B.C. this change was well under way, — to go on for a century. Appetite for power grew with its exercise. *A class of ambitious nobles* craved new wars of conquest *for the sake of glory and power;* and the growing class of *merchants and money lenders* (who now *indirectly* dominated the government) hungered raveningly for conquests in order to secure more *special privileges in the form of trade monopolies and the management of finances* in new provinces. Thus to extend her sway in the East, where at first she had hesitated so modestly, Rome sank to violence and perfidy as high-handed and as base as had marked her treatment of Carthage in the West.

We can note here only three or four chief steps in the long process of Eastern annexation.

Macedonia

1. Rome's gentle treatment of the Greeks after the Macedonian War (p. 302) was due to admiration for Greek civilization.

But this feeling was soon lost in contempt for Greek fickleness and weakness — and in greed for Greek riches. On their side, the Greek cities at first welcomed Rome joyfully as a guardian of Hellenic liberty. But arrogant Roman officials soon made these cities look back regretfully to the rule of Macedonia, which at least had had understanding and sympathy for Greek character.

Perseus of Macedonia, son of Philip V, took advantage of this revulsion of feeling to attempt a rising against Rome; but the Roman victory of *Pydna* (168 B.C.) closed this last attempt at Macedonian independence. In 146 the country became a Roman province.

Plutarch (*Life of Aemilius Paulus*) describes the gorgeous "triumph" of the Roman general on his return after Pydna. For three days a festal procession paraded the city, to the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline. Throngs of white-robed citizens watched the procession from scaffolds, which had been erected for the purpose in all convenient places. On the first day, two hundred and fifty wagons carried by the statues and paintings which had been plundered from Macedonian cities. On the next day passed many wagons, carrying Macedonian standards and armor, followed by three thousand men loaded with the silver money and silver plate which had been secured in the booty. On the third day came a procession of men carrying gold spoil, followed by the conqueror in a splendid chariot, behind which walked the conquered king with his three young children.

Rome so filled her coffers with treasure by this plunder that the Republic never thereafter taxed her citizens. And besides this public plunder, *the Roman general had paid his soldiers by permitting them to sack seventy helpless rich cities in Epirus.* The unspeakable suffering and misery, — the ruined lives and broken families, — in every such city is beyond the power of the imagination to picture.

Greece

2. Pydna was followed by rearrangements in *Greece*, and the factions there which had sympathized with Perseus in his hopeless struggle were cruelly punished. Finally the Achaean League was goaded into open rebellion — to fall easily before Roman arms, in 146 B.C. Corinth had been the chief offender, *and it was another of the commercial centers whose prosperity roused the envy and hatred of Roman merchants.* By order of

the Senate that city was burned and its site cursed, and its people murdered or sold as slaves.

The destruction of Corinth was a greater crime than that of Carthage, Syracuse, or Capua, since Rome had neither fear nor serious cause for vengeance in excuse. The art treasures of Corinth, so far as preserved, became the plunder of the Roman state; but much was lost. Polybius (p. 300) saw common

RUINS AT CORINTH, as they appeared in 1905. The Roman destruction was so complete that the site of Corinth has yielded less to the modern excavator than almost any other famous ancient center. The building in the foreground was a temple of Apollo — the only Doric temple known whose columns are monoliths. In the background is the ancient citadel, *Acrocorinth*.

soldiers playing at dice, amid the smoking ruins, on the paintings of the greatest masters.

Equally base, though less bloody, was Rome's treatment, soon after, of Rhodes. That city had committed no offense; she had been a most faithful and trusting friend. But Roman merchants looked avariciously upon her widespread commerce; and a sham excuse was seized upon greedily to rob that helpless friend of her territory and trade. Rome's success in war was equalled only by her greed and meanness.

Summary of Rome's growth to world-empire

In 264 B.C. Rome had been *one of five* Great Powers (p. 282). By the peace of 201, after Zama, Carthage disappeared from that list. In the next fifty years Cynoscephalae, Magnesia, Pydna, and arrogant Roman "diplomacy" removed her other three rivals. In 146, Rome was the *sole* Great Power. Carthage and Macedonia were provinces. Egypt and Syria had become protectorates and were soon to be provinces. All the smaller states had been brought within the Roman "sphere of influence." Rome held the heritage of Alexander as well as that of Carthage.

There remained no state able to dream of equality with her. *The civilized world had become a Graeco-Roman World, under Roman sway.*

Latin West and Greek East

But *Rome's relations with the two sections of her empire were widely different.* In the West, Rome appeared on the stage as the successor of Carthage; and to the majority of her Western subjects, despite terrible cruelties in war, she brought better order and higher civilization than they had known. The Western world became Latin.

In the East, Rome appeared first as the liberator of the Greeks; and to the last, the East remained Greek, not Latin, in language, customs, and thought. The Adriatic continued to divide the Latin and Greek civilizations when the two shared the world under the sway of Rome.

REVIEW EXERCISES. — 1. Catchword review of Rome's progress in the East.

2. Connected review of Rome's growth by large periods; thus, —
   (1) Growth under the Kings.
   (2) Growth during the strife between patricians and plebeians, 510–367.
   (3) Growth of united Rome (under the guidance of the Senate), 367–146.

3. Catchword review of the same topic — Roman expansion — from legendary times to 146 B.C.

4. *Catchword review of each of the three great eastern kingdoms, — Macedonia, Syria, and Egypt, — from the Wars of the Succession* (p. 218) *to the condition of a Roman province.*

5. Make a Table of Dates in two parallel columns, to show the parallelism in time between Greek and Roman history, down to the merging of East and West:

GREECE		ROME	
B.C.		B.C.	
510 . .	*Expulsion of the Pisistratidae*	510 . .	*Legendary Expulsion of the Tarquins*
509 . .	Clisthenes		
500–494 .	The Ionic revolt	494 . .	First secession of the plebs: Tribunes
492–479 .	*Attack by Persia and Carthage*		
490 . .	*Marathon*	486 . .	Agrarian proposal of Spurius Cassius
480 . .	Thermopylae, Salamis, Himera		
477 . .	Confederacy of Delos		
461–429 .	Leadership of Pericles	462 . .	Proposal for written laws

(Continue to 146 B.C.)

CHAPTER XXXII

CLASS STRIFE AGAIN, 146-49 B.C.

Decline in morals due to war

During her wars of conquest, Rome at home sank steadily to lower levels in morals and in industry. The Second Punic War alone — the most "glorious" of her wars — cost Italy a million lives. These included the flower of the Roman citizens, — tens of thousands of high-souled youth, who, in peace, would have served the state through a long lifetime. The Italian race was made permanently poorer by that terrible hemorrhage.

Conquest creates capitalist class

Conquest and war had hastened, too, the growth of a capitalist class. *By 146, Rome had become the money center of the world,* and the *Via Sacra*, along which the capitalistic companies had their chief offices, was the first "Wall Street." Regular trade stagnated during the wars; but the traders eagerly sought irregular profits. The same merchants who had risked their wealth so generously to supply their country in her need after Cannae (p. 291), began to repay themselves, as soon as that peril was past, out of dishonest contracts for supplies; and sometimes they insured ships, supposed to be loaded with supplies for the armies in Spain or Africa, far beyond their value, and then scuttled them, to collect the insurance from the government. Their quick-won wealth, too, led them into reckless speculation.

Trade monopolies

These capitalists became known as *equites*, or "knights." They formed a new aristocracy of wealth, just below the old senatorial aristocracy of office and birth, and a much more numerous class. Very commonly they were organized in partnerships and stock companies; and some of these powerful companies monopolized the trade in certain important commodities — so as unduly to raise the price to the public. Olive

oil was a necessary part of Italian food, as of Greek food, holding much more than the place that butter does with us; and it had many other uses aside from food. So, about 200 B.C., we find an "oil trust" at Rome; and a few years later the people were so distressed by a speculators' "corner" in grain that the government felt it necessary to prosecute certain "malefactors of great wealth" under an ancient law of the Twelve Tables against engrossing food.

And their alliance with the Senate

Ordinarily, however, the capitalists went their extortionate ways without hindrance or rebuke, in close alliance with the governing classes. True, the Senatorial families were forbidden by law (in 218) to engage in foreign trade or in government contracts; but this wise attempt to keep the money power from influencing the government failed. The capitalists could not place members of their own class in the Senate, so as *directly* to secure such policies as they desired; but none the less, *indirectly*, they did come to control the government.

Wealth's special privileges

This condition *began* with the patriotic action of the moneyed men during the Second Punic War. Year by year, during that desperate struggle, the Senate had to have immense sums of money such as the Roman treasury had never before known. The only way then to get such sums quickly was from these rising companies of capitalists. These companies met the need patriotically. They built the fleets and equipped the armies with which Hannibal was held in check. *Then, in return, when the danger was past, they demanded and obtained special favors.* In particular, they were allowed to take for their own the public lands, treating the land provision of the Licinian laws as a dead letter.

In many ways, too, the capitalists kept in touch with influential individuals of the governing class. Especially did they lend money, perhaps without security, to ambitious young nobles to help them get elected to office; and in return they expected and received favors when these nobles became influential leaders at Rome or the governors of provinces abroad. A provincial governor could easily induce a

rich city to give fat contracts to his favorite Roman syndicate; or he could enable the syndicate to squeeze from a debtor city the last penny of extortionate interest which its government had carelessly or foolishly or wrongfully promised. Through such alliances, the Roman capitalists plundered the provinces even more rapaciously than they had plundered Italy.

Wealth's control of government

The syndicates were of no political party. Like "big business" in our own time, they sought to control or own every leader and party which might be able sometime to serve them. Moreover, small shares of the stock companies were widely distributed, so that the whole middle class of citizens was interested in every prospect of enlarged dividends. Such citizens could be counted upon to support any project of the moneyed interests with their votes in the Assembly, and with their shoutings in the street mobs. There were many striking resemblances between the relation of Roman "big business" to the Roman state and the relation between the great corporations and the government in our own day and country.[1]

Influence of Greek culture

Ever since the war with Pyrrhus, Greek culture from Magna Graecia had been more and more influencing Rome. With a few of the better minds, like the Scipios, this softened and refined character into a lovable type; but as a rule it merely veneered the native Roman coarseness and brutality.

Simplicity gives way to sumptuosity

After the conquest of the Greek East, there was a new inflow of Greek culture into Italy. Greek became the fashionable language; Greek marbles and pictures, plundered from Greek cities, adorned Roman palaces; Greek slaves wrote plays to amuse Roman nobles. But Rome herself so far had not begun to produce sculptors or painters or many writers. The conquest of the rich East did, however, produce a vast change in Roman life. With the rich and the nobles, the old Roman simplicity gave way to sumptuous luxury. There was a

[1] In this treatment of Roman capitalism after 200 B.C., the author has drawn freely from two recent books of great value, — Dr. William Stearns Davis' *Influence of Wealth in Imperial Rome*, and Dr. Frank Frost Abbott's *Common People of Ancient Rome*.

growing display in dress and at the table, in rich draperies and couches and other house furnishings, and in the celebration of marriages, and at funerals. As the Roman Juvenal wrote later: "Luxury has fallen upon us — more terrible than the sword; the conquered East has avenged herself by the gift of her vices." The economic phenomena, good and bad, that had occurred in the Greek world (pp. 217, 219) after the conquests of Alexander,

RUINS OF THE HOUSE OF A WEALTHY ROMAN (*M. Olconius*) AT POMPEII. — On the preservation of Pompeian remains, see p. **364**. Note Vesuvius, the destroyer, in the distant background.

were now repeated on a larger scale in Italy — with a difference: *the coarser Roman resorted too often to tawdry display and to gluttony or other brutal excesses, from which the temperate Greek turned with disgust.*

Luxury of the rich

The houses of wealthy men had come to imitate the Greek type. We have already noticed (p. 279) that the original "house" had become a central hall (*atrium*) with rooms on the sides and rear. This *atrium* now became a *front* hall, where the master of the house received his guests. It was shut off

from the street by a vestibule and porter's room. Its central court, open to the sky, still admitted light and air, and it now held a marble basin to catch the rain, and perhaps a fountain, surrounded by flowering shrubs. In the rear was a second court (*peristyle*), about which, as well as in the second story, were many rooms for the women and for household work.

Each house had its kitchens, and several dining rooms, large and small, where stood tables, each surrounded on three sides by luxurious couches, in place of the old-fashioned hard benches. The Romans had now adopted the Greek practice of reclining at meals. Each fashionable house, too, had its bathrooms, one or more, and its library. The pavement of the courts, and many floors, were ornamented with artistic mosaic. Walls were hung with costly, brilliantly colored tapestries; and ceilings were richly gilded. Sideboards were beautiful with vases and gold and silver plate; and in various recesses stood glorious statues, the booty from some Hellenic city.

The villa

Besides his town house, each rich Roman had one or more country houses (*villas*), with all the comforts of the city, — baths, libraries, museums, mosaic pavements, richly gilded ceilings, walls hung with brilliant tapestries, — while about the house spread park-like grounds with ornamental shrubbery and playing fountains and with glorious marble forms gleaming through the foliage, and perhaps with fish ponds and vineyards.

Commonly a villa was the center of a large farm; and its magnificent luxury found a sinister contrast in the squalid huts, leaning against the walls of the villa grounds, in which slept the wretched slaves that tilled the soil and heaped up wealth for the noble master. Near by, in somewhat better quarters, lived his skilled artisans — carpenters, smiths, and bakers. To care for the complex needs of his sumptuous life, too, every man of wealth kept troops of *household* slaves — who slept on the floors of the large halls or in the open courts.

Alongside this private luxury, there grew *the practice of entertaining the populace with shows.* These were often con-

nected with religious festivals. It was the special duty of the aediles to care for public entertainment, but gradually many candidates for popular favor began to give shows of various kinds.

Among the new shows were the horrible *gladiatorial games.* These came, not from the Greek East, but from neighbors in Italy. They were an old Etruscan custom, and were introduced

Gladiatorial games

Remains of Part of a Roman Villa (the Library) near Tivoli. Walls so well preserved are not common; but the *foundations* of such structures are scattered widely over Western and Southern Europe, and it is not uncommon for excavation to reveal finds of this sort even to-day.

into Rome about the beginning of the Punic Wars. A gladiatorial contest was a combat in which two men fought each other to the death for the amusement of the spectators. The practice was connected with ancient human sacrifices for the dead, and at Rome the first contests of this kind took place only at the funerals of nobles. By degrees they became the most common of the public amusements. A long series of combats would be given at a single exhibition, and many couples,

armed in different ways, would engage at the same time. Sometimes wild beasts, also, fought one another, and sometimes beasts fought with men.

At first the gladiators were captives in war, and fought in their native fashion, for the instruction as well as the entertainment of the spectators. Later, slaves and condemned criminals were used. Finally this fighting became a profession,

THEATER AT POMPEII. — Every Roman city had its *amphi*theater (*two* theaters, back to back) for the celebration of shows and gladiatorial games. Cf. p. 390 for Rome itself.

for which men prepared by careful training in gladiatorial schools.

The public baths

Exaggerated copies of the Greek public baths (p. 191) appeared in Rome. These became great public clubhouses, where the more voluptuous and more idle citizens spent many hours a day. Besides the various rooms for baths, — hot, tepid, or cold, — a bathing house had its swimming pools, libraries, and museums, and extensive gardens with delightful

shady walks. Before long, some of these were opened free to the poorer classes.

For Rome now had a populace, — masses of hungry, unemployed men. This new class was also a new product of the Second Punic War. That war began the ruin of the small farmer in Italy. Over much of the peninsula the homesteads were hopelessly devastated; and years of continuous camp life, with plunder for pay, corrupted the simple habits of the yeoman class, so that they drifted to the city, to become a rabble.

The hungry populace

When the great wars were over, the rift between the new rich and the new poor went on widening. New conditions (now to be explained) squeezed a large part of the surviving yeomanry off the land. The nobles, we have said, were forbidden to engage in trade; so those of them who had wealth were eager to invest in land. For such investment the new provinces offered tempting chances. Rome confiscated vast tracts of land, and afterward sold them cheap to her own nobles; and often the ruined natives were glad to sell their remaining estates for a song. By such means, Roman nobles became the owners of huge landed properties in Sicily, Spain, Africa, and soon in the East, — all worked by cheap slave labor, which was supplied in abundance by the continuous wars of conquest.

Ruin of the old yeomanry

This new landlord class then supplied the Italian cities with grain from Sicily and North Africa cheaper than the Italian farmer could raise it on his more sterile soil. This did not hurt the large landlord in Italy: he turned to cattle grazing or sheep raising or to wine and oil culture. But the small farmer had no such refuge, for these other forms of industry called for large tracts of land and for slave labor. Ruined and dismayed, many of this class were ready to sell their farms; and they found eager purchasers in the Roman nobles and in the new capitalists, who especially desired landed estates and pleasure resorts in Italy.

Indeed, when the small farmer still hesitated to sell, the rich and grasping landlord sometimes had recourse to force or fraud, to get the coveted patch of land. This was especially true in the more secluded regions, where, despite all discouragements, the

yeomen clung stubbornly to their ancestral fields. In pathetic words the Latin poet Horace (p. 384) describes the violence and trickery used by the great man toward such helpless victims (Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 38). The yeoman's cattle died mysteriously, or his growing crops were trampled into the ground overnight; or constant petty annoyances wore down his spirit, until he would sell at the rich man's price. Redress at law, as in our own times, was usually too costly and too uncertain for a poor man in conflict with a rich one.

Emigration

In some parts of Italy, of course, especially in the north, many yeomen held their places. But over great districts, only large ranches could be seen, each with a few half-savage slave herdsmen and their flocks, where formerly there had nestled numerous cottages on small, well-tilled farms, each supporting its independent family. *As a class*, the small farmers, once the backbone of Italian society, had disappeared.

What became of this dispossessed yeomanry, from whom formerly had come conquerors, statesmen, and dictators? Many had foresight and energy enough to make their way at once to Gaul or Spain, while their small capital lasted. To Italy their strength was lost. But in the semi-barbarous western provinces, for a century, a steady stream of sturdy peasant emigrants spread the old wholesome Roman civilization and confirmed the Roman rule, while at the same time they built up comfortable homes or even large fortunes for themselves.

A city mob

A whole class of people, however, could not be expected to leave their native land. For multitudes, lack of money, or sickness in the family, or other misfortune would make this impossible. Love of the homeland and mere habit would hold larger numbers. The great bulk of the ex-farmers merely drifted to the cities of Italy, and especially to the capital.

If Italy had been a manufacturing country, they might finally have found a new kind of work in these city homes. But the Roman conquests in the East prevented this. In the Eastern provinces, manufacturing of all sorts was much more developed than in Italy; and now Roman merchants found it

cheaper to import Oriental goods than to build up a system of factories at home. Rome ceased to develop home resources, and fed upon the provinces. Some increase in simple manufactures there was, of course; but such work was already in the hands mainly of skilled Oriental slaves or freedmen, of which an ever growing supply was brought to Rome.

Thus the ex-farmers found no more employment in the city than in the country. However willing to work, there was no place for them in the industrial system. They soon spent the small sums they had received for their lands, and then they and their sons sank into a degraded city rabble. Hannibal had struck Rome a deadlier blow than he ever knew. The lines of an English poet, almost two thousand years later, regarding similar phenomena in his own country, apply to this Italy:

> "Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
> Where wealth accumulates, and men decay."

Thus Rome's wars had demoralized Roman society. They had corrupted the morals of the citizens, and had created extremes of wealth and poverty. Quick-won and unlawful wealth lowered the moral tone still further. So did extreme poverty. The rugged citizen farmers who had conquered Pyrrhus were replaced, on one side, by an incapable, effeminate aristocracy, and on the other, by a mongrel mob reinforced by freed slaves.

Political decay

With this moral decline came political decay. In theory the constitution had not changed; but really it had become a plaything for factions of ambitious and degenerate politicians. Old ideas of loyalty, obedience, regard for law, self-restraint, vanished. Leading statesmen disregarded all checks of the constitution, to carry a point; and young nobles flattered, caressed, and bribed the populace for their votes. The Senatorial order shrank from a broad and wise aristocracy into a narrow, selfish, incompetent oligarchy, careful only of its own class interests. The shows expected from aediles, to entertain the populace, had became so costly that only the wealthiest men, or the most reckless gamesters, could *start* in politics. (Cf. p. 309.)

A Senatorial oligarchy

Growing distinction between citizens and subjects

Just as there was this sharper distinction among Roman citizens between rich and poor, so, too, there was a sharper line than formerly, through all Italy, between citizens and subjects (pp. 265 ff.). Rome ceased to take in new bodies of citizens: she no longer sent out Latin colonies — since the ruling class in Rome wished all vacant lands for themselves; and she even made it harder for the Latin colonists to become citizens. This privilege was now permitted only to those who had held office in the colony.

And not merely were the allies thus separated more sharply from Roman citizens: Rome began also to treat them more haughtily — as *subjects*, rather than as allies. She gave them a smaller share of the plunder of war than formerly, and doubled their share of men for the army, while Roman officials sometimes displayed toward them a new insolence and a brutal cruelty. In one town the city consul was stripped and scourged because the peevish wife of a Roman magistrate felt aggrieved that the *public* baths were not vacated for her use quickly enough. In another, a young Roman idler, looking on languidly from his litter, caused a free herdsman to be whipped to death for a light jest at his expense. Such tyranny was a poor return for the Italian loyalty that had saved Rome from Hannibal; and it was the harder to bear because, more than Rome, the Italian towns had kept their old customs and old virtues.

And between Italy and the provinces

And worse than the distinction between rich and poor in Rome, or between citizens and subjects in Italy, was the distinction between Italy and the provinces. "Italy was to rule and feast: the provinces were to obey and pay." To be sure, the Roman administration at first was more honest and capable than Carthaginian or Greek. But irresponsible power bred recklessness and corruption; and before the year 100 it had become doubtful for a while whether the world had gained by the fall of Carthage.

Marks of a province

The special marks of a province were: payment of taxes[1] in money or grain; and the absolute rule of a Roman governor.

[1] As in Italy itself, a province had various grades of cities, and some of these cities in name were independent "allies," exempt at least from taxes.

Taxes farmed

1. The Senate fixed at will the amount that each province must pay. Then it "farmed out" the collection of this revenue, at public auction, usually to some company of Roman capitalists. The "contractor," or "farmer," paid down a lump sum, and had for himself all that he could squeeze from the province above that sum. This arrangement constantly tempted the contractor to extortion, and encouraged his agents in theft — all at the expense of the helpless provincials. Perhaps the Senate had decreed that the contractor should never take more than a tenth of a husbandman's grain; but if he did seize twice that amount it would afterwards be almost impossible to prove the fact — especially when the only judge was the Roman governor who often received part of the plunder. The whole corrupt and tyrannical system was like that by which Turkey in our day has ground down her Christian provinces.

Despotic governors

2. Everything tended to make the governor a tyrant. He had Roman soldiers to back up any command. There was no appeal from his decrees. He had no colleague and no tribune to veto his acts. The persons of the provincials were at his mercy,[1] and of course their property was. He was appointed by the Senate from those nobles who had just held consulships or praetorships: that is, he must have passed through the whole series of curule offices (p. 273) without pay and at vast expense; and commonly he expected to get a province to plunder, to repay himself or his creditors for this earlier outlay. In short, the Senatorial oligarchy passed around the provinces among themselves as so much spoil. Their plunder took many forms. Thus, for one kind, provincial cities were ordered by Roman law to supply the governor's table — including all his staff. Under cover of this, the governor often seized priceless art treasures (costly vases and statues) for table ornaments, and brought them back with him to Rome.

[1] In Cisalpine Gaul a Roman governor beheaded a noble Gaul, a fugitive guest in his camp, just to gratify with the sight a worthless favorite who was lamenting that he had missed the gladiatorial games at Rome (Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 37).

No redress for provincials

True, a governor might be brought to trial; but only *after* his term had expired; and only *at Rome*. Poor provincials, of course, had to endure any abuse without even seeking redress; and in any case it was rarely possible to secure conviction even of the grossest offenders. The only court for such trials was made up of Senators, many themselves interested in similar plunderings, either in person, or through a son or brother or cousin; and with the best of them, class spirit stood in the way of convicting a noble.

Then when other means failed to secure acquittal, the culprit could fall back on bribery. When a certain Verres was given the province of Sicily for three years, Cicero tells us, he cynically declared it quite enough: "In the first year he could secure plunder for himself; in the second for his friends; in the third for his judges."

A four-fold class strife

This new period of class struggle was to last nearly a century, and to end only with the coming of the Caesars — a common master. The strife was three-fold: *in Rome*, between rich and poor; *in Italy*, between Rome and the "Allies"; *in the Roman world*, between Italy and the provinces. *Everywhere*, too, there was possible strife between masters and slaves. This last evil we will note briefly here before turning to a new chapter on class strife.

Roman slavery

In the closing period of the Roman Republic, there grew up a slavery beyond all parallel in extent and in horror. Says one leading authority (Mommsen), "In comparison with its abyss of suffering all Negro slavery [has been] but a drop in the ocean."

In ancient times slaves were commonly not of a different color or race from their masters, though often they did speak a different language. Roman slaves came in large part from the cultured East; and some of them became teachers, secretaries, and stewards. But others came from wild barbarian tribes; and the most unfortunate of these were made savage herdsmen or branded and shackled workers, clothed in rags and herded at night into underground dungeons on the master's

estate. The most cultured might be degraded into this class at the whim of a master.

Slaves were made cheap by the wars of conquest. Later, to keep up the cheap supply, man hunts were organized regularly on the frontiers, and kidnappers even desolated some of the provinces. At the famous slave market in Delos ten thousand slaves were once sold in a day.

The model Roman, Cato (p. 322), advised his countrymen to work slaves like cattle, selling off the old and infirm. "The slave," he said, "should be always working or sleeping." With brutal masters, there were of course indescribable and inhuman cruelties.

Slave wars in Sicily

There grew up a common saying, — "So many slaves, so many enemies." Rome was to see many terrible slave wars. The first came in 135 B.C. Seventy thousand insurgent slaves were masters of the rich province of Sicily for four years. They defeated army after army that Rome sent against them, and desolated the island before the rising was stamped out.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE GRACCHI, 133–121 B.C.

Early attempts at reform

The evils described in the last chapter had not come upon Rome without being seen by thoughtful men. One notable effort at reform had been made by *Marcus Porcius Cato*. Cato was a Roman of the old school, — austere, upright, energetic, patriotic, but coarse and narrow. From a simple Sabine farmer, he had risen to the highest honors of the state. He had been just old enough to join the army at the beginning of the Second Punic War, in which he fought valiantly for sixteen years from Trasimene to Zama; and, half a century later, as we saw (p. 298), he had a chief part in bringing on the Third Punic War.

Marcus Cato tries to restore the "good old days"

Cato longed ardently to restore "the good old days" of Roman simplicity. As censor (195 B.C.) he tried to bring back those days. He repressed luxury sternly, and struck from the Senate some of the proudest names because of private vices. But he had no far-reaching views. He tried, not to direct the stream of change into wholesome channels, but to dam it. He did nothing to build up a new farming class, or to make the government truly represent the Roman people. Instead, he spent his force foolishly in fighting the new Hellenic culture and the rising standard of comfort.

Scipio's chance and failure

For a time there seemed one other chance. After 146 B.C. Scipio Africanus the Younger (p. 299) was the foremost man in Rome. He was liberal, virtuous, cultivated, and brave enough to defy the rabble. On occasion he could quell their hissings with stern contempt: — "Silence, you step-children of Italy. Think ye I fear those whom I myself brought in chains to Rome!" Many looked hopefully to him for reform. But

brave and wise as he was, he shrank from a struggle with his own order. And when he laid down his censorship, he betrayed his despair by praying the gods, not in the usual words, to *enlarge* the glory of Rome, but to *preserve* the state.

The older statesmen were too selfish, too narrow, or too timid; and the great attempt at reform fell to two youths, the Gracchi brothers, throbbing with noble enthusiasm and with the fire of genius.

Tiberius Gracchus

Tiberius Gracchus was still under thirty at his death. He was one of the brilliant circle of young Romans about Scipio. His father had been a magnificent aristocrat. His mother, *Cornelia*, a daughter of the elder Africanus, is as famous for her fine culture and noble nature as for being the "Mother of the Gracchi." Tiberius himself was early distinguished in war and marked by his uprightness and energy. *This was the first man to strike at the root of the industrial, moral, and political decay of Italy, by trying to rebuild the yeoman class.*

His proposals for land reform

Tiberius obtained the tribuneship for the year 133, and at once brought forward an agrarian[1] law. It was the obsolete land clause of the Licinian law in a gentler but more effective form, with three provisions.

1. Each holder of public land was to surrender all that he held in excess of the legal limit (cf. p. 258), *receiving in return absolute title to the three hundred acres left him.* (This was generous treatment, and neither confiscation nor demagogism. It was further provided that an old holder might keep about 160 acres more for each of his sons.)

2. The land reclaimed was to be given in small holdings (some eighteen acres each) to poor applicants, so as to re-create a yeomanry. And to make the reform lasting, these holders and their descendants were to possess their land *without right to sell.* In return, they were to pay a small rent to the state.

[1] *Agrarian* refers to land, especially farm land; from the Latin *ager*. Opponents of reform very commonly refer contemptuously to any attempt at social betterment as "agrarianism."

3. To provide for changes, and to keep the law from being neglected, there was to be a *permanent board* of three commissioners to superintend the reclaiming and distributing of land.

The struggle

Gracchus urged his law with fiery eloquence:

> "The wild beasts of Italy have their dens, but the brave men who spill their blood for her are without homes or settled habitations. Their generals do but mock them when they exhort their men to fight for their sepulchers and the gods of their hearths; for among such numbers there is perhaps not one who has an ancestral altar. The private soldiers fight and die to advance the luxury of the great, and they are called masters of the world without having a sod to call their own."

The Senate of course opposed the proposal, and the wealthy men, who had so long enjoyed what did not belong to them, cried out that the measure was confiscation. Tiberius brought the question directly before the tribes, as he had the right to do; and the town tribes, and all the small farmers left in the rural tribes, rallied enthusiastically to his support. The Senate fell back upon a favorite device. It put up one of the other tribunes, Octavius, to forbid a vote. After many pleadings, Tiberius resorted to a revolutionary measure. In spite of his colleague's veto, he put to the Assembly the question whether he or Octavius should be deposed; and when the vote was given unanimously against Octavius, Tiberius had him dragged from his seat. Then the great law was passed.

Tiberius seeks to take the Allies into the state

Tiberius next proposed to extend Roman citizenship to all Italy. The Senate fell back upon an ancient cry: it accused him of trying to make himself king (p. 255), and threatened to try him at the end of his term. To complete his work, and to save himself, Gracchus asked for reëlection. The first two tribes voted for him, and then the Senate, having failed in other methods, declared his candidacy illegal.[1] The election was adjourned to the next day.

Tiberius murdered by the aristocrats

Tiberius saw that he was lost. He put on mourning and asked the people only to protect his infant son. It was harvest

[1] On all this, cf. Beesly's *The Gracchi*, 32, 33, 35.

time, and the farmers were absent from the Assembly, which was left largely to the worthless city rabble. On the following day a tool of the Senate again forbade the election. A riot broke out, and the more violent of the Senators and their friends, charging the undecided mob, put it to flight and murdered Gracchus — a patriot-martyr worthy of the company of the Cassius, Manlius, and Maelius of earlier days. Some three hundred of his adherents also were killed and thrown into the Tiber. Rome, in all her centuries of stern, sober, patient, constitutional strife, had never witnessed such a day before.

The Senate declared the murder an act of patriotism, and followed up the reformer's partisans with mock trials and persecutions, fastening one of them, says Plutarch, in a chest with vipers.

His work lived for a while

But the work of Tiberius lived on. The Senate did not dare to interfere with the great law that had been carried. A consul for the year 132 inscribed on a monument, that he was the first who had installed farmers in place of shepherds on the public domains. The land commission (composed of the friends of Tiberius) did its work zealously, and in 125 B.C. *the citizen list of Rome had increased by eighty thousand farmers.*

Aristocratic reaction

This "back to the land" movement was a vast and healthful reform. If it could have been kept up vigorously, it might have turned the dangerous rabble into sturdy husbandmen, and so removed Rome's chief danger. But of course to reclaim so much land from old holders led to many bitter disputes as to titles; and, after a few years, the Senate took advantage of this fact to abolish the commission.

Caius Gracchus

Immediately after this aristocratic reaction, and just nine years after his brother's death, *Caius Gracchus* took up the work. He had been a youth when Tiberius was assassinated. Now he was Rome's greatest orator, — a dauntless, resolute, clear-sighted man, long brooding on personal revenge and on patriotic reform. Tiberius, he declared, appeared to him in a dream to call him to his task: "Why do you hesitate? You

cannot escape your doom and mine — to live for the people and to die for them!" A recently discovered letter from Cornelia indicates, too, that his mother urged him on.

Caius provides allies

First Gracchus sought to win political allies. He gained the favor of the *equites* by getting them the control of the law courts (in place of the former senatorial control); and the city mob he secured by a *corn law* providing for the sale of grain to the poor in the capital at half the regular market price (the other half to be made up from the public treasury). Perhaps he regarded this as a necessary poor-law, and as compensation for the public lands that still remained in the hands of the wealthy. It did not pauperize the poor, since such distributions by private patrons (especially by office-seekers) were already customary on a vast scale. It simply took this charity into the hands of the state. If Gracchus' other measures could have been carried through, the need for such temporary charity would have been removed. But, however well meant, this measure certainly introduced a vicious system of *legislative bribery* where in the end the well-meaning patriot was sure to be outbidden by the reckless demagogue. For the moment, however, it won the Assembly.

Economic reform

Caius then entered upon the work of reform. The land commission was reëstablished, and its work was extended *to the founding of Roman colonies in distant parts of Italy.* Still more important, — Caius *introduced the plan of Roman colonization outside Italy.* He sent six thousand colonists from Rome and other Italian towns to the waste site of Carthage; and he planned other such foundations. *The colonists were to keep full Roman citizenship.*

Roman colonies abroad

If this statesmanlike measure had been allowed to work, it would not only have provided for the landless poor of Italy: it would also have Romanized the provinces rapidly, and would have broken down the unhappy distinctions between them and Italy.

Then Caius turned to attack senatorial government. To a great degree *he drew all authority into his own hands.* By

various laws he took away power from the Senate, and himself ruled in its place. He had tried to provide against his brother's fate by a law expressly legalizing reëlection to the tribuneship, and he served two terms, virtually as dictator.

Caius' dictatorship

"With unrivaled activity," says Mommsen, "he concentrated the most varied and complicated functions in his own person. He himself watched over the distribution of grain, selected jurymen, founded colonies in person (notwithstanding that his magistracy legally chained him to the city), regulated highways and concluded business contracts, led the discussions of the Senate, settled the consular elections: in short, he accustomed the people to the fact that one man was foremost in all things, and threw the lax and lame administration of the Senate into the shade by the vigor and dexterity of his personal rule."

Attempt to extend citizenship to the Allies

Caius also pressed earnestly for political reform *outside the city*. He proposed, wisely and nobly, to confer full citizenship upon the Latins, and Latin rights upon all Italy. But the tribes, jealous of any extension of their privileges to others, were quite ready to desert him on these matters. The "knights" and the merchants, too, had grown hostile, because they hated to see commercial rivals like Corinth and Carthage rebuilt.

Defeat and murder

The Senate seized its chance. It set on another tribune, *Drusus*, to outbid Caius by promises never meant to be kept. Drusus proposed to found twelve large colonies at once in Italy and to do away with the small rent paid by the new peasantry. There was no land for these colonies, but the mob thoughtlessly followed the treacherous demagogue and abandoned its true leader. When Gracchus stood for a third election he was defeated.

Now that he was no longer protected by the sanctity of the tribuneship, the nobles, headed by the consul (a ferocious personal enemy), were bent upon his ruin. The chance was soon found. The Senate tried to repeal the law for the colony at Carthage. This attempt caused many of the old supporters of Caius to come into the Assembly from the country. Remembering the fate of Tiberius, some of them came in arms. The nobles cried out that this meant a conspiracy to overthrow

the government. The consul called the organized senatorial party to arms, offered for the head of Gracchus its weight in gold (*the first instance of head money in Roman civil strife*), and charged the unorganized and unprepared crowd. A bloody battle followed in the streets. Gracchus, taking no part in the conflict himself, was slain. Three thousand of his adherents were afterward strangled in prison.

Work of the Gracchi undone

The victorious Senate struck hard. It resumed its sovereign rule. The proposed colonies were abandoned; then the great land reform itself was undone: *the peasants were permitted to sell their land, and the commission was abolished.* The old economic decay began again, and soon the work of the Gracchi was but a memory.

Even that memory the Senate tried to erase. Men were forbidden to speak of the brothers, and Cornelia was not allowed to wear mourning for her sons. One lesson, however, had been taught. The Senate had drawn the sword. When next a great reformer should take up the work of the Gracchi, he would come as a military master, to sweep away the wretched oligarchy with the sword, or to receive its cringing submission.

CHAPTER XXXIV

MARIUS AND SULLA, 106–78 B.C.

(Military Rule)

Incompetence of the Senate — except to save its privileges

The corrupt Senate had proved able to save its own unjust privileges by throttling wholesome reforms at home, but at once it showed itself glaringly incompetent to guard the Roman world against outside foes. Rome had left no other state able to keep the seas from pirates or to protect the frontiers of the civilized world against barbarians. It was her plain duty therefore to police the Mediterranean lands herself. But even while she was murdering the followers of the Gracchi, the seas were swarming again with pirate fleets, and new barbarian thunderclouds were gathering unwatched along her borders. These conditions hastened the coming of a military master.

Jugurtha

Jugurtha, grandnephew of Massinissa (p. 298) had made himself king of Numidia by assassinating several nearer heirs — who were also wards of the Roman Senate. Jugurtha was a barbarian, brave, crafty, cruel. The Senate sent commissioners to investigate: he bribed them to report favorably for him. Later, when Jugurtha had massacred thousands of Italians in Africa, the Senate sent an army against him; but he bought off the general. Finally he was summoned to Rome for trial, and bought his acquittal from the Senate itself. No wonder that as he left Rome, he exclaimed contemptuously, — "A city for sale."

Marius

But at last a wrathful Tribune brought these matters directly before the Assembly. That body ordered indignantly that the war be prosecuted in earnest. Under the senatorial generals it still dragged along for some years, but in 106, against the

will of the Senate, the Assembly chose for consul the rude soldier *Marius* (son of a Volscian day laborer) who had risen from the ranks to important command during the struggle. Marius brought the war to a successful close during his year of office, and his aristocratic lieutenant, *Sulla*, by a stroke of daring treachery, even captured Jugurtha himself. In the gorgeous triumph of Marius, the captive king, with characteristic Roman brutality, was dragged through the streets of Rome chained to the general's chariot-wheel, and then thrown into an underground dungeon to starve to death.

The first German invasion

Meantime a storm had broken upon the northern frontier. The *Cimbri* and *Teutones*, two German peoples, migrating slowly with families, flocks, and goods, in search of new homes in the fertile south, had reached the passes of the Alps in the year 113. These new barbarians were huge, flaxen-haired, with fierce blue eyes, and they terrified the smaller Italians by their size, their terrific shouts, and their savage customs.

A Roman consul who tried to entrap the strangers treacherously was defeated and slain; but, leaving Italy on one side for the time, the Germans crowded into Gaul. There they harried the native tribes at will, and, after defeating four more Roman armies (the last with slaughter that recalled the day of Cannae), they finally threatened Italy itself. At the same time a second Slave War had broken out in Sicily, more dangerous even than the first.

Marius saves Rome

Rome had found a general none too soon. Marius was just finishing his work in Africa. In his absence he was reëlected consul — despite the laws which required a candidate to appear in person and which forbade an immediate reëlection in any case. The Germans gave him precious time, by turning for two years more into Spain. This blunder saved panic-stricken Italy. Marius used the time in drilling troops and reorganizing the army. Then, in the summer of 102, at *Aquae Sextiae* (Aix), in southern Gaul, he annihilated the two hundred thousand warriors of the Teutones, with all their women and

children, in a huge massacre (Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 41). The next summer he destroyed in like manner the vast horde of the Cimbri, who had penetrated to the Po. The first German nation to attack Rome had won graves in her soil.

Marius' failure as a reformer

In defiance of the constitution, Marius had been reëlected consul for five successive years. Now he was hailed "the savior of Rome," and was once more chosen consul, though the danger was past. This began to look like a military monarchy. Perhaps it would have been well if Marius *had* made himself king. Or, better still, had he been enough of a statesman, he might have used his power to reform the Republic. But he was as incapable in peace as he was great in war. He was naturally the champion of the democrats; but he looked on while the angry aristocrats massacred the reviving democratic party once more in a street war, and then fell into obscurity, in disgrace with both parties.

Soon another war brought to the front another great general, — this time Sulla (p. 330), the champion of the aristocrats.

The "Social War"

There had grown up in the Senate a small progressive party bent upon reform. Their leader was the tribune *Drusus*, son of the Drusus who had opposed the Gracchi. In the year 91, this younger Drusus took up the Gracchi's work and proposed to extend citizenship to the Italians. The nobles murdered him, and carried a law threatening death to any one who should renew the proposal. Then the Italians rose in arms.

Once more Rome fought for life, surrounded by a ring of foes. This *Social War* (war with the Socii, or "Allies") was as dangerous a contest as the imperial city ever waged (91–88 B.C.). Two things saved her. First: she divided her foes by granting citizenship to all who would at once lay down their arms. Second: Sulla showed a magnificent generalship, outshining Marius.

All Italy enters the Roman state

The "Allies" were crushed, *but their cause was victorious.* When the war was over, Rome gradually incorporated into the Roman state all Italy south of the Po, *raising the number of*

citizens from 400,000 to 900,000. The cities all became municipia, and their burgesses secured the full Roman citizenship.

Senatorial treachery

Still the tricky Senate determined to take the life out of this reform. They placed the new citizens — more than half of the whole citizen body — in only eight of the tribes, so that the old citizens still controlled twenty-seven of the thirty-five votes.

Sulpicius attempts remedy

The democratic tribune *Sulpicius*, a friend of Drusus, carried a law to remedy this injustice and to distribute the new citizens fairly among all the tribes. In trying to prevent this law, Sulla provoked a riot, from which he himself barely escaped with his life through the aid of his rival Marius. Just before this, the Senate had appointed Sulla to manage a war in the East. Now Sulpicius induced the tribes to give this command to Marius instead.

Civil War

Sulla fled to his army at Capua; and, though all but one of his officers left him, he marched upon Rome. *For the first time a Roman magistrate used a regular army to reduce the capital* (*88 B.C.*). After a brief but furious resistance, the unorganized democrats under Marius were scattered, and Sulla became the military master of the city. He *repealed the Sulpician laws*, executed a few democratic leaders, set a price upon the head of Marius, tried to buttress the Senate by hasty laws, and then departed for the East, where Roman dominion was rapidly crumbling. With grim irony, the head of Sulpicius was set upon the rostrum in the Forum, whence his lips had often swayed the Assembly.

Sulla's victory and the massacre of democrats

On the departure of Sulla, the democratic party rallied. The aristocrats plotted to crush it forever; they surrounded the unarmed Assembly with armed forces, and ruthlessly cut down ten thousand men, until the streets ran with blood. But the new Italian citizens and the country tribes rose to besiege the city. Marius, too, came back from adventurous exile,[1] — a grim, vengeful, repulsive old man, with some thousands of freed slaves for his bodyguard. Rome was captured; the

Return of Marius

[1] Special report: stories of Marius' hairbreadth escapes while in exile.

gates were closed; and for four days and nights the senatorial party were hunted down and butchered by the desperadoes of Marius, despite the indignant pleadings of other democratic leaders, like the generous *Sertorius*.

Marius *proclaimed* himself consul, *without even the form of an election*. He outlawed Sulla, repealed his legislation, and restored the Sulpician law regarding the Italians. In the midst of his orgy of triumph, Marius died. Then Sertorius with regular troops stamped out the band of slave assassins, and the democrats remained in peaceful control of Rome for four years, while Sulla was busy in the East.

Sulla in the East

For thirty years the indolent Senate had looked on carelessly while danger gathered head in Asia. Finally the storm had burst. Pontus, Armenia, and Parthia had grown into independent kingdoms, each of them, for long time past, encroaching upon Rome's protectorates. At last, *Mithridates VI*, king of Pontus, suddenly seized the Roman province of Asia Minor, then called the "Province of Asia."[1] The people hailed him as a deliverer, and joined him enthusiastically to secure freedom from the hated extortion of Roman tax-collectors and money-lenders. Eighty thousand Italians, scattered through the province, — men, women, and children, — were massacred, almost in a day, by the city mobs. Then Mithridates turned to Macedonia and Greece. Here, too, the people joined him against Rome. Athens welcomed him as a savior from Roman tyranny; and twenty thousand more Italians were massacred in Greece and in the Aegean islands. Rome's dominion in the Eastern world had crumbled at a touch.

And his return

This was the peril that had called Sulla from Rome. Outlawed by the democrats at home, without supplies, with only a small army, he restored Roman authority in the East in a series of brilliant campaigns. Then he returned, to glut his vengeance and to restore the nobles to power (83 B.C.).

[1] This is the sense in which the name *Asia* is used in the New Testament — as when Paul says that "all they who dwelt in *Asia* heard the word."

New Civil War

Italy was almost a unit for the democrats, but Sulla's veterans and his military genius made him victor after a desolating two years' struggle. Toward the close of the war, the Samnites rose, for the last time, under another Pontius, and marched straight upon Rome, "to burn the den of the wolves that have so long harried Italy." Sulla barely saved the city by a forced march and a desperate night-victory at the *Colline Gate* (map on p. 243).

Sulla's rule

Sulla was now undisputed master of Rome. At his suggestion, the Senate declared him *permanent dictator* (81 B.C.). His first work was to crush the democratic party by systematic massacre. He posted lists of names publicly day by day, and invited any desperado to slay the proscribed men at two thousand dollars a head. Sulla's friends, too, were given free permission to include private enemies in the lists. Debtors murdered their creditors. The wealth of the proscribed was confiscated, and many a man's only offense was that he owned property which was desired by some follower of Sulla. "Unhappy wretch that I am," cried one gentleman who had stepped up unsuspectingly to look at the list and who found his own name there; "my villa pursues me!"

Sulla thought he had stamped out the embers of the Marian party. Only Sertorius, the noblest Roman of the age, held Spain for the democrats; and the boy Julius Caesar, a nephew of Marius' wife and the husband of Cinna's daughter, was in hiding in the mountains. Sulla had had Caesar in his power and had meant to put him to death. Finally, at the entreaties of friends, he spared him, exclaiming, however, "There is many a Marius hidden in that young fop."

Sulla next set about reëstablishing oligarchic rule. He enlarged the Senate to six hundred, and by law made all officers dependent upon it; and in particular the tribuneship (whence had come all the popular movements) was restricted. No tribune, it was ordered, could bring any proposal before the tribes, or even address them, without the Senate's permission.

After a three years' rule, Sulla abdicated, — to go back to his debaucheries, and to die in peace shortly after as a private

citizen. He is a monstrous enigma in history — dauntless, crafty, treacherous, dissolute, licentious, refined, as capable as unscrupulous, absolutely unfeeling and selfish, and with a mocking cynicism that spiced his conversation and conduct. He called himself the favorite of the Goddess of Chance, and was fond of the title "Sulla the Fortunate." **"Sulla the Fortunate"**

Apparently Sulla believed sincerely in senatorial government; but he had striven against his age, and his work hardly outlived his mortal body.

For Further Reading. — Ancient writers: Plutarch, *Lives* ("Marius" and "Sulla"). Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 42, contains Plutarch's story of Sulla's massacres.

Modern writers: Beesly, *The Gracchi, Marius and Sulla;* How and Leigh, 360–449.

CHAPTER XXXV

POMPEY AND CAESAR, 78–49 B.C.

Spain held for the democrats by Sertorius

During the rule of Sulla, Spain had been the one remaining stronghold of the democrats. During Sulla's absence in the East, Sertorius (p. 334) had been sent to Spain as governor. He proved a great general and a wise statesman. His rule was gentle and just, and the Spaniards became devoted to him. In the few years allowed him, he did much to build up the prosperity of the province and to introduce the best elements of Roman civilization. Aided by the natives, he easily maintained himself against the generals Sulla sent against him.

Pompey's conquest of Spain

Sulla's death left one of his officers, Pompey, the leading man at Rome, — a capable soldier, but otherwise of mediocre ability, vain, sluggish, and timidly cautious. Sulla had made it plain that the path to the throne lay through a position as proconsul in a rich province for a term of years, with a war that would call for a large army. Pompey had not yet held any of the offices leading to such an appointment (p. 273); but, now he compelled the Senate to send him to Spain against Sertorius, *with an indefinite term* and absolute powers (77 B.C.). After some years of warfare, Sertorius was basely assassinated, and then Pompey quickly reduced Spain to obedience. In the year 71, he returned triumphantly to Italy.

And claims to have put down Spartacus

Meantime had come a terrible slave revolt in Italy, headed by the gallant *Spartacus*. Spartacus was a Thracian captive who had been forced to become a gladiator. With a few companions he escaped from the gladiatorial school at Capua and fled to the mountains. There he was joined by other fugitive slaves until he was at the head of an army of 70,000 men. For three years he kept the field, and repeatedly threatened Rome itself. Just

as Pompey returned to Italy, however, in 70 B.C., Spartacus' forces were crushed by *Crassus*, another of Sulla's old lieutenants; but Pompey arrived in time to cut to pieces a few thousand fugitives and to claim a share of the credit.

The crown was now within the reach of Pompey. He longed for it, but did not dare stretch out his hand to grasp it; and the Senate skillfully played off the two military chiefs against each other until they agreed to disband their armies simultaneously.

Pompey and the pirates

But in 67, military danger called Pompey again to the front. The navy of Rome had fallen to utter decay, and swarms of pirates terrorized the seas. They even set up a formidable state, with its headquarters on the rocky coasts of Cilicia, and negotiated with kings as equals. They paralyzed trade along the great Mediterranean highway. They even dared to ravage the coasts of Italy, and carry off the inhabitants for slaves. Finally they threatened Rome itself with starvation by cutting off the grain fleets.

To put down these plunderers Pompey was given supreme command *for three years in the Mediterranean and in all its coasts for fifty miles inland.* He received also unlimited authority over all the resources of the realm.

Pompey in the East

Assembling vast fleets, he swept the seas in a three months' campaign. Then his command was extended *indefinitely* in order that he might carry on war against Mithridates of Pontus, who for several years had again been threatening Roman power in Asia Minor. Pompey was absent on this mission five years — a glorious period in his career, and one that proved the resources and energies of the commonwealth unexhausted, if only a respectable leader were found to direct them. He waged successful wars, crushed dangerous rebellions, conquered Pontus and Armenia, annexed wide provinces, and extended the Roman bounds to the Euphrates. He restored order, founded cities, and deposed and set up kings in the dependent states. When he returned to Italy, in 62, he was "Pompey the Great," the leading figure in the world. Again the crown

"Pompey the Great"

was within his grasp. Again he let it slip, expecting it to be thrust upon him.[1]

Rise of Cato and Cicero

During Pompey's absence three new leaders had risen to prominence.

Cato the Younger, great-grandson of Cato the Censor, was a brave, honest, bigoted aristocrat, bent upon preserving the oligarchic Republic.

Cicero, the greatest orator of Rome, was a refined scholar and a representative of the wealthy middle class. He desired reform, and at first he inclined toward the democratic party; but, alarmed by their violence and rudeness, he finally joined the conservatives, in the idle hope of restoring the early republican constitution. "Both," says a modern historian of Rome, "were blinded to real facts — Cato by his ignorance, Cicero by his learning." The third man was to tower immeasurably above these and all other Romans.

CICERO.

And of Caesar

Caius Julius Caesar was the chief democratic leader, and was to prove perhaps the greatest genius of all history. He was of an old patrician family that claimed divine descent through Iulus (Julius), son of Aeneas (a prince of Troy in the fabled Trojan war and the hero of Vergil's Aeneid). His youth had been dissolute, but bold; and he had refused with quiet dignity to divorce his wife (the daughter of Cinna) at Sulla's order, though Pompey had not hesitated to obey a like command. In Pompey's absence he had served as quaestor and praetor, and he strove ardently to reorganize the democratic party. In public speeches he ventured to praise Marius and Cinna as champions of the people, and in the year

[1] Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 45, gives a contemporary account of Pompey's conquests and of his "triumph."

64, by a daring stroke, he again set up at the Capitol the trophies of Marius, which had been torn down in the rule of Sulla.

Caesar discredited by "Catiline's Conspiracy"

Caesar had hoped to counterbalance Pompey's power by securing a province in Egypt; but a strange incident prevented. One of the democratic agitators was the profligate *Catiline*. This man organized a reckless conspiracy of bankrupt and ruined adventurers, like himself. He planned to murder the consuls and senators, confiscate the property of the rich, and make himself tyrant.

This conspiracy was detected and crushed by Cicero, the consul (63 B.C.). The movement was not one of the democratic party proper. It belonged to the disreputable extremists who always attach themselves to a liberal party; but the collapse reacted upon the whole popular party, and Caesar necessarily laid aside his plans. The same year, his career seemed closed by Pompey's return, and he was glad to withdraw from Italy for a while to the governorship of Spain, which at that time had no army and was not an important province.

The jealous and stupid Senate drove Pompey into Caesar's arms. It refused to give his soldiers the lands he had promised them for pay, and delayed even to ratify his wise political arrangements in the East. Pompey had disbanded his army, and for two years, he fretted in vain.

The "First Triumvirate"

Caesar seized the chance and formed a coalition between Pompey, Crassus, and himself. This alliance is sometimes called the "First Triumvirate." Caesar furnished the brains for the alliance, and obtained the fruits. He became consul (59 B.C.) and set about securing Pompey's measures. The Senate refused even to consider them. Caesar laid them directly before the Assembly. A tribune, of the Senate's party, interposed his veto. Caesar looked on calmly while a mob of Pompey's veterans drove the tribune from the Assembly. To delay proceedings, the other consul then announced that he would consult the omens. According to law, all action should have ceased until the result was known; but Caesar serenely disregarded this antiquated check, and carried the measures

at once by the votes of the Tribes. Next he demolished the remains of Sulla's constitution. He had stepped into the first place in Rome.

Caesar in Gaul

At the close of his consulship, Caesar secured command of the Gallic provinces for five years as proconsul. For the next ten years he abandoned Italy for the supreme work that opened to him beyond the Alps. He found the Province [1] threatened by two great invasions: the whole people of the Helvetii were migrating from their Alpine homes in search of more fertile lands; and a great German nation, under the king Ariovistus, was already encamped in Gaul. The Gauls themselves were distracted by feuds and grievously oppressed by their disorderly chieftains.

Caesar saw the danger and grasped the opportunity. He levied armies hastily, and in one summer drove back the Helvetii and annihilated the German invaders. Then he seized upon the Rhine as the proper Roman frontier, and, in a series of masterly campaigns, he made all Gaul Roman, extending his expeditions even into Britain. The story is told with incomparable lucidity in his own *Commentaries*. Whatever we think of the morality of these conquests, they were to produce infinite good for mankind. Says John Fiske (an American historian): "We ought to be thankful to Caesar every day that we live." The result of the Gallic campaigns was twofold.

And the results

1. The wave of German invasion was again checked, until Roman civilization had time to do its work and to prepare the way for the coming Christian church. "Let the Alps now sink," exclaimed Cicero; "the gods raised them to shelter Italy from the barbarians, but they are no longer needed."

2. A wider home for Roman civilization was won among fresh populations, unexhausted and vigorous. *The map widened from the Mediterranean circle to include the shores of the North and Baltic seas.* The land that Caesar made Roman (modern

[1] In 121 the southern part of Transalpine Gaul had been given the form of a province (p. 297). It was commonly known as *The Province* (modern *Provence*).

France) was, next to Greece and Italy, to form down to the present time the chief instructor of Europe.

The justification of Caesar's conquests in Gaul and Britain rests upon much the same basis as does the white man's occupation of the American continents. The student should compare the Roman possessions after these conquests of Pompey and Caesar, east and west, with the territory as it stood before them. Compare the map on page 306 with that following page **364**.

Caesar and Pompey

The close of Caesar's five years in Gaul saw him easily superior to his colleagues, and able to seize power at Rome if he chose. But it was never his way to leave the work in hand unfinished. He renewed the "triumvirate" in 55 B.C., securing the Gauls for five years more for himself, giving Spain to Pompey, and Asia to Crassus.

Crassus soon perished in battle with the Parthians, a huge, barbaric empire, then reaching from the Euphrates to the Indus. Then it became plain that the question whether Caesar or Pompey was to rule at Rome could not long be postponed. The Senate was growing frantic with fear of Caesar and his victorious legions. Pompey, jealous of his more brilliant rival, drew nearer to the Senate again. That terrified body adopted him eagerly as its champion, hoping that it had found another Sulla to check this new and greater Marius. Pompey was made *sole consul* with supreme command in Italy, and at the same time, his *indefinite proconsular powers abroad* were continued to him. Caesar's office as proconsul was about to expire. He had finished his work in Gaul in the nick of time. He still shrank from civil war. He meant to secure the consulship for the next year and, in that case, he hoped to carry out reforms at Rome without violence. Accordingly he made offer after offer of conciliation and compromise.

Senate adopts Pompey

All his offers were rebuffed by Pompey and the Senate. To stand for consul, under the law, Caesar must disband his army and come to Rome in person. There would be an interval

of some months when he would be a private citizen. The aristocrats boasted openly that in this helpless interval they would destroy him as they had the Gracchi. Caesar finally offered to lay down his command and disband his troops, if Pompey were ordered to do the same. This, too, was refused. Then the aristocrats carried a decree that Caesar must disband his troops before a certain day or be declared a public enemy. Two tribunes vetoed the decree, but were mobbed, and barely escaped to Caesar's camp in Cisalpine Gaul.

And forces Caesar to choose civil war or ruin

At last the Senate had made Caesar choose between civil war and ruin both for himself and for all his noble hopes for the Roman world. He had made no preparation for war. Only one of his eleven legions was with him in Cisalpine Gaul; the others were dispersed in distant garrisons far beyond the Alps. But within an hour after the arrival of the fugitives, he was on the march with his 5000 men. The same night he crossed the Rubicon — the little stream that separated his province from "Italy." This act was war: a proconsul was strictly forbidden by law to bring an army into Italy. Caesar paused a few moments, it is said, for the last time, when he reached the bank of the river at the head of his troops; then he spurred forward, exclaiming, "The die is cast."

Caesar crosses the Rubicon

PART V

THE ROMAN EMPIRE (THE GRAECO-ROMAN WORLD)

Rome was the whole world, and all the world was Rome.

—SPENSER, *Ruins of Rome.*

CHAPTER XXXVI

FOUNDING THE EMPIRE, 49–31 B.C.

I. JULIUS CAESAR'S FIVE YEARS, 49–44 B.C.

Pharsalus

With audacious rapidity Caesar led his one legion directly upon the much larger forces that ponderous Pompey was mustering; and in sixty days, almost without bloodshed, he was master of the peninsula. Pompey still controlled most of the empire; but Caesar held the capital and the advantage of Italy's central position.

Turning to Spain, in three months Caesar dispersed the armies of Pompey's lieutenants there. Then following Pompey himself to Greece, in a critical campaign in 48 B.C. he became master of the world. The decisive battle was fought at *Pharsalus* in Thessaly. Caesar's little army had been living for weeks on roots and bark of trees, and it numbered less than half Pompey's well-provided troops. Pompey, too, had his choice of positions, and he had never been beaten in the field. It looked for a time as though Caesar had rashly invited ruin; but from that peril he snatched overwhelming victory.

Pompey, despite his career of unbroken success, was "formed for a corporal and forced to be a general." Caesar, though caring not at all for mere military glory, was one of the greatest captains of all time. And the armies differed vastly in real fighting power. Says an English historian:

"The one host was composed in great part of a motley crowd from Greece and the East . . . the other was chiefly drawn from the Gallic populations of Italy and the West, fresh, vigorous, intelligent, and united in devotion and loyalty to their leader. . . . *With Pompeius was the spirit of the past;* and his failure did but answer to the failure of a decaying world. *With Caesar was the spirit of the future;* and his victory marks the moment when humanity could once more start hopefully upon a new line of progress."

"I came, I saw, I conquered"

Other wars hindered the great work of reorganization. Egypt and Asia Minor each required a campaign. In Egypt, under the voluptuous queen, *Cleopatra*, Caesar wasted a few months; but he atoned for this delay by his swift prosecution of the war in Asia against the son of Mithridates. This was the campaign that Caesar reported pithily — and rather boastfully — to his lieutenants in Rome, — "I came, I saw, I conquered." Meantime, Cato and the senatorial party had raised troops in Africa. Caesar crushed them at *Thapsus*. Somewhat later, Pompey's sons and the last remnants of their party were overthrown in Spain at *Munda*.

Thapsus and Munda

Cato, stern Republican that he was, committed suicide at Utica, after Thapsus, unwilling to survive the commonwealth. His death was admired by the ancient world, and cast an undeserved halo about the expiring "Republican" cause. The story may be read in Plutarch's *Life of Cato*.

Caesar reconciles Italy

Apart from these necessary military operations, Caesar's first work was to reconcile Italy to his government. The wealthy classes there had trembled when he crossed the Rubicon, expecting new Marian massacres. But Caesar maintained strict order, guarded property carefully, and punished no political opponent who laid down arms.

Only one of his soldiers had refused to follow him when he decided upon civil war. Caesar sent all this officer's property after him to Pompey's camp. He continued the same policy, too, toward the nobles who left Italy to join Pompey. On the

field of victory, he checked the vengeance of his soldiers, calling upon them to remember that the enemy were their fellow-citizens; *and, after Pharsalus, he employed in the public service any Roman of ability, without regard to the side he had fought on.*

In Gaul, Caesar's warfare had been largely of the cruel kind so common in Roman annals; but his clemency in the civil war was without example. It brought its proper fruit: almost at once all classes, except a few extremists, became heartily reconciled to his monarchic rule.

Caesar's monarchy the result of long-standing conditions

From the time of the Gracchi, Rome had been moving toward monarchy. *Owing to the corruption of the populace in the capital,* the tremendous power of the tribune had grown occasionally into a virtual dictatorship, as with Caius Gracchus and Sulpicius. *Owing to the growing military danger on the frontiers,* the mighty authority of a proconsul of a single province was sometimes extended, by special decrees, over *vaster areas* for *indefinite time,* as with Marius, Sulla, Pompey, and Caesar. *To make a monarch needed but to unite these two powers, at home and abroad, in one person.*

This was what Caesar did. He preserved most of the old Republican *forms.* The Senate debated, and the Assembly elected aediles, consuls, and praetors as before. But Caesar received "the tribunician power"[1] for life, and the title of *Imperator* for himself *and his descendants.* This term, from which we get our word "Emperor," had meant simply supreme general and had been used only of the master of legions in the field abroad. Probably Caesar would have liked the title of king, since the recognized authority that went with it would have helped him to keep order. But he found that name still hateful to the people; and so he adopted Imperator for his title as monarch.

[1] Caesar was from an old patrician family, and so could not hold the office of tribune (p. 256). Therefore he devised this new grant of "tribunician power," to answer the purpose. He also had himself made censor for life, so that he could make or degrade senators at will.

And a boon to the misgoverned provinces

We have tried to show that the Roman "Republic" had shrunk into a selfish and impotent oligarchy. The corruption and ignorance of the citizens, and the danger of barbarian invasion, had made *some kind* of monarchy inevitable. A third condition made *Caesar's* monarchy a boon to the whole Roman world. This was the necessity for better government for the provinces. There might have arisen a purely selfish despot. Caesar rose to power as the champion of the suffering subject populations. His great aim was to mold the distracted Roman world into one mighty whole *under equal laws.*

JULIUS CAESAR — the Naples bust. We are not sure, however, that any of the so-called "busts of Caesar" are really authentic.

Already, as proconsul, on his own authority, *he had admitted the Cisalpine Gauls to all the privileges of citizenship.* In the midst of arduous campaigns, he had kept up correspondence with leading provincials in all parts of the empire. Other Roman conquerors had spent part of their plunder of the provinces in adorning Rome with public buildings. Caesar had expended vast sums in adorning and improving *provincial cities*, not only in his own districts of Gaul and Spain, but also in Asia and Greece. All previous Roman armies had been made up of Italians. Caesar's army was drawn from Cisalpine Gaul, and indeed partly from Gaul beyond the Alps. Many of the subject peoples had begun to look to him as their best hope against senatorial rapacity; and the great body of them wished for monarchy as an escape from anarchy and oligarchic misrule.

To call Caesar's monarchy a solution for the problems of his day is not to call monarchy good at all times. A despotism

can get along with less virtue and intelligence than a free government can. The Roman world was not good enough or wise enough for free government; and indeed it seemed on the verge of ruin. The despotism of the Caesars was a strong poison — medicine which preserved that world for five precious centuries.

Caesar reforms the provincial system

Caesar made over the system of provincial government. The old governors had been irresponsible tyrants, with every temptation to plunder. Under Caesar they began to be *trained servants* of a stern master *who looked to the welfare of the whole empire.* Their authority was lessened, and they were surrounded by a system of checks in the presence of other officials dependent directly upon the Imperator.

And extends Roman citizenship outside Italy

Caesar's plans were broader than this. He meant to put the provinces upon an equality with Italy. Part of this he accomplished in the brief time left him. He incorporated all Cisalpine Gaul in Italy, and multiplied Roman citizenship by adding whole communities in Gaul beyond the Alps, in Spain, and elsewhere.

Leading Gauls, too, were *admitted to the Senate,* whose membership Caesar raised to 900. It was a strange thing, no doubt, to see the tall, fair-haired barbarians, speaking with uncouth and almost unintelligible accent, intermingled on the benches of the Senate-house with the proud Italian aristocrats, even though the new members had laid aside the breeches, at which Rome jeered, for the white, purple-bordered togas of Senators. But Caesar hoped to make the Senate represent not merely Rome or Italy, but the whole Empire.

Renewal of the work of the Gracchi for Italy

Rome and Italy were not neglected in Caesar's reforms. A commission, like that of the Gracchi, was put at work to reclaim and allot public lands. Landlords were required to employ at least one free laborer for every two slaves. Italian colonization in the provinces was pressed vigorously. In his early consulship (59 B.C.), Caesar had refounded Capua; now he did the like for Carthage and Corinth, and these noble capitals, which had been criminally destroyed by the narrow jealousy of the Roman aristocracy, rose again to wealth and power. Eighty

thousand landless citizens of Rome were provided for *beyond seas;* and by these and other means the helpless poor in the capital, dependent upon free grain, were reduced from 320,000 to 150,000.

Soon after the time of the Gracchi, it became necessary to extend the practice of *selling cheap grain* to *distributing free grain*, at state expense, to the populace of the capital. This became one of the chief duties of the government. To have omitted it would have meant starvation and a horrible insurrection. For centuries to come, the degraded populace was ready to support any political adventurer who seemed willing and able to satisfy lavishly its cry for "bread and games." To have attacked the growing evil so boldly is one of Caesar's chief titles to honor. With a longer life, no doubt he would have lessened it still further. His successors soon abandoned the task.

Rigid economy was introduced into all branches of the government. A bankrupt law released all debtors from further claims, if they surrendered their property to their creditors,[1] — and so the demoralized Italian society was given a fresh start. Taxation was equalized and reduced. A comprehensive census was taken for all Italy, and measures were under way to extend it over the empire, as was done later by Augustus. Caesar also began the codification of the irregular mass of Roman law, created a great *public* library, rebuilt the Forum, began vast public works in all parts of the empire, and reformed the coinage and the calendar.

The Roman calendar had been inferior to the Egyptian and had got three months out of the way, so that the spring equinox came in June. To correct the error, Caesar made the year 46 ("the last year of confusion") consist of four hundred and forty-five days, and for the future, instituted the system of leap years, as we have it,

[1] This principle has been adopted in modern legislation.

ABOVE. — ROMAN FORUM, northeast side, to-day.

BELOW. — ROMAN FORUM, same as above, as it was in Roman times, according to the "restoration," by Benvenuti.

except for a slight correction by Pope Gregory in the sixteenth century. The reform was based upon the Egyptian system (p. 35).

The Ides of March

Caesar was still in the prime of a strong and active manhood, and had every reason to hope for time to complete his work. No public enemy could be raised against him within the empire. One danger there was: lurking assassins beset his path. But

The Roman Forum To-day. — This view looks southward from the direction of the Capitoline (p. 243), toward the western edge of the Palatine. The group of columns in the foreground belonged to a Temple of Saturn, which was also the Roman Treasury. The rows of bases of pillars, on the right, belonged to a splendid basilica, or judgment hall, built by Julius Caesar. South of the Temple of Saturn, and to the left of Caesar's basilica, lay the open market place.

with characteristic dignity he quietly refused a bodyguard, declaring it better to die at any time than to live always in fear of death. And so, in the midst of preparation for expeditions against the Parthians and Germans to secure the frontiers, the daggers of men whom he had spared struck him down.

A group of irreconcilable nobles plotted to take his life, — led by the envious *Cassius* and the weak enthusiast *Brutus*,

whom Caesar had heaped with favors. They accomplished their crime in the Senate-house, on the Ides of March (March 15), 44 B.C. Crowding around him, and fawning upon him as if to ask a favor, the assassins suddenly drew their daggers. According to an old story, Caesar at first, calling for help, stood on his defense and wounded Cassius; but when he saw the loved and trusted Brutus in the snarling pack, he cried out sadly, "Thou, too, Brutus!" and drawing his toga about him with calm dignity, he resisted no longer, but sank at the foot of Pompey's statue, bleeding from three and twenty stabs.

Character and work

No man ever excelled Caesar in quick perception of means, fertility of resource, dash in execution, or tireless activity. His opponent Cicero said of him: "He had genius, understanding, memory, taste, reflection, industry, exactness." Numerous anecdotes are told of the many activities he could carry on at one time, and of his dictating six or more letters to as many scribes at once. Says a modern critic, "He was great as a captain, statesman, lawgiver, jurist, orator, poet, historian, grammarian, mathematician, architect." His gracious courtesy and unrivaled charm won all hearts, so that his enemies dreaded personal interviews, lest they be drawn to his side; and toward his friends he never wearied in forbearance and love.

No doubt, "Caesar was ambitious." He was not a philanthropic enthusiast merely, but a broad-minded, intellectual genius, with a strong man's delight in ruling well. He saw clearly what was to do, and knew perfectly his own supreme ability to do it. Caesar and Alexander are the two great captains whose conquests have done most for civilization. Both were snatched away from their work by untimely death. But Caesar, master in war as he was, always preferred statesmanship, and was free from Alexander's boyish liking for mere fighting.

The murder came five years after Caesar crossed the Rubicon. Those years, with their seven campaigns, gave only eighteen months for constructive reform. The work was left incomplete; but that which was actually accomplished dazzles the imagina-

tion. Caesar's genius, too, marked out the lines, along which, on the whole, his successors, less grandly, had to move.

The murder was as imbecile as it was wicked. It struck the wise monarch, but not the monarchy, and left Caesar's work to be completed by smaller men after a new period of anarchy. There is no better way to leave "the foremost man of all this world," than to use the words of Mommsen: "Thus he worked and created as never any mortal before or after him; and as a worker and creator he still, after two thousand years, lives in the memory of the nations — the first and the unique Imperator Caesar!"

FOR FURTHER READING. — *Specially suggested:* Davis' *Readings*, II, Nos. 50–54 (7 pages); and, on Caesar's constructive work, Warde-Fowler's *Caesar*, 326–359, or How and Leigh, 539–551.

Additional: Davis' *A Friend of Caesar* (fiction); Plutarch's *Lives* ("Caesar," "Pompeius," "Cicero").

II. FROM JULIUS TO OCTAVIUS, 44–31 B.C.

Flight of the assassins

Caesar's assassination led to fourteen years more of dreary civil war, before the Empire was finally established. The murderers had hoped to be greeted as liberators. For the moment they were the masters of the city; but, to their dismay, all classes (even the senatorial order) shrank from them. At Caesar's funeral his lieutenant and friend, Mark Antony, was permitted to deliver the usual oration over the dead body. His artful and fiery words roused the populace to fury against the assassins.[1] The mob rose; all Italy was hostile; and the conspirators fled to the Eastern provinces, where the fame of Pompey was still a strength to the aristocrats.

The triumvirs

In the West, control fell to *Anthony* and *Octavius Caesar*. Anthony, the orator of Caesar's funeral, was a dissolute, resolute, daring soldier. Octavius was a grand-nephew and adopted son of Julius Caesar. He was an unknown sickly youth of eighteen, still pursuing his studies in Illyria. A letter

[1] Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 53, gives Appian's account of this speech. The student may compare it with Shakespeare's version in his *Julius Caesar*.

from his terrified mother brought news of Caesar's murder and urged him to hide himself. Instead, Octavius hurried to Rome, and claimed his inheritance as Caesar's heir. Anthony despised "the boy"; but he rallied round him some legions of Caesar's old soldiers, and proved himself a shrewd statesman. He finally persuaded Anthony to unite forces with him against the oligarchs; and, to secure the West thoroughly, they took into partnership *Lepidus*, governor of Gaul and Spain.

A PART OF THE ROMAN FORUM TO-DAY, looking north. Note the triumphal arch on the right. Cf. p. 349.

The three men got themselves appointed *triumvirs* [1] by the Senate (43 B.C.), with unlimited power to reorganize the state. The union was cemented with blood. To their shame, the triumvirs abandoned the merciful policy of Caesar. Their first deed was to get rid of their personal foes in Italy, and to

[1] The term *triumvirate* is official in this use, while the so-called *first* triumvirate (p. 339) was an unofficial league, or ring, of public men. The *tri*umvirate of 43 B.C. was a dictatorship of *three;* just as the ancient *decem*virate (p. 257) was a dictatorship of *ten* men.

secure money, by a horrible proscription. Each marked off on the fatal list those whose deaths and estates he demanded, and each surrendered an uncle, a brother, or a trusting friend to the others' hate. Three thousand victims perished, — among them Cicero, abandoned by his friend Octavius to the hatred of Anthony.

Philippi

Meantime Brutus and Cassius had been rallying the old Pompeiian forces in the East. Their army contained troops from Parthia, Armenia, Media, Pontus, and Thrace. Octavius and Anthony marched against them. Again the East and West met in conflict, and again the West won — at *Philippi* in Macedonia (42 B.C.).

Octavius and Anthony

Then Octavius and Anthony set aside Lepidus and divided the Roman world between themselves. Soon each was plotting for the other's share. The East had fallen to Anthony. In Egypt he became infatuated with Cleopatra. He bestowed rich provinces upon her, and, it was rumored, he planned to supplant Rome by Alexandria as chief capital. The West turned to Octavius as its champion. In 31, the rivals met in the naval battle of *Actium* off the coast of Greece. Early in the battle, Cleopatra took flight with the Egyptian ships. The infatuated Anthony followed,[1] deserting his fleet and army. Once more the West had won.

Battle of Actium

FACT DRILLS

1. List of important battles in Roman history, to this point, with results of each.

2. List of Rome's wars after 390 B.C.

3. *Dates.* Continued drill on the list given on p. 236. Add the following and group other dates around these:

510 (?) B.C. "Expulsion" of the kings;

390 (?) B.C. Sack of Rome by the Gauls; and in like manner, the events for 367, 266, 218,[2] 146, 133, 49, 31.

[1] Special report: death of Antonius and of Cleopatra.

[2] Cf. 220 B.C. in Greek history.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE EMPERORS OF THE FIRST TWO CENTURIES, 31 B.C.–180 A.D.

I. AUGUSTUS, 31 B.C.–14 A.D.

The Empire established

Actium made Octavius sole master of the Roman world. He proceeded to the East to restore order. Cleopatra, last of the Ptolemies, took poison rather than grace his triumph, and he made Egypt a province. On his return to Rome in 29 B.C., the gates of the Temple of Janus were closed, in token of the reign of peace.[1] He welcomed to favor and to public office the followers of his old enemies; and, by prudent and generous measures, he soon brought back prosperity to long-distracted Italy. In 27, he laid down his office of triumvir (which had become a *sole* dictatorship), and declared *the Republic restored*. The act really showed that *the Empire was safely established*.

Under republican forms

To be sure, Octavius himself wrote: "After that time I excelled all others *in dignity*, but *of power* I held no more than those who were my colleagues in any magistracy." And indeed Republican *forms* were respected even more scrupulously than by Julius Caesar. But, in reality, supreme power lay in Octavius' hands as Imperator, — master of the legions. This office he kept, and the Senate now added to it the new title *Augustus*, which had before been used only of the gods. It is by this name that he is thenceforth known, though he himself preferred to all his other titles the name *Princeps* which had been given him as "the first citizen of the Republic." He lived more simply than many a noble, and walked the streets like any citizen, charming all whom he met by his frankness and courtesy. He even went through the form of personally

Caesar Augustus

[1] These gates were always open when the Romans were engaged in any war. In all Roman history, they had been closed only twice before, — and one of these times was in the legendary reign of King Numa.

soliciting votes in the Assembly for his nominees for office, like any friend of a candidate in earlier times.

Augustus was so intrenched in popular favor that he did not need open support from the army. The legions were stationed mostly on the frontiers, far from Italy. He did create a body of city troops, nine thousand in number, the *praetorian guards*, to preserve order at Rome; but, during his rule, even these guards were encamped outside the city.

AUGUSTUS. — Now in the Vatican.

The long rule of Augustus, 31 B.C.–14 A.D.

Augustus ruled forty-five years after Actium, and gave that long rule to unremitting toil in strengthening the Empire and in improving the condition of the people throughout the Roman world.

For the capital, he created a police department, a fire department, and a department for the distribution of grain, each under its proper head, and he renewed, for the last time, the work of founding colonies outside Italy on a large scale. The needs of the provinces received careful attention. Throughout the Empire, peace reigned. Order was everywhere established. Industry revived and throve. Marshes were drained. Roads were built. A postal system was organized. A great census of the

whole Empire was carried out, and many distant communities were granted Roman citizenship. The chief cities of the Empire, too, were adorned with noble buildings, — temples, theaters, porticoes, baths. Augustus tells us in a famous inscription that in one year he himself began the rebuilding of eighty-two temples; and of Rome he said, "I found it brick and have left it marble."

A Gold Coin of Augustus.

The Emperor was also a generous and ardent patron of literature and art, and in this patronage he was imitated by many great nobles and especially by his wealthy minister *Maecenas*, whose fame in this respect outshines even that of his master. The *Augustan Age* is the "golden age" of Latin literature.

Augustus as a Boy. — A bust now in the Vatican.

Worship of the dead Augustus

At the death of Augustus, the Senate decreed him divine honors. Temples were erected in his honor, and he was worshiped as a god. Such worship seems impious to us, but it was natural to the Romans. It was connected with the idea of ancestor worship in each family, and with the general worship of ancient heroes, and was a way of recognizing the Emperor as "the father of all his people." The practice was adopted for the successors of Augustus, and this worship

of dead emperors soon became a general and widespread religious rite, the only religion common to the whole Roman world, — binding together the dwellers on the Euphrates, the Nile, the Tiber, the Rhone, and the Tagus.

And the Christ

But, it is interesting to remember, shortly before this worship began, when the reign of Augustus was a little more than half gone, there was born in a manger in an obscure hamlet of a distant corner of the Roman world, the child Jesus, whose religion, after some centuries, was to replace the worship of dead emperors and all other religious faiths of the pagan world.

CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY AT BETHLEHEM — on the site of the stable where Christ was born.

II. THE REMAINING FOUR JULIAN[1] CAESARS

Tiberius, 14–37 A.D.

At Augustus' death, everyone recognized that some one must be appointed to succeed him. Unlike Julius Caesar, he had not openly tried to make his office hereditary; but the Senate at once granted his titles and authority to his stepson Tiberius, whom he had "*recommended*" to them.

Tiberius (14–37 A.D.) was stern, morose, suspicious; but he was also an able, conscientious ruler. The nobles of the capital conspired against him, and were punished cruelly. The populace

[1] So named because related by blood or adoption to the great Julius.

of Rome, too, hated him because he abolished the Assembly, where they had sold their votes, and because he refused to amuse them with gladiatorial sports. To keep the capital in order, *Tiberius brought the praetorians* (p. 355) *into the city.* He also made the law of treason (*majestas*) apply to *words* against the Emperor, as well as to *acts* of violence; *and he encouraged a system of paid spies.* Such wretches sometimes *invented* plots, when there were none, so as to share in the confiscation of the property of the man they accused. So the people of Rome with some reason looked upon Tiberius as a gloomy tyrant. *But in the provinces he was proverbial for fairness, kindness, and good government.* "A good shepherd shears his sheep, he does not flay them," was one of his sayings. On one occasion, after a great earthquake in Asia Minor, he rebuilt twelve cities which had been destroyed there. In this reign occurred *the crucifixion of Christ.*

Caligula, 37–41

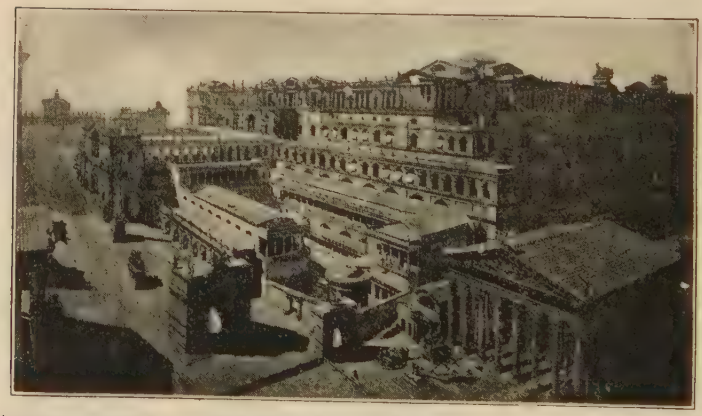
In the absence of nearer heirs, Tiberius adopted his grandnephew *Caligula*, nominating him to the Senate, in his will, for his successor. The Senate confirmed the appointment.

This prince had been a promising youth, but, crazed by power, or by a serious illness, he became a capricious madman, with gleams of ferocious humor. "Would that the Romans had all one neck!" he exclaimed, wishing that he might behead them all at one stroke. The gladiatorial shows and the wild-beast fights of the amphitheater fascinated him strangely. It is said that sometimes, to add to the spectacle, he ordered spectators to be thrown to the animals, and he entered the arena himself as a gladiator, to win the applause of the people whom he hated. After four years (37–41 A.D.), this insane monster was slain by officers of his guard.

Claudius, 41–54

Caligula had named no successor. For a moment the Senate hoped to restore the old Republic; but *the practorians* (devoted to the great Julian line) *hailed Claudius*, an uncle of Caligula, *as Imperator*, and the Senate had to confirm the appointment made in this new way. Claudius (41–54 A.D.) had been a timid, gentle, awkward, well-meaning scholar and an author of several

ROMAN AMPHITHEATER AT NÎMES. — Another illustration of the fact that every Roman city made lavish provision for "games."



ABOVE. — RUINS OF "THE PALACE OF THE CAESARS" on the Palatine Hill, built by Tiberius and Caligula.

BELOW. — A "RESTORATION" of the Palace of the Caesars, by Benvenuti.

tiresome books; but now he gave his time faithfully to the hard work of governing, with fairly good results. His reign is famous for a *great extension of citizenship* to provincials, for *legislation to protect slaves* against cruel masters, and for the *conquest of southern Britain.*

Nero, Claudius' stepson, became Emperor as a likable boy of sixteen. He had been trained by the philosopher *Seneca* Nero, 54–68

Ruins of the Aqueduct of Claudius, Crossing the Plain of Latium. — The water was brought forty miles from distant Apennine lakes to Rome, and for the final ten miles it was carried on arches like these. Not far to one side, and nearly parallel here, runs the Appian Way (p. 270).

(p. 384), and for two thirds of his reign he was guided by this great thinker and by other wise ministers. The young Emperor cared little for affairs of government, but was fond of art, and ridiculously vain of his skill in music and poetry. After some years his fears, together with a total lack of principle, led him to crime and tyranny. He poisoned his half-brother, and had his ambitious mother murdered. Wealthy nobles were put to death in numbers, and their property confiscated, Seneca himself being among the victims. Like Caligula, Nero entered

the lists as a gladiator, and he sought popular applause also for his music and dancing.

The burning of Rome

During this reign, *half of Rome was laid in ashes* by the "Great Fire" (Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 65). In the densely populated parts of the city, many-storied, cheap, flimsy tenement houses projected their upper floors nearly across the narrow, crooked thoroughfares, so that the fire leaped easily from side to side. For six days and nights the flames raged unchecked, surging in

PART OF THE CLAUDIAN AQUEDUCT (cf. p. 359) now used as a gate in the city wall. Parts of adjoining arches, built into the wall, may be dimly seen in the illustration.

billows over the slopes and through the valleys of the Seven Hills. By some, Nero was believed to have ordered the destruction, in order that he might rebuild in more magnificent fashion. On better authority he was reported to have enjoyed the spectacle from the roof of his palace, with music and dancing, singing meanwhile a poem he had composed on the "Burning of Troy."

The new sect of Christians also were accused of starting the fire, out of their supposed "hatred for the human race," and

because they had so often declared that a fiery destruction of the world was coming. To turn attention from himself, Nero took up the charge against them, and carried out the *first persecution of the Christians* (p. 407), one of the most cruel in all history. Victims, tarred with pitch, were burned as torches in the imperial gardens, to light the indecent revelry of the court at night; and others, clothed in the skins of animals, were torn by dogs for the amusement of the mob. The persecution, however, was *confined to the capital*, and was *not religious in purpose*.

Nero's persecution of Christians

Nero's disgraceful and weak rule finally roused the legions on the frontiers to rebel. The tyrant was at once deserted by all, and the Senate condemned him to death. To avoid capture he stabbed himself, exclaiming, "What a pity for such an artist to die!"

Bronze Coin of Nero — to commemorate the closing of the doors of the Temple of Janus (cf. p. 354).

Sixty-nine, the year of confusion

The year 69 was one of wild confusion. The legions in Spain had proclaimed their general *Galba* Emperor. Galba fell before *Otho*, supported by the praetorians. Otho, in turn, was overthrown by *Vitellius*, at the head of the army of the Rhine. Then the more powerful legions in Syria proclaimed their general, *Flavius Vespasianus* (*Vespasian*), who quickly made himself master of the Empire. The Senate could only ratify the decision of the soldiery.

THE FLAVIAN[1] CAESARS

Vespasian, 70–79

Vespasian was the grandson of a Sabine laborer. He was a rude soldier, — stumpy in build, blunt in manner, homely in tastes, but honest, industrious, experienced, and broad-

[1] The name comes from Vespasian's first name, Flavius. The "Julian" emperors had been *Romans;* this Flavian group were of *Italian* descent; the next group (p. 365) were *provincials.*

minded. He had distinguished himself in Britain and in Asia, and he knew the needs of the Empire. His reign was economical and thrifty. He loved simple manners and homely virtues, and hated sham. So, at the end, as he felt the hand

Triumphal Arch of Titus, showing the Colosseum (p. 390) in the distance. (Locate both structures on map, p. 402.) The *triumphal* arch, spanning a city street like a gate, was a favorite decorative application of the arch by the Romans. For an Egyptian model, see p. 221.

of death upon him, he said, with grim irony, "I think I am becoming a god," — in allusion to the worship of dead emperors.

Siege and destruction of Jerusalem

The most striking event in Vespasian's reign was the siege and destruction of Jerusalem. The kingdom of the Jews, which the heroic Maccabees established (p. 303), had been made a tributary state by Pompey during his Eastern wars, in the

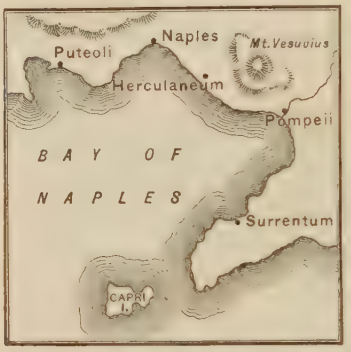
DETAIL FROM THE TRIUMPHAL ARCH OF TITUS (p. 362), showing the seven-branched candlestick taken from the Temple at Jerusalem.

year 63 B.C., and in 4 A.D. it became a Roman province. But the Jews were restless under foreign rule, and in the year 66, in Nero's time, a national uprising drove out the Roman officers. This rebellion was put down by Vespasian and his son Titus. In 70 A.D. Titus captured Jerusalem, after a stubborn siege. He had offered liberal terms to the starving citizens; but the desperate Jews made a frenzied resistance, and when the walls were finally stormed, many of them slew their women and children and died in the flames. The miserable remnant for

the most part were sold into slavery, and they have remained a dispersed people to this day.

Titus, 79–81

Titus had been associated in the government with his father. His kindness toward all classes made him the most popular of all the emperors. Once at supper, not able to remember that he had made any one happy during the day, he exclaimed, "I have lost a day!"



Pompeii destroyed by Vesuvius

The most famous event of his two years' reign was the *destruction of Pompeii and Herculaneum by Vesuvius*. This volcano was believed extinct, and its slopes were covered with villas and vineyards; but in 79 A.D., with little warning it belched forth in terrible eruption, burying two cities and many villages in ashes and volcanic mud. In the eighteenth century, by the chance digging of a well, the site of Pompeii, the largest of the two cities, was rediscovered. In recent years it has been excavated; and to-day a visitor can walk through the streets of an ancient city, viewing perfectly preserved houses, shops, temples, baths, theaters, ornaments, and tools of the men of eighteen hundred years ago, just as they chanced to stand when the volcanic ashes and lava flood came upon them. (See illustrations on pp. 311, 314, 392.)

Coin of Domitian — to commemorate the completion of the Colosseum (p. 390).

Domitian, 81–96

Domitian, younger brother of Titus, was a strong, stern ruler. His general, *Agricola*, completed *the conquest of Britain* to the highlands of Caledonia (Scotland). In the years that followed, Roman roads were built in the island; camps grew into rich cities; merchants thronged to them; the country was dotted with

THE ROMAN EMPIRE
At its Greatest Extent
With some Roman Roads
SCALE OF ENGLISH MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
SCALE OF ROMAN MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
EXPLANATION
The Roman Empire at the Death of Caesar, 44 B.C.
Additions up to the Death of Augustus, 14 A.D.
Additions up to the Death of Trajan, 117 A.D.
Roman Roads
Longitude West
Longitude East
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
MEDITERRANEAN
HIBERNIA
BRITANIA
Eboracum
Londinium
Rhine R.
Teuteberg forest
Elbe R.
Colonia Agrippina
Cologne
Mogontiacum
Augusta Treverorum
Marcomanni
Vindobona
CELTICA
Bituriges
Augustodunum
Lugdunum
GALLIA
RAETIA
NORICUM
PANNONIA
Aquileia
Aginnum
Tolosa
NARBONENSIS
Arelate
Narbo
Massilia
Ravenna
Iadera
Salona
SPAIN
Tarraco
CORSICA
Fidenae
ROME
Ostia
Dyrrhachium
BALEARES
SARDINIA
Herculaneum
Gades
BOETICA
New Carthage
Utica
Carthage
NUMIDIA
SICILY
Syracuse
MAURETANIA
AFRICA

Volga
R.
Sarmatians
CASPIAN SEA
ALBANIA
COLCHIS
Chersonesus
BLACK SEA
Sinope
Byzantium
Nicomedia
BITHYNIA
PONTUS
Nicaea
Hilys
GALATIA
Tetraxata
ARMENIA
Pergamos
ASIA
CAPPADOCIA
Ephesus
PISIDIA
LYCONIA
CILICIA
Edessa
Issus
Antiochia
Tigris
Euphrates
MESOPOTAMIA
ASSYRIA
PARTHIAN KINGDOM
Xanthus
LYCIA
RHODES
CYPRUS
Emesa
SYRIA
Palmyra
Ktesiphon
Seleucia
Babylon
BABYLONIA
SEA
Caesarea
JUDÆA
PALESTINA
Jerusalem
Alexandria
Petra
ARABIA
Memphis
Nile
R.
RED SEA
Mecca
Greenwich

beautiful villas; and Britain became a peaceful, prosperous Roman province.

Domitian took the office of *Censor for life*, and so could legally make and unmake senators at will.[1] This led the Roman nobles to conspire against him and finally he was assassinated.

THE ANTONINE CAESARS

The Senate chose the next ruler from its own number; and that Emperor with his four successors governed in harmony with it. These princes are known as the *five good Emperors*. The first of the five was *Nerva*, an aged Senator *of Spanish descent*, who died after a kindly rule of sixteen months.

Nerva, 96–98

Trajan, a Spaniard by birth and a great general. He conquered and colonized *Dacia*, a vast district north of the Danube, and then attacked the Parthians in Asia. That power was humbled, and new provinces were added *beyond the Euphrates. These victories mark the greatest extent of the Roman Empire.* Dacia is the modern Roumania. It was lost to the Empire after only a hundred years; but its inhabitants have ever since claimed to be *Roman* in race as in name.

Trajan, 98–117

Trajan's Column, commemorating the Dacian conquest. It is 100 feet high, and the spiral bands of sculpture that circle it contain 2500 figures. It is the finest survival of a favorite Roman form of monument. Cf. p. 51 for an earlier model. See a detail on p. 383.

[1] No other Emperor had done this since Julius Caesar; but it was always done after this time.

Trajan, 98–117

Trajan's reign was the most famous in Roman history for the *construction of roads and other useful public works throughout the provinces.* Despite his wars, his rule was humane as well as just. By loans from the treasury, he encouraged the cities of Italy *to care for and educate many thousands of poor children,*[1] and slaves were protected by strict laws against cruelty. A slight persecution of Christians took place under this Emperor.

Hadrian, 117–138

Hadrian, a Spanish kinsman of Trajan, succeeded him. Wisely and courageously, he abandoned most of Trajan's

Ruins of the Temple of Zeus built by Hadrian at Athens. — Note the Corinthian style (p. 111). The Acropolis is visible in the background.

conquests in Asia (disregarding the sneers and murmurs of nobles and populace), and withdrew the frontier there to the old line of the Euphrates, more easily defended. He looked to the fortification of other exposed frontiers. His most famous work of this kind was a wall in Britain, from the Solway to the Tyne (to keep out the unconquered Picts of the northern highlands), to replace a less satisfactory "Wall of Agricola" still farther to the north.

[1] Capes' *Antonines*, 19–21, gives the details.

This "Wall of Hadrian" was seventy miles long, extending almost from sea to sea. Considerable portions can still be traced. It consisted of three distinct parts: (1) a stone wall and ditch, on the north; (2) a double earthen rampart and ditch, about one hundred and twenty yards to the south; and (3) between wall and rampart a series of fourteen fortified camps connected by a road. The northern wall was eight feet broad and twenty feet high, with turreted gates at mile intervals, and with numerous large towers for guard-stations.

TOMB OF HADRIAN. — When the Vandals attacked Rome (p. **436**) this structure was used as a citadel, and the marble statues that originally crowned it were hurled down on the enemy as missiles. (Locate on map, p. 402.)

Hadrian spent most of his twenty years' rule in inspecting the provinces. Now he is in Britain, now in Dacia; again in Gaul, or in Africa. Syria and Egypt were both visited. He spent several months in Asia Minor, and in Macedonia; and twice he visited Athens, his favorite city, which he adorned with splendid buildings. Indeed, everywhere memorials of his stay sprang up in useful public works, — aqueducts, baths, schools, basilicas (p. 408), highways, temples.

Hadrian also organized the civil service of the Empire, — the whole body of officers who carried on the administration. Every Emperor, necessarily, had been surrounded by assistants and advisers; and sometimes these had been vicious adventurers or greedy freedmen. The nobles had felt it beneath their dignity to take regular office as secretary to a "Princeps." But Hadrian brought nobles and "knights" into the public service, and built up a body of trained public servants, who thereafter continued from reign to reign, with fixed customs. Moreover, he brought together *the heads* of important administrative divisions into a true *Privy Council* (or Cabinet) to advise and inform the Emperor In short, he sought, not to enlarge the Empire, but to strengthen and reorganize it, — a most useful work for the evil days soon to follow.

For relaxation, Hadrian liked to write graceful verse, and the lines he addressed to his soul as he felt death approach are true poetry:

"Soul of mine, pretty one, flitting one,
Guest and partner of my clay,
Whither wilt thou hie away,
Pallid one, rigid one, naked one, —
Never to play again, never to play?"

Antoninus Pius, 138–161

Hadrian was followed by Antoninus Pius, whom he had adopted. This reign was singularly *peaceful and uneventful*, and might well have given rise to the saying, "Happy the people whose annals are meager." Antoninus himself was a pure and gentle spirit, and the chief feature of his rule was legislation *to prevent cruelty to slaves.*

On the evening of his death, when asked by the officer of the guard for the watchword for the night, he gave the word *Equanimity*, which might have served as the motto of his life. His adopted son wrote of him: "He was ever prudent and temperate. . . . He looked to his duty, and not to the opinion of men. . . . There was in his life nothing harsh nothing excessive, nothing overdone." (Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 69, gives two pages more of this noble tribute.)

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, nephew and adopted son of Antoninus Pius, was a *philosopher and student*. He belonged to the Stoics (p. 232), but in him that stern philosophy, without losing its lofty tone, was softened by a gracious gentleness. His tastes made him wish to continue in his father's footsteps, but he had fallen upon harsher times. The barbarians renewed their attacks upon the Danube, the Rhine, and the Euphrates. The Emperor and his lieutenants beat them back, but at the cost of almost incessant war; and the gentle philosopher lived and wrote and died in camp, on the frontiers. A great Asiatic plague, too, swept over the Empire. Not only did it cause terrible loss of life: it also demoralized society. The populace thought the disease a visitation from offended gods, and, in many parts of the Empire, they were frantically excited against the unpopular sect of Christians who refused to worship the gods of Rome. Thus the reign of the kindly Aurelius was marked by a cruel persecution.

Marcus Aurelius, 161–180

The "five good Emperors" end with Marcus Aurelius. His son, Commodus, was an infamous wretch who was finally murdered by his officers.

Commodus, 180–192

For Further Reading. — Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 56 (Augustus' own account of his work) and No. 59, and Capes' *Early Empire*, especially ch. i.

Lyons in Roman Times.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE EARLY EMPIRE: GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY

Republican Rome had little to do . . . with modern life: ***imperial Rome, everything.*** — STILLÉ.

I. PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT

The "Principate"

The government of the Empire did not invent much new political machinery: it merely combined old institutions in a new way. Following the example of Julius Caesar (p. 345), each emperor *concentrated in his own person* the most important offices of the Republic, — *powers which had originally been intended to check one another.* He held the *tribunician power* in the city and the *proconsular power* throughout all the provinces. As *censor,* he could *appoint and degrade Senators;* and as *Princeps,* he led the debates in the Senate — and *could* control its decrees, which had become the chief means of lawmaking. He appointed the governors of the provinces, the generals of the legions, the city prefect, the head of the city police, and the prefect of the praetorians. Each successor of Augustus was hailed *Imperator Caesar Augustus.* (The title *Caesar* survived till recently, in *Kaiser,* and in *Tsar.*)

Most of the emperors so far, however, were glad to have *the help of the Senate in governing.* That body was no longer a Roman oligarchy: the emperors had made it a chosen body of distinguished men from all parts of the realm, acquainted with the needs and feelings of all the Empire.

Growth of cities

The population of 75,000,000 or 100,000,000 people was gathered in myriads of cities great and small, each throbbing with varied industry and with intellectual life. Everywhere rude stockaded villages had changed into stately marts of trade, huts into palaces, footpaths into paved Roman roads. Roman

irrigation made part of the African desert the garden of the world, where, from drifting sands, desolate ruins mock the traveler of to-day. The regular symbol of Africa in art was a gracious virgin with arms filled with sheaves of golden grain. In Gaul, Caesar found no real towns; but in the third century that province had 116 flourishing cities, with baths, temples,

AQUEDUCT NEAR NÎMES, FRANCE, built about 150 A.D. by the Emperor Antoninus Pius to supply the city with water from springs 25 miles distant; *present condition* of the long gray structure, where it crosses the Gard River. Water pipes were carried through hills by tunnels and across streams and valleys on arches like these. This aqueduct has vanished (its stones used for other buildings) except for this part; but here it is still possible to walk through the pipes on the top row of arches. Some of these Roman aqueducts remained in use till very recent days.

amphitheaters, works of art, roads, aqueducts, and schools of eloquence and rhetoric. One of the two Spanish provinces had 174 towns, each with a charter from some emperor defining its rights of self-government.

Particular attention was paid in cities to the water supply. That of Rome was better than that of London or Paris to-day.

The cities had more and better public baths than the modern capitals of Europe or the cities of America. In Rome the *public* baths would care for 60,000 people at a time.

Survival of municipal self-government

These towns were *municipia;* and, even under the despotic Empire, "municipal institutions" for *local* self-government survived in hundreds of them. True, the local government of Rome itself, along with that of Alexandria and other large cities with dangerous street mobs, was placed in the hands of officers *appointed* by the emperors. But in towns of Gaul and Dacia, Assemblies continued to elect each year their consuls (a sort of twin mayors), their aediles to oversee the police and the public works, and their quaestors to care for the city finances; while in each such town, a town council (senate) of ex-magistrates voted local taxes, oversaw their expenditure, and looked after town matters in general. Election placards painted on the walls of the houses in Pompeii (p. 364) show that the contests for office were quite modern in method (Davis' *Readings,* II, No. 69).

Political posters

Some 1500 political posters were painted on the walls of Pompeii's streets. Probably these all concerned one recent election; for when their purpose was served, the space would be whitewashed over, and used for new notices. These notices are painted in red letters from two to ten inches high, on a white background. Each man, apparently, could use his own wall to recommend his favorite candidates; but hired and zealous "bill-posters" blazoned their placards even upon private buildings and upon funeral monuments. A baker is nominated for quaestor (city treasurer) on the ground that he sells "good bread"; and near by a leading aristocrat is supported as one of whom it is known that "he will guard the treasury." Trade gilds make some of these nominations, and even women take part in them, — though of course not in the voting. One "wide-open" candidate for "police commissioner" is attacked by an ironical wag in several posters — as in one that reads, "All the late-drinkers ask your support for Valia for the Aedileship."

Tendency to centralize despotism

Provincial governors were often disposed impatiently to sweep away these local institutions in order to get quicker results. Pliny (p. 384) was a worthy servant of a noble emperor; but we find Pliny writing to ask Trajan whether he shall allow

the citizens of a town in his province of Bithynia to *repair* their public baths, as they desire, or whether he shall require them to *build new ones*, and whether he shall not interfere to compel a wise use of public moneys lying idle in another town, and so on (Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 75).

Trajan, wiser than his minister, gently rebukes Pliny's overzeal in some of these matters, and will have no wanton meddling with established rights. Later rulers were not so far-sighted, and local self-government did decline. Still, the *forms* of this municipal life never wholly died out. The Empire passed them on — even through the dark period of the Middle Ages — to our modern world.

No self-government for the province

The province as a whole, above the separate towns, had no self-government whatever. It had no Assembly (except on rare occasions, and then only to give information to the emperor) and no *elected* officers. The better emperors gave earnest study to provincial needs; but their rule, however kindly, was an absolute despotism, along the lines the first Caesar had marked out (pp. 346–347).

II. LIFE AND WORK

Trade and manufactures

Most towns were places of 20,000 people or less; but there were also a few great centers of trade, — Rome, with perhaps two million people; Alexandria (in Egypt) and Antioch (in Asia) with half a million each; and Corinth, Carthage, Ephesus, and Lyons, with some 250,000 apiece.

These commercial cities were likewise centers of manufactures. The Emperor Hadrian visited Alexandria (about 125 A.D.) and wrote in a letter: "No one is idle; some work glass; some make paper (papyrus); some weave linen. Money is the only god." The looms of Sidon and the other old Phoenician cities turned forth ceaselessly their precious purple cloths. Miletus, Rhodes, and other Greek cities of the Asiatic coast were famous for their woolen manufactures. Syrian factories poured silks, costly tapestries, and fine leather into western Europe. The silversmiths of Ephesus were numerous enough,

as we learn from the *Acts of the Apostles* (xix, 23–41), to stir up a formidable riot.

Ordinary towns merely centers of farming districts

The ordinary town was the core of a farming district — which was included with the town itself in the *municipium*. The devouring of small farms by large landlords, which had ruined much of Italy in the second century B.C., began to show ominously in the provinces by the second century A.D.; but on the whole, *for this period*, especially in the western half of the Empire, the farmers were a plain, sturdy peasantry, owning their own lands, or, generation after generation, tilling the same farms as tenants.[1] Market gardening was a profitable employment near the cities; and a Roman historian tells of two old soldiers who, with half an acre of land, made $500 a year from their bees, — an amount equivalent to an income of several thousand dollars to-day. As always in the Old World, the "farmers" lived, not each family on its own farmstead as with us, but either in the city or in small hamlets grouped about it.

Town life

Each town, large or small, had also its many *gilds* of artisans, weavers, fullers, and shopkeepers (p. 278). In Rome the bakers' gild listed 254 shops, and olive oil was for sale at 2300 different places.

Slaves performed most of the unskilled hand-labor in the towns. A baker or a mason would usually have two or three or a dozen slaves to work under his direction. For the *gentleman class* (nobles) there were the occupations of law, the army, literature, and the farming of large estates. A *middle class* furnished merchants (as distinguished from shopkeepers), engineers, architects, bankers, teachers, physicians, and many men of letters. We read of dentists, and of specialists for the eye and for the ear.

Roads and travel

The roads were safe. Piracy ceased from the seas, and trade flourished as it was not to flourish again until the days of Columbus. The ports were crowded with shipping, and the Mediterranean was spread with happy sails. One Roman

[1] For this last condition, even in Italy (in the North), see Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 88.

writer exclaims that there are as many men upon the waves as upon land. The ships were much like the sailing vessels used in the Mediterranean coasting trade to-day, and not very unlike those with which Columbus crossed the Atlantic. An immense traffic flowed ceaselessly between Europe and central Asia along three great arteries: (1) by the Black Sea and by caravan, along the line of the present Russian Trans-Caspian railway; (2) by Suez and the Red Sea; and (3) between these,

Bridge Built by Augustus at Rimini — on the Adriatic ten miles south of the Rubicon. Still in perfect condition.

by caravan across Arabia, where, amid the sands, arose white-towered Palmyra, Queen of the Desert, daughter of this trade.

From end to end of the Empire, *travel was safe and rapid.* The grand military roads ran in trunk-lines — a thousand miles at a stretch — from every frontier toward the central heart of the Empire, with a dense network of branches in every province. Guide books described routes and told distances. Inns abounded. The imperial couriers that hurried along the great highways passed a hundred and fifty milestones a day. And

private travel, from the Thames to the Euphrates, was swifter, safer, and more comfortable than ever again until the days of railroads in the nineteenth century. Much of this travel was in wheeled and cushioned carriages, which rolled smoothly along the perfectly faced stones of the Roman roads. But many people chose instead luxurious litters, each swung along by its eight even-paced Cappadocian slaves at a swift trot, with a motion so easy that reading or writing within was a pleasant employment.

Commerce

The products of one region of the Empire were known in every other part. Women of the Swiss mountains wore jewelry made by the silversmiths of Ephesus; and gentlemen in Britain and in Cilicia drank wines made in Italy. The gravestones of ancient Syrian traders are found to-day from Roumania to France; and in Asia the monuments of Gallic merchants witness to this same intercourse. One merchant of Phrygia (in Asia Minor) asserts on his gravestone that he had sailed "around Greece to Italy seventy-two times."

Trade beyond the Empire

There was also a vast commerce with regions *beyond* the boundaries of the Empire. Caesar found that the trader had preceded him to the most distant parts of Gaul in his day. Just as English and Dutch traders journeyed three hundred years ago far into the savage interiors of America for better and better bargains in furs, so did the indomitable Roman trader continue to press on into regions where the legions never camped. They visited Ireland; and both by sea and by overland routes from the Danube, they found their way to the Baltic shores. Thence they brought back amber, furs, and flaxen German hair with which the dark Roman ladies liked to deck their heads. Such goods the trader paid for in toys and trinkets and in wine and sometimes in Roman arms and tools, such as have been found on the Jutland coast, — as our colonial traders got their furs from the Indians with beads and whisky and guns and powder and knives. On the south, East Africa and Central Africa rewarded the venturesome trader with ivory, spices, apes, rare marbles, wild beasts, and negro slaves. On the east,

With Africa, India, and China

he reached civilized lands. A Latin poet speaks of "many merchants" who reaped "immense riches" by venturesome voyages over the Indian Ocean "to the mouth of the Ganges."

TRAJAN'S ARCH AT BENEVENTUM commemorating victories in Asia.
See p. 362.

India, Ceylon, and Malasia sent to Europe indigo, spices, pearls, sapphires, and other precious stones, draining away, in return, vast sums of Roman gold and silver coin. And from shadowy regions beyond India came the silk yarn which kept the Syrian

looms busy. Chinese annals of the year 166 A.D. tell of an "embassy" from the Emperor Marcus Aurelius; and 200 years later they speak again of the port of Canton receiving from Roman traders glass and metal wares, amber, jewels, and drugs.

Travel for pleasure

And men traveled for pleasure as well as for business. There was a keen desire in each great quarter of the Empire to see the other regions which Rome had molded into one world. It seems to have been at least as common a thing for the gentleman of Gaul or Britain to visit the wonders of Rome and of the Nile as for the modern American to spend a summer in England and France. One language answered all needs from London to Babylon. Families took pleasure trips in a body; and, quite in modern fashion, they sometimes defaced precious monuments of the past with their scrawls. One of the most famous statues of Egypt bears a scratched inscription that it has been visited by a certain Roman gentleman, "Gemellus," with "his dear wife, Rufilla" and their children.

MARCUS AURELIUS, a statue at Rome.

Banking aided Roman trade

Banking was an important business. The *early* Romans and Greeks often buried their money in the earth for safe keeping, but that practice had long ceased except with such ignorant or slothful rustics as are rebuked in Christ's parable. Instead, all over the Roman world, men placed money with the bankers, to receive it again with interest. The bankers, of course, earned the interest (and their own profits) by lending the money

out meanwhile at higher rates than they paid. As in our own day, a large part of the business was done on borrowed capital furnished by bankers.

Moreover, countless merchants in every part of the empire would come, day by day, to owe one another large sums. To carry the coin from one frontier to another for each such debt would be costly — and indeed impossible for business of such volume as had grown up. So banks, as with us, had come to sell "bills of exchange," or drafts. A merchant in Alexandria who owed money to a citizen of Cologne could pay the amount into a home bank (plus some "premium" for the bank's service) and receive an order for the amount on a bank in Cologne. This slip of paper would then be sent to the creditor in Cologne, who could present it at his bank, and get his money. The Cologne bank, sooner or later, would have occasion to sell a draft upon the Alexandria bank, in like fashion. At some convenient time, the two banks would have to settle their balance in coin; but the amount to be carried from one to the other would be very small, compared with the total amount of business.

With such a widespread system of "credits," the Roman world, like our own, had its money flurries and "panics." A crop failure in Africa, or the loss of a richly laden merchant fleet by a hurricane in the Red Sea, or a period of rash speculation in Gaul, was felt at once in the money market of every part of the Empire. The failure of a great banking house in Antioch might drag down others in Rome and Alexandria. Thus in the year of Christ's crucifixion there happened the first great money panic in history (an event which made much more noise in the Roman world than the vague rumor of a slight disturbance in Judea). Evil results, however, were checked by the prompt and wise action of the government. The Emperor Tiberius placed $4,000,000 in coin from the imperial treasury in certain central banks, to be loaned to hard-pressed debtors, and ordered that debtors who could give security in real estate should have a three-years' extension of time.

The world becomes Roman

Julius Caesar had begun the rapid expansion of Roman citizenship beyond Italy. Through him the number of adult males with the franchise rose from some nine hundred thousand to over four million. Augustus, Claudius, and Hadrian, as we have seen, granted further extensions; and a little later, in 212 A.D., the Emperor Caracalla made all free inhabitants of the Empire full citizens.

This "citizenship" no longer gave a vote; but it did insure important rights before the law, and its wide extension wiped

Palace of Roman Emperors at Trier (*Trèves*).

out all political distinction between Italy and the old "provinces." Indeed the greatest of the later emperors were more at home at York on the British Humber, or at Cologne or Trier on the Rhine, or at some capital by the Danube or the Black Sea, than at old Rome by the Tiber — which perhaps they visited only for some solemn pageant.

"The good Roman peace"

This widespread, happy society rested in "the good Roman peace" for more than two hundred years, — from the reign of Augustus Caesar through that of Marcus Aurelius, or from

31 B.C. to 180 A.D. No other part of the world so large has ever known such unbroken prosperity and such freedom from the waste and horror of war for so long a time. *Few troops were seen within the Empire*, and "the distant clash of arms [with barbarians] on the Euphrates or the Danube scarcely disturbed the tranquillity of the Mediterranean lands." Toward the close of the period, one of the Christian fathers (Tertullian) wrote:

"Each day the world becomes more beautiful, more wealthy, more splendid. No corner remains inaccessible. . . . Recent deserts bloom. . . . Forests give way to tilled acres. . . . Everywhere are houses, people, cities. Everywhere there is life."

A few of the emperors at Rome, like Nero and Caligula, even in this "golden age of the Empire," were weak or wicked; but their follies and vices concerned only the nobles of the capital city. The government of the Empire as a whole went on with little change during their short reigns. To the vast body of the people of the Roman world, the crimes of an occasional tyrant were unknown. To them he seemed (like the good emperors) merely the symbol of the peace and prosperity which enfolded them.

Unity of feeling

Trade and travel, peace and prosperity, and the mild and just Roman law made the world one in feeling. Rome won allegiance from the hearts and minds of men. Briton, Dacian, Gaul, African, Greek, Cappadocian, knew one another only as Romans. An Egyptian of the fourth century, the poet Claudian, celebrated this world-wide patriotism in a noble ode:

"Rome, Rome alone, has found the spell to charm,
The tribes that bowed beneath her conquering arm;
Has given one name to the whole human race,
And clasped and sheltered them in fond embrace, —
Mother, not mistress . . .
This to her peaceful scepter all men owe, —
That through the nations, wheresoe'er we go
Strangers, we find a fatherland. Our home
We change at will; we count it sport to roam

Through distant Thule, or with sails unfurled
Seek the most drear recesses of the world.
Though we may tread Rhone's or Orontes' [1] shore,
Yet are we all one nation evermore."

III. ART AND LEARNING

Architecture

Painting and sculpture followed the old Greek models; but *the* Roman art was architecture. Many of the world's most famous buildings belong to the Early Empire. Roman architecture had more massive grandeur, and was fonder of ornament, than the Greek. Instead of the simple Doric or Ionic columns it commonly used the rich Corinthian, and it added, for its own especial features, the noble Roman arch and the dome.

The great universities

Rome, Alexandria, and Athens were the three great centers of learning. Each had its *university*, with vast libraries and many professorships. The early Ptolemies, we have seen (p. 233), founded the first such institution at Alexandria. Augustus established the one at Athens from his private fortune. Vespasian began the practice of paying salaries from the public treasury. And under Marcus Aurelius the government began to provide *permanent endowments* (of which only the *income* could be used each year), as we do for our universities. The leading subjects were Latin and Greek *literature*, *rhetoric*, *philosophy*, *music*, *arithmetic*,[2] *geometry*, and *astronomy*.[3] *Law* was a specialty at Rome, and *medicine* at Alexandria. Rhodes was so famous for the teaching of *oratory* that Julius Caesar went there to study that art. University professors had the rank of Senators. They were paid good salaries, and were given pensions after twenty years of service.

Other "higher education"

Every important city in the Empire had its grammar school, corresponding to an advanced high school or small college. Like the universities, to which they led, they had permanent endowments from the Roman government.

[1] A river of Syria.

[2] Arithmetic was an advanced subject when Roman numerals were used.

[3] The first three subjects, the literary group, were *the trivium;* the last four, the mathematical group, were *the quadrivium.*

The schools of this class in Gaul and Spain were especially famous; and noted instructors in Massilia, Autun, Narbonne, Lyons, Bordeaux, or Toulouse taught Latin grammar to noble youth drawn even from the Tiber side. The walls of the classrooms were painted with maps, dates, and lists of facts.

A Detail from Trajan's Column (page 365): Trajan sacrificing a bull at the bridge over the Danube, just completed by his soldiers. This bridge was a remarkable structure, — probably the most wonderful bridge in the world until the era of iron and steel bridge-work in the nineteenth century.

The masters were appointed by the local magistrates, with life tenure, good pay, and exemption from taxation.

Schools for the poor

All this education was for the upper classes, but occasionally bright boys from the lower classes found some wealthy patron to send them to a good school, and rich men and women sometimes bequeathed money to schools in their home cities for the

education of poor children. Davis' *Readings* (II, No. 80) tells of such an endowment, and (No. 79) gives Horace's story of how his father, a poor farmer, gave him the education that made it possible for him to become one of the most famous of poets.

Literature

Literature played a small part in Roman life until just before the Empire. The following lists of names for the four periods, down to Marcus Aurelius, are not to be memorized, of course, but may be talked over in class.

1. The "Age of Cicero," gave us *Lucretius*, perhaps the most sublime of all Latin poets, and *Caesar's* concise graphic historical narrative. *Cicero* himself remains the foremost orator of Rome and the chief master of the graceful Latin prose essay.

2. For the glorious "Augustan Age" only a few of the many important writers can be mentioned. *Horace* (son of an Apulian freedman) wrote the most graceful of odes and most playful of satires. *Vergil* (from Cisalpine Gaul), the chief Roman poet, is best known to schoolboys by his epic, the *Aeneid*, but critics rank higher his *Georgics*, exquisite poems of country life. *Livy* (Cisalpine Gaul) and *Dionysius* (an Asiatic Greek) wrote their great *histories* of Rome. *Strabo* of Asia Minor (living at Alexandria) produced a geography of the Roman world, and speculated on the possibility of a continent in the unexplored Atlantic between Europe and Asia. *The last two authors wrote in Greek* (p. 306).

3. To the second half of the first century (after the Augustan Age) belong another host of great names: among them, the Jewish historian *Josephus; Pliny the Elder* (*of Cisalpine Gaul*), a scientist who perished at the eruption of Vesuvius in his zeal to observe the phenomena; the stoic philosophers *Epictetus*, a Phrygian slave, and *Seneca*, a Roman noble of Spanish birth.

4. For the second century, we have the charming *Letters* of *Pliny the Younger*, a Cisalpine Gaul, the satirical poetry of the Italian *Juvenal*, the philosophical and religious *Thoughts* of *Marcus Aurelius* (p. 396), the histories and biographies (*in*

Greek) of *Appian*, an Alexandrian, of *Arrian*, an Asiatic, of *Plutarch*, a Boeotian, and (in Latin) of *Tacitus*, a Roman noble. Science is represented chiefly by *Galen*, an Asiatic, who wrote Greek treatises on medicine (and who was for centuries looked back to as the highest medical authority), and by *Ptolemy*, an Egyptian astronomer, whose geography was the standard authority until the time of Columbus. Ptolemy unhappily abandoned the truer teachings of Aristarchus and Eratosthenes (p. 234), and taught that the heavens revolved about the earth for their center.

It was in this century that the books of the Greek *New Testament* received their present form.

IV. DEFENSE AND REVENUE

The army small in numbers

The Empire, unlike the Republic, waged few wars of conquest: it stood on the defensive against barbarians. The standing army counted thirty legions. Auxiliaries and naval forces raised the total of troops at the highest to some 400,000. These were stationed almost wholly on the three exposed frontiers — the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates. The inner provinces needed little policing: twelve hundred soldiers were enough to care for all Gaul. The civilized and Christian nations which now fill only the western half of the old Roman territory, with no *outside* barbarians to dread, have kept under arms for the past half century many times the army of the Roman emperors.

Strong in discipline

The "Roman" army had become a body of disciplined mercenaries, with intense pride, however, in their fighting power and in the Roman name. After the first century, more and more the legions were renewed by enlistments *on the frontiers*, where they were stationed; and in the third century, barbarian mercenaries became a large part of the army. From the hungry foes surging against its walls, the Empire drew the guardians of its peace.

Renewed from the barbarians

Industrial uses

The legions were not wholly lost to useful work. In peace, "they raised the marvelous Roman roads through hundreds

of miles of swamp and forest; they spanned great rivers with magnificent bridges; they built dikes to bar out the sea, and aqueducts and baths to increase the well-being of frontier cities." They proved, too, a noble school for commanders. Merit was carefully promoted, and military incompetence disappeared. Great generals followed one another in endless series, and several of the greatest emperors were soldiers who had risen from the ranks.

Veterans, as Roman citizens, colonize the provinces

At the expiration of their twenty years with the eagles,[1] the veterans became full Roman citizens, no matter whence

A German Bodyguard. — A detail from the Column of Marcus Aurelius.

they had been recruited, and were commonly settled in colonies, with grants of land. Augustus says that he spent over ten million dollars in purchasing lands for military colonies in the provinces; and this process continued, generation after generation. In these new homes the veterans became the leading inhabitants, and, in particular, *they helped to mix the many races of the Roman world into one.* Spanish troops stationed in Switzerland, Swiss in Britain, Panonians in Africa, Illyrians in Armenia, settled and married in these districts far from the lands of their birth.

The frontiers as Augustus found them

Julius Caesar left the Empire bounded by natural barriers on three sides and on part of the fourth: the North Sea and the

[1] The Roman military standards had the form of eagles.

Rhine to the northwest, the Atlantic on the west, the African and Arabian deserts on the south, Arabia and the upper Euphrates on the east, and the Black Sea to the northeast.

The Euphrates limit was not altogether satisfactory. It left half the empire of Alexander to Oriental states, and let the great Parthian kingdom border dangerously upon the Roman world. At his death, Julius was just setting out upon a campaign to correct this danger; but none of his successors, until Trajan, seriously thought of one. The only other unsafe line was on the north, in Europe, between the Rhine and the Black Sea.

Augustus reaches the Danube, but fails of the Elbe

Augustus greatly improved the eastern half of this line by *advancing the frontier north to the Danube*. Then, in Germany, he planned to move the frontier from the Rhine to the Elbe. The line of the Danube and Elbe is much shorter than that of the Danube and Rhine, though it guards more territory (see map). Moreover, it could have been more easily defended, because the opening between the upper courses of these rivers is filled by the natural wall of the mountains of modern Bohemia and Moravia. But here the long success of Augustus was broken by his one failure. The territory between the Rhine and the Elbe was subdued, it is true, and it was held for some years. But in the year 9 A.D. the Germans rose again under the hero Hermann. Varus, the Roman commander, was entrapped in the *Teutoberg Forest*, and in a three-days' battle his three legions were utterly annihilated (Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 62).

Battle of the Teutoberg Forest

The Roman dominion was at once swept back to the Rhine. This was the first retreat Rome ever made from territory she had once occupied. Roman writers recognized the serious nature of the reverse. Said one of them: "From this disaster it came to pass that that Empire which had not stayed its march at the shore of ocean did halt at the banks of the Rhine." The aged Augustus was broken by the blow, and for days moaned repeatedly, "O Varus, Varus! give me back my legions!" At his death, five years later, he bequeathed to

his successors the advice to be content with the boundaries as they stood. This policy, on the German frontier, was adopted permanently; and Domitian made up as well as he could for the lack of the natural wall of Bohemia, by building a line of forts and castles, joined in places by long earthen ramparts, along the exposed stretch of 336 miles from the upper Danube to the upper Rhine.

The general result was both efficient and grand. About the civilized world was drawn a broad belt of stormy waves and desolate sands; and at its weaker gaps — on the Rhine, the Danube, the Euphrates, and at these Walls of Domitian and Hadrian — stood the mighty, sleepless legions to watch and ward.

Taxes under the Early Empire light

The taxation by the Empire during these prosperous centuries was lighter than most of the provinces had known under their earlier native rulers. Every landholder paid a tax on his land. In the towns, every citizen and every trader paid a poll tax. Tariffs were sometimes collected at the frontiers of a province on goods entering or departing. Roman citizens paid a tax of five per cent on inheritances. Furthermore, Africa and Egypt paid a peculiar tax in grain to feed the hungry masses of the great cities. Egypt was expected to furnish 144 million bushels a year; but if the season was bad the Emperor usually lightened this amount.

What did the government do for the people in return for the taxes it took from them? Many things which a government does to-day, it did not do. It did not build many hospitals or asylums, or maintain complete systems of education, or care systematically for the public health, though the government of the Roman Empire came nearer doing these things (pp. 382, 394) than any government in the world had done, or was to do again until very recent times. Two things in particular it did do. It kept the "good Roman peace" *and it built and kept up the Roman roads,* — the bonds of union and means of intercourse throughout the Roman world.

This meant a huge expense. A mile of road built by Hadrian in southern Italy cost $4000. On the frontiers and in mountain districts, the cost must have been many times as much. The one island of Sicily had a thousand miles of such roads. In France more than thirteen thousand miles can still be traced. Merely to keep this vast road system *in repair* called for a large revenue.

V. MORALS

Some blots on the morality of the Empire

Some historians paint a black picture of Roman morals under the Empire. For the capital, and for the court of a Nero or Commodus, the truth is black enough. At all times, many of the great nobles were sunk in coarse debauchery, and the rabble of the great capitals was ignorant and cruel.

Then the Empire had certain evil customs that particularly shock a modern reader. To avoid the cost and trouble of rearing children, it was horribly common for the poorer classes to expose their infants to die. The growth of divorce alarmed good people, as in our own day. Slavery threw its shadow across the Roman world. At the gladiatorial sports, delicate ladies thronged the benches of the amphitheater, without shrinking at the agonies of the dying; and the games grew in size and in fantastic character until they seem to us a blot beyond anything else in human history.

Under Trajan one set of games continued 123 days. In a single day's games, when the Colosseum was first opened by Titus, 5000 animals were slain. The jaded spectators demanded ever new novelties, and the exhibitors sought out fantastic forms of combat. Thousands of men fought at once in hostile armies. Sea fights were imitated on artificial lakes. Distant regions were scoured for new varieties of beasts to slay and be slain. Women entered the arena as gladiators, and dwarfs engaged one another in deadly combat. The wealthy aristocrats laid wagers upon the skill of their favorite gladiators, as with us at the prize ring.

Yet it is certain that a picture made mainly from such ma-

Danger of exaggerating the evils

terials is grossly misleading.[1] There was much good, though it made less noise than the evil. Some old, rude virtues were going out of fashion; but new, gentler virtues were coming in. The unexhausted populations of North Italy and of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, and the great middle class over all the Empire, remained essentially sound in morals. Witty satirists like Juvenal (p. 384) or stern moralists like Tacitus (p. 385), from whose scattered remarks the black pictures are largely

THE COLOSSEUM (*Flavian Amphitheater*) AT ROME, built by Vespasian and Titus. Cf. page 314. It covers six acres, and the walls rise 150 feet. It seated 45,000 spectators. For centuries, in the Middle Ages, its ruins were used as a quarry for the palaces of Roman nobles, but its huge size has prevented its complete destruction.

made up, are no more to be accepted as authority, without correction, than racy wits and scolding preachers in our own day. They do not show *all* the picture.

Gains in the first two centuries

On the whole, the first two centuries show a steady gain, even if we look only at pagan society. The *Letters* of Pliny reveal, in the court circle itself, a society high-minded, refined, and virtuous. Pliny is a type of the finest gentleman of to-day, in delicacy of feeling, sensitive honor, genial and thoughtful

[1] Capes' *Early Empire*, 223–227, has a wholesome statement about the danger of exaggerating the evils.

courtesy.[1] Marcus Aurelius and his father illustrate like qualities on the throne. The slave philosopher Epictetus (p. 384) shows them in the lowest state of life. All these people are surrounded by friends whom they think good and happy. One husband inscribed upon his wife's monument: "Only once did she cause me sorrow — and that was by her death." Another praises in his wife "purity, loyalty, affection, a sense of duty, a gentle nature, and whatever other qualities God would wish to

INTERIOR OF THE COLOSSEUM (*Flavian Amphitheater*) TO-DAY.

give woman." The tombstone of a poor physician declares that "to all the needy who came to him, he gave his services free of charge." Over the grave of a little girl there is inscribed: "She rests here in the soft cradle of the Earth . . . comely, charming, keen of mind, gay in her talk and play. If there be aught of compassion in the gods, bear her aloft to the stars and

[1] There is a charming essay, *A Roman Gentleman under the Empire* (Pliny), by Harriet Walters Preston, in *The Atlantic* for June, 1886. Thomas' *Roman Life*, chs. xi and xiv, and Capes' *Antonines*, ch. v, present similar pictures. See Davis' *Readings*, II, Nos. 69, 70, 74, 88, 106, 107.

the light." These things are more truly typical of Roman society than the monstrous crimes of a few individuals.

Certain definite gains appear. *The position of women* was improved. *Charity* to the poor abounded. *Animals were treated more kindly. Slavery grew milder. Law showed a gentler spirit.* All this was true without referring to the Christian part of society, of which we shall speak later (pp. 404 ff.).

THE WAY OF TOMBS AT POMPEII. — Each Roman city buried its dead outside one of its gates along the highway, which therefore was lined for a great distance with marble monuments or the simpler raised headstones that are also shown in this picture. The ruins shown alongside the Appian Way (p. 270) are tombs and monuments. The disorders of later centuries destroyed most of these monuments in Italy, though we do still have many interesting inscriptions from them. At Pompeii the volcanic covering preserved them almost intact.

An interesting "back to the land" movement proved that Roman gentlemen could still value simple delights above the artificial pleasures of the court. The poet Martial (150 A.D.) writes of country life with true enthusiasm, — where a man can be "rich with the spoils of grove and field, unfold before the fire his well-filled hunting nets, lift the leaping fish from the quivering line, draw forth the yellow honey from the cask,

while his own eggs are cooking over a fire that has not cost a penny. My wish [he concludes] is that the man who loves not me may not love this."

And if we suspect that there was some literary pretense in this from an ex-courtier, the same suspicion cannot be held in the case of a certain Similis, an iron-handed soldier who had been commander of the praetorians in Hadrian's time. At sixty-nine he resigned his high office and spent his last seven years among green fields. On his tombstone he caused to be carved: "Here lies Similis, who existed seventy-six years, *and lived seven.*" [1]

Some of the gains just mentioned need more detail.

The improved position of woman

1. Woman became the equal of man in law, and his companion instead of his servant in the family. Plutarch and Seneca, for the first time in history, insisted that men be judged by the same moral standard as women; and Roman law adopted this principle in the decrees of Antoninus. Plutarch's precepts on marriage "fall little if at all below any of modern days," and his own family life afforded a beautiful ideal of domestic happiness. He also urges the highest intellectual culture for women; and says the English historian, Lecky:

> "Intellectual culture was much diffused among them, and we meet with noble instances of large and accomplished minds united with all the gracefulness of intense womanhood and all the fidelity of the truest love. . . . When Paetus, a noble Roman, was ordered by Nero to put himself to death, his friends knew that his wife Arria, with her love and her heroic fervor, would not survive him. Her son-in-law tried to dissuade her from suicide by saying: 'If *I* am called upon to perish, would you wish your daughter to die with me?' She answered, 'Yes, if she has then lived with you as long and happily as I with Paetus.' Paetus for a moment hesitated to strike the fatal blow, but Arria, taking the dagger, plunged it deeply into her breast, and, dying, handed it to her husband, exclaiming, 'My Paetus, it does not pain!'"

Women became physicians, — though their practice was restricted to other women, — and they entered various trades. As

[1] Dr. Davis' *Influence of Wealth in Imperial Rome*, 284–287, gives these and other illustrations.

in our day, moreover, they seem to have had more time or more taste for literature than their husbands had. The scolding Juvenal, whose vanity may have been offended, rails at the sort of woman who at table "weighs in the balance Homer and Vergil [so that] teachers of rhetoric are vanquished [and] not even a lawyer . . . may speak. . . . I hate the woman who is always bringing up grammatical rules, and who recalls verses *unknown to me.*"

THE PANTHEON TO-DAY: "Shrine of all saints and temple of all gods." (Read the rest of Byron's fine description in Canto IV of Childe Harold.) Agrippa, victor of Actium and chief minister of Augustus, built this temple in the Campus Martius; and it was rebuilt, in its present form, by Hadrian — who, however, left the inscription in honor of Agrippa. The structure is 132 feet in diameter and of the same height, surmounted by a majestic dome that originally flashed with tiles of bronze. The interior is broadly flooded with light from an aperture in the dome 26 feet in diameter. The inside walls were formed of splendid columns of yellow marble, with gleaming white capitals supporting noble arches, upon which again rested more pillars and another row of arches — up to the base of the dome. Under the arches, in pillared recesses, stood the statues of the gods of all religions, for this grand temple was symbolic of the grander toleration and unity of the Roman world. Time has dealt gently with it, and almost alone of the buildings of its day it has lasted to ours.

2. There was a vast amount of public and private charity. Homes for poor children and orphan girls were established. Wealthy men loaned money below the regular rate of interest, and provided free medicine for the poor. Tacitus tells how, after a great accident near Rome, the rich opened their houses and gave their wealth to relieve the sufferers. Every city, large or small, received large gifts of money from its wealthy sons — not only to build temples and libraries and town halls, and to set up noble statues, but also to repair pavements and build sewers (Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 77). **Charity**

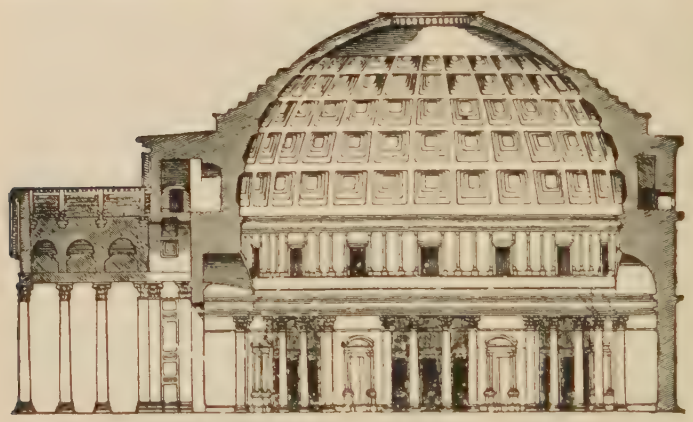
True, there was a dark side to this sort of generosity. The people did less and less for themselves, and fell more and more completely under the control of great riches. They came to choose only wealthy men for public office, because of the expectation of public benefactions from them. Ever louder grew the cry for "bread and games."

3. Slavery grew milder. Emancipation became so common that faithful household slaves were freed commonly after six years' service. The horrible story of Pollio (a noble who threw a slave alive to the lampreys in a fish pond for carelessly breaking a precious vase) is often given as typical of Roman treatment of slaves. This is misleading. That crime occurred at the very beginning of the Empire, while there was yet no check *in law* upon a master; but even then, Augustus, by a stretch of humane despotism, ordered all the tableware in Pollio's house to be broken and his fish ponds to be filled up. There was an old law of the Republic which ordered that if a master was murdered by a slave, all the slaves of the household should be put to death. Public opinion now made it impossible to continue to enforce this law, and under Hadrian it was modified so as to apply only to slaves within hearing of the master's calls for help. During the reign of Nero, a special judge was appointed to hear the complaints of slaves and to punish cruelties to them, and Seneca tells us that cruel masters were jeered in the streets. The same philosopher exclaims — "Is **Slavery milder**

Wider sympathies

not the slave of the same stuff as you, his master!" (See Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 98.)

4. Sympathies broadened. The unity of the vast Roman world prepared the way for the thought that all men are brothers. Philosophers were fond of dwelling upon that idea. Said Marcus Aurelius, "As emperor I am a Roman; but as a man my city is the world." Even the rabble in the Roman theater was wont to applaud the line of Terence: "I am a man; every calamity that affects man concerns me." The age prided itself,



Cross-Section of the Pantheon.

justly, upon its enlightened humanity, much as our own does. Trajan instructed a provincial governor not to act upon anonymous accusations, because such conduct "*does not belong to our age.*"

Gentler law

5. This broad humanity was reflected in imperial law. The harsh law of the Republic became humane. Women and children shared its protection. Torture was limited. The rights of the accused were better recognized: from this time dates the maxim, "Better to let the guilty escape than to punish the innocent." "All men by the law of nature are equal" became a law maxim, through the great jurist Ulpian (p. 403). Slavery, he argued, had been created only by the lower law,

enacted not by nature but by man. Therefore, if one man claimed another as his slave, the benefit of any possible doubt was to be given to the one so claimed. (It is curious to remember that the rule was just the other way in nearly all Christian countries through the Middle Ages, and in the United States under the Fugitive Slave laws from 1793 to the Civil War.)

The *Thoughts* of Marcus Aurelius (p. 369) is one of the world's noblest books, closer to the spirit of Christ than any other writing of the pagan world. Some idea of its teachings may be obtained from a few extracts.

Aurelius thanks the gods "for a good grandfather, good parents, a good sister, good teachers, good associates, and good friends."

"From my mother I learned piety, and abstinence not only from evil deeds but from evil thoughts." From a tutor, ". . . to read *carefully*, and not to be satisfied with a superficial understanding of a book."

"There are briers in the road? Then turn aside from them, but do not add, 'Why were such things made?' Thou wilt be ridiculed by a man who is acquainted with nature, as thou wouldst be by a carpenter or shoemaker if thou didst complain that there were shavings and cuttings in his shop."

"The best way to avenge thyself is not to become like the wrong-doer."

"When thou wishest to delight thyself, think of the virtues of those who live with thee."

"Love men; revere the gods."

"Suppose that men curse thee, or kill thee . . . if a man stand by a pure spring and curse it, the spring does not cease to send up wholesome water."

"To say all in a word, everything which belongs to the body is a stream, and all that belongs to the soul is a dream and a vapor; life is a warfare and a stranger's sojourn, and after fame is oblivion. What then is there about which we ought seriously to employ ourselves? This one thing — just thoughts and social acts, words that do not lie, and temper which accepts gladly all that happens."

"Everything harmonizes with me which is harmonious to thee, O Universe! Nothing is too early or too late which is in due time for thee! Everything is fruit to me which thy seasons bring, O Nature! From thee are all things; in thee are all things; to thee all things return. The poet says, Dear city of Cecrops; and shall not I say, Dear city of Zeus?"

"Many grains of frankincense upon the same altar; one falls before, another after; but it makes no difference."

"It is sweet to live if there be gods, and sad to die if there be none."

FOR FURTHER READING. — Davis' *Readings*, II, to No. 108. For those who wish to read further on this important period, the best and most readable material will be found in Jones' *Roman Empire* (an excellent one-volume work), chs. i–vi; Capes' *Early Empire* and *The Antonines;* Thomas' *Roman Life;* Preston and Dodge's *Private Life of the Romans;* Johnston's *Private Life of the Romans;* Davis' *Day in Old Rome.*

EXERCISE. — (1) To the table of dates, add 9 A.D., 14, 69, 180. (2) Locate on map of Rome, p. 402, all buildings and monuments mentioned in this chapter and shown there.

A Roman Chariot-Race. — A modern imaginative painting.

CHAPTER XXXIX

THE THIRD CENTURY: "BARRACK EMPERORS"

"Barrack Emperors," 193–284

The misrule of Commodus left the throne the sport of the soldiery. The next ninety years (193–284) saw twenty-seven "barrack emperors." Once the praetorians auctioned off the imperial purple to the highest bidder among the Roman nobles (Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 71). Many reigns were counted by days, not years. Twenty-three rulers were slain by revolting legions, and two more fell in battle against barbarian invaders. Several of these phantom emperors were well-meaning and capable; but only two left mark enough upon the age to need mention by name — *Severus* and *Aurelian* (below).

Septimius Severus, 193–211

After the murder of Commodus (p. 369), two Roman nobles in quick succession held the imperial office for some four months in all. Then Septimius Severus, general of the legions on the Danube, grasped the prize, and held it firmly for eighteen years, — a long oasis of peace and plenty in that troubled century.

Severus was a native of North Africa. He was a clear-headed, industrious man, sternly devoted to duty. He greatly admired the Antonine emperors, and now took the name Antoninus in addition to his own. Most of his reign he spent in the East, where the Parthians were growing more and more dangerous; but he died in Britain — at the opposite frontier — where he

had just been strengthening Hadrian's Wall and repelling the Picts. On the night of his death he gave for the watchword, "Let us work" (*Laboremus*). After his rule, *the decline of the Empire* was rapid, not only *in the defense of the frontier* but also *in material prosperity* and *in literature.*

We have seen how the torrent of barbarian invasion began to beat again upon the ramparts of civilization, in the days of the best of the emperors, Marcus Aurelius. The Moorish tribes were on the move in Africa; the Parthians, whom Trajan had humbled, again menaced the Euphrates; and Tartars, Slavs, Finns, and Germans burst upon the Danube. Aurelius gave most of his reign to campaigns on the frontier.

Chapters of his *Thoughts* (p. 396) are dated "Among the Quadi" and "At Carnuntum." The Quadi were a German people in Bohemia, and Carnuntum was a town on the Danube near the modern Vienna. Aurelius spent three years in one campaign on the Danube, and he finally died in camp on the Save, a tributory of the Danube, of a contagious camp fever. Cf. p. 369.

For the time, indeed, Rome beat off the attack; but from this date she stood always on the defensive, with exhaustless swarms of fresh enemies surging about her defenses; and after the reign of Severus they began to burst through.

The Persian Sapor

Early in the third century the Parthian empire gave way to a new Persian kingdom under the Sassanidae kings. This Persian power for a time seemed the great danger to the Roman world. In 250 and 260 its armies poured across the Euphrates. Antioch was captured. Sapor, a Persian king, took captive a Roman emperor (Valerian) and bridled and saddled him for a horse.

New German invaders

New German tribes, too, — the mightier foe, as events were to prove, — appeared on the European frontier. The *Alemanni* crossed the Rhine and maintained themselves in Gaul for two years (236–238). In the fifties, bands of *Franks* swept over Gaul and Spain. The *Goths* seized the province of Dacia (p. 365), and raided the Balkan European provinces almost at will for twenty years. In the sixties, their fleets, of five hundred

sail, issuing from the Black Sea, ravaged the Mediterranean coasts, sacking Athens, Corinth, Argos, and Sparta (Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 72).

Population fell away. In the year 166, a new Asiatic plague swept from the Euphrates to the Atlantic, carrying off, we are told, half the inhabitants of the Empire. For the next hundred years the pestilence returned at intervals, desolating wide regions and demoralizing industry. **Population and prosperity decline**

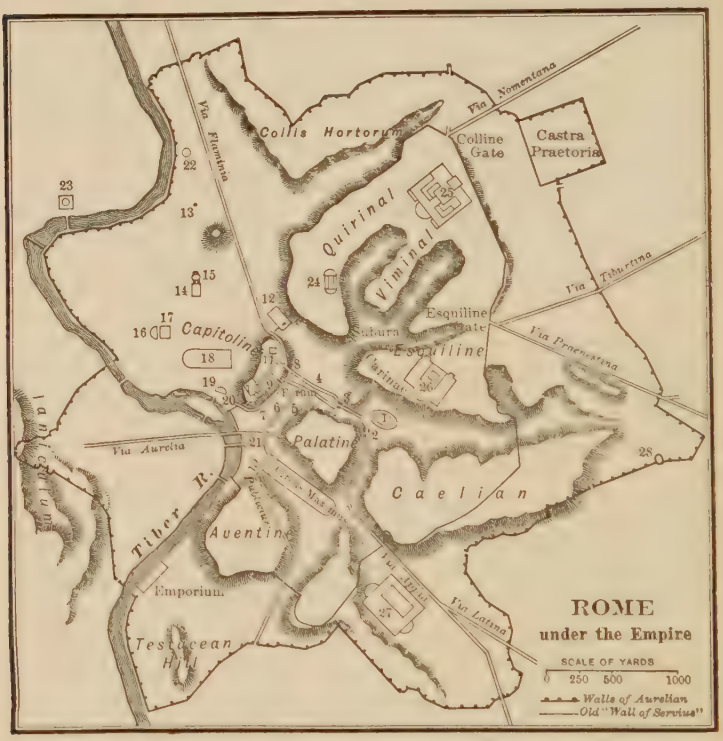
The disaster was the more deadly because *population had already become stationary*. The reasons for this previous falling off in population are complex. A high standard of comfort and a dislike for large families, as in modern France, was one cause. Then the civil wars caused vast loss of life, and barbarian raids sometimes swept off almost the whole population of a province to die in bitter slavery in German forests. Marcus Aurelius compelled the Quadi, a small German people, to restore 50,000 such Roman captives at one time. Still more deadly was Roman slavery itself *within* the empire. The wealthy classes commonly do not have large families. Population grows from the large families of the working classes. But in the Roman world, the place of free workmen was taken largely by slaves, and slaves rarely left families. If they had children, the master "exposed" the infants, since it was easier and more convenient to buy a new slave (from the captives made by the legions on the frontiers) than to rear one.

Besides, the competition of slave labor ground into the dust what free labor there was, — so that working people could not afford to rear a large family, and were driven to the cruel practice of exposure of infants.

For all these causes, "year by year, the human harvest was bad," and the gaps left by the pestilence remained unfilled. *The fatal disease of the later Empire was lack of men.*

After the second century great names cease in literature and science. Philosophy and theology flourished, but they had become a dreary waste of controversy. We have multitudes **Decay in learning**

of "Apologies" for Christianity from the Church Fathers, like *Lactantius*, *Tertullian*, and *Origen* (all three Africans), and volume



1. Colosseum.
2. Arch of Constantine.
3. Arch of Titus.
4. Via Sacra.
5. Via Nova.
6. Vicus Tuscus.
7. Vicus Jugarius.
8. Arch of Septimius Severus.
9. Clivus Capitolinus.
10. Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.
11. Arch.
12. Column of Trajan.
13. Column of Antonius.
14. Baths of Agrippa.
15. Pantheon.
16. Theater of Pompey.
17. Portico of Pompey.
18. Circus Flaminius.
19. Theater of Marcellus.
20. Forum Holitorium.
21. Forum Boarium.
22. Mausoleum of Augustus.
23. Mausoleum of Hadrian.
24. Baths of Constantine.
25. Baths of Diocletian.
26. Baths of Titus.
27. Baths of Caracalla.
28. Amphitheatrum Castrense.

upon volume against them from the New Platonists, like *Plotinus* and his disciple *Porphyry* (Asiatics). Works on Christian doctrine and practice were written also by *St. Clement* (of

Alexandria) and *St. Cyprian* (of Carthage). The one advance is in Roman law. The third century is the age of the great jurists, of whom *Ulpian* is the most famous.

Happily, the decay of the Roman world was again checked. The army wearied of disorder, and in 270 it set a great leader upon the throne. Aurelian (270–275) was an Illyrian peasant who had risen from the ranks. He ruled only five years, but his achievements rival those of the five years of the first Caesar. He reorganized the army and restored the boundaries, driving back the barbarians beyond the Danube and the Rhine, but abandoning Dacia (p. 365) beyond the Danube to the Goths. Zenobia, the great queen who had set up a rival Arabian empire at Palmyra, he brought captive to Rome (Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 73), and he recovered Gaul, which for years had been a separate kingdom. **Aurelian, 270–275**

At one moment in this busy reign, the Alemanni (p. 400) penetrated to the Po, and threw Italy into a panic. No hostile army had been seen in that peninsula since Hannibal — for almost five hundred years — and the proud capital had spread out unguarded far beyond her early ramparts. Aurelian repulsed the invaders and then built new walls about Rome, — a somber symbol of a new age.

Then, just as the great Emperor was ready to take up the work of internal reform for the Empire, death snatched him away; and after a brief interval the task fell to Diocletian (p. 412). Before taking up that story, we must look at the rise of Christianity, which was soon now to be the strongest force in the Empire.

CHAPTER XL

RISE OF CHRISTIANITY

Rise in Judea

Jesus of Nazareth was born, probably in 4 B.C.,[1] at Bethlehem, a hamlet of Judea. He grew up as the son of a humble carpenter in an obscure corner of the Roman world. At thirty, in the reign of Tiberius, he began to teach publicly throughout Judea. The poorer people in the country districts heard him gladly; and the priests, angry at his quiet disregard of religious ceremonies, began to fear his influence.

Judea was seething with discontent at Roman rule, and the masses were looking eagerly for a miraculous Messiah to appear, to lead them in a glorious war against the foreign conqueror and to restore the Jewish empire of David and Solomon. Many of those who gathered about Jesus believed that he would do these things. In vain he declared to them, "My kingdom is not of this world." The expectations among the people gave a handle to his enemies. The priests declared that he called himself King of the Jews, and that he was stirring up rebellion against Rome. The Jewish court, however, could not put a man to death without the consent of the Roman governor. That officer, Pontius Pilate, declared that he found no truth in the charges; but with careless Roman contempt, he let the clamoring priests have their way, and delivered Jesus to them to be crucified with two thieves.

Paul the Apostle to the Gentiles

The public life of Jesus filled only three years; and his work had been confined to Palestine. In spite of cruel persecutions, his followers there continued to preach his teachings. At first,

[1] The date of Christ's birth was computed, some six hundred years later, by a Greek monk, who put the date at least four years too late.

however, they felt that the new religion was only for their own "chosen people," but soon there arose among them a man with a nobler vision.

Paul was a native of Tarsus [1] in Cilicia, "no mean city," and he held the prized Roman citizenship. His family were Jews, and he had been brought up, he tells us, in the strictest sect of the old Hebrew religion. After the crucifixion, he took a

JERUSALEM TO-DAY: GETHSEMANE AND THE MOUNT OF OLIVES.

zealous part in breaking up the little Christian congregations; but after witnessing the glorious martyrdom of Stephen, Paul was converted to the truth he had been persecuting. Then he soon became one of the leading apostles. His early life and his education had given him more acquaintance with the great world than the other disciples had, and he saw that Christianity ought to become the religion of all peoples.

[1] There were colonies of Jews in many cities of the East.

The rest of his life he gave to preaching in Asia and Europe, supporting himself meanwhile by his trade of tent-making. He founded churches in Antioch and in other cities throughout Syria and Cilicia, and crossed over to Macedonia and Greece, preaching especially in Philippi, Thessalonica, Athens, and Corinth. On his return to Jerusalem, he was arrested by the Jewish priests. The Roman governor was about to condemn him to death; but his Roman citizenship saved his life for the time, and, after a weary imprisonment, he "appealed to Caesar," as a Roman citizen had the privilege of doing. Accordingly he was sent to Rome, where he seems to have lived for some years under arrest but with a good deal of freedom of action, preaching to Christian congregations there and writing letters (*Epistles*) to his converts in other cities. He perished in Nero's persecution after the great fire.

Growth of the Faith

At the death of Paul, some thirty years after the death of Christ, there were Christian congregations, we know from the *Book of Acts*, in all the large cities of the eastern part of the Empire. These congregations were then made up almost solely of the very poor. Women were particularly numerous and influential among them. The religion of mercy and gentleness and hope appealed especially to the weak and downtrodden; so far, it got no hearing from the rich and powerful and happy. The first Roman historian to make any important mention of the Christians is the good Tacitus (p. 385) in 115 A.D., and, it is plain, he had heard only misleading slander about them. He refers to them only as "haters of the human race" and practicers of a "pernicious superstition." But a hundred years later, Christianity had its converts among the learned and noble in all parts of the Empire.

Debt to the Empire

This rapid growth of the religion was due partly to the Empire. (1) The gentle spirit of the age (p. 394), and its idea of human brotherhood (p. 395), prepared the way for a religion of humility, self-sacrifice, and love. But (2) even so, Christianity could have made its way beyond Judea only by slow degrees, had it not been for the *unity* of the world under Rome. If Asia

Minor, Greece, and Italy had remained split up in hundreds of petty states, with different languages and customs, how could Paul have made his way from city to city, or found his audiences, or have been able to speak to them? The political and social union of the Mediterranean world under Rome paved the way for its union under the Christian religion.

Inner sources of power

The *inner* sources of power in Christianity lay, of course, in its teaching of love, purity, and hope. The old gods had been vague and dread forces, to be worshiped so that they might not afflict men. This pagan feeling gave way now to a fervent trust in a tender Father. The old ideas of a future life, gloomy or at least shadowy, were replaced by a happy certainty of a blissful life beyond the grave. A few men of the pagan world, like Socrates and Marcus Aurelius, had thought of God and duty somewhat as Jesus did. But Christianity made these lofty speculations of a few lonely minds the common conviction of all men — "the truisms of the village school, the proverbs of the cottage and the alley."

Causes of persecution

The Empire had tolerated broadly the religions of all nations, except those that fostered grossly unmoral practices. Why then were the Christians persecuted?

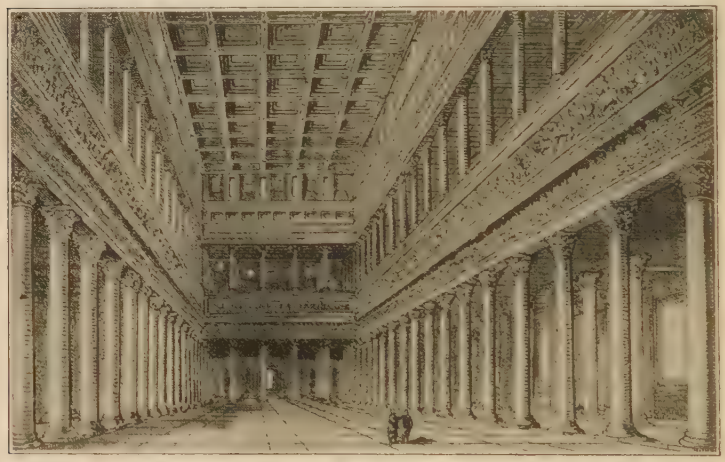
The fiendish torments with which Nero amused his brutal court, we have explained, were not properly a religious persecution; but several true persecutions have been mentioned, some of them under the best of the emperors. Four causes help to explain this.

Nonconformists

1. Rome tolerated, and supported, all religions; but she expected all the inhabitants of the Empire, in return, to tolerate and support the religion of the Empire and the worship of the emperors. The Christians, alone, refused to do this, proclaiming loudly that all worship but their own was sinful and idolatrous. To the populace this seemed likely to bring down the wrath of the gods upon the whole community. To enlightened men it indicated at least a dangerously stubborn and treasonable temper.

Secret societies

2. Secret societies were feared and forbidden by the Empire, on political grounds. Even the enlightened Trajan instructed Pliny to forbid the organization of a *firemen's company* in a large city of his province, because such associations were likely to become "factious assemblies." The church of that day was a vast, highly organized, widely diffused, secret society. As such it was illegal, and good rulers feared that it might be dangerous to the public safety.



Interior of Trajan's Basilica, as "restored" by Canina. The basilica (from a Greek word meaning the king's judgment hall) became the favorite Roman form of building for law courts a little before the Empire. (Cf. explanation of the Forum, p. 349.) The Christians, when they came to power, adopted this type of building for their worship, and, with little change of ground plan, it became the medieval cathedral.

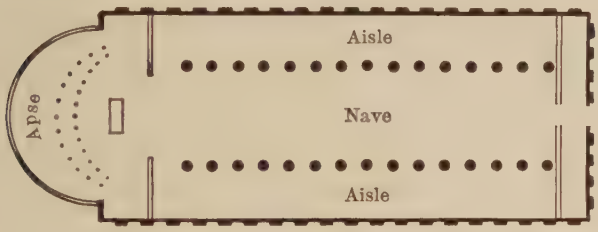
"Pacifists"

3. The Christians kept apart from most public amusements, either because those amusements were immoral, like the "gladiatorial games," or because they were connected with festivals to heathen gods. This conduct the people looked upon as *unsocial*, and they charged the Christians with "hating the human race." Because Christ had preached peace, many Christians refused to join the legions, or to fight, if drafted. This was near to treason, inasmuch as a prime duty of the Roman

world was to repel barbarism. Some of these extreme "pacifists" and "conscientious objectors" irritated their neighbors by even refusing to illuminate their houses or garland their portals in honor of national triumphs.

Slander

4. Clean lives marked the early Christians, to a notable degree. Every sin was punished before the whole congregation. The church was a vast association for mutual helpfulness in pure living. Any member who was known to have worshiped pagan gods, or blasphemed, or borne false witness, was dismissed from Christian fellowship. But, strangely enough, *pagan society knew nothing of this side of the early church.* The



General Plan of a Basilica.

Jews accused the Christians of all sorts of crimes, and, particularly, of horrible orgies in the secret "love-feasts" (communion suppers). If a child disappeared — lost or kidnaped by some slave-hunter — the rumor spread at once that it had been eaten by the Christians in their private feasts. Such accusations were accepted, carelessly, by Roman society, because the Christian meetings were secret, and because there had really been such licentious rites in some religions from the East that Rome had been forced to crush.

Attitude of the government toward persecution

The first century, except for the horrors in Rome under Nero, afforded no persecution until its very close. In 95 there was a persecution, not very severe, and lasting only a few months. Under Trajan we see spasmodic *local* persecutions arising from popular hatred, but not instigated by the govern-

ment. The story of one of these is instructive. Pliny (p. 372), a high-souled gentleman of refined tastes, was one of Trajan's provincial governors in Asia. In his province many persons were accused by the people, sometimes anonymously, of being Christians and of committing crimes in connection with their religion. Pliny took pains to investigate, even using torture upon two "deaconesses." He was impressed by the lack of evidence for anything criminal; but when the accused men refused to worship Roman gods, after three warnings, "I order them away to prison. For I do not doubt, be their crime whatever it may, that their . . . inflexible obstinacy deserves punishment." The number of such offenders grew so rapidly, however, and they came forward so willingly to martyrdom, that the well-meaning Pliny was embarrassed, and wrote to the Emperor for special instructions. Trajan directed him not to seek them out and to pay no attention to anonymous accusations (p. 395), but added that if Christians were brought before him, and then refused to sacrifice to the gods of the Empire, they must be punished.

Hadrian and Antoninus Pius strove to repress popular outbreaks against the Christians. Aurelius, in the latter part of his reign, permitted a persecution. On the whole, during the second century, the Christians were legally subject to punishment; but the law against them was rarely enforced. Still it is well to remember that even then many noble men and women died in torture rather than deny their faith. (Read the story of Saint Perpetua in Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 110, and see also Nos. 111 and 112.)

The third century was an age of anarchy and decay. The few able rulers strove strenuously to restore society to its ancient order. One great obstacle to this restoration seemed to them to be this new religion, with its secret meetings and its hostility to Roman patriotism. This century, accordingly, was an age of definitely planned persecution by the government.

But by this time Christianity was too strong. It had come to count nobles and rulers in its ranks. And even now the

persecution was not universal enough to endanger a vital faith. It did give rise to multitudes of heroic martyrdoms which make a glorious page in human history; but the effect of these upon Roman society justifies the saying, "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church." The final victory of the new religion over the Empire was near at hand.

CHAPTER XLI

FOURTH CENTURY: PARTNERSHIP EMPERORS

I. DIOCLETIAN REFORMS THE GOVERNMENT

Diocletian, 284–305

The last and greatest of the "barrack emperors" was Diocletian, a stern Illyrian soldier (like Aurelian) and the grandson of a slave. Seizing the scepter with a strong hand on the death of Aurelian, he established victorious peace on all frontiers, and ruled firmly for twenty-one years. He so reformed the government as to do away with the age of "barrack emperors."

Causes of the anarchy of the third century

The disorder of the third century had arisen in the main from three causes:

1. The succession to the imperial power was not clearly marked out in advance. The death of an emperor, therefore, was often the signal for combat between ambitious claimants.

2. The emperor had too much to do. He could not ward off Persians on the Euphrates and Germans on the Rhine, and also supervise closely the government of forty provinces. The bulky correspondence between Trajan and Pliny (governor of a not very important province) shows the minute oversight that industrious emperors attempted. With average rulers, or in trying times, such a system was likely to break down.

3. The provincial governor had too much power. In great frontier provinces, especially, the governor was often a successful general also. Such a governor, with a devoted army at his back, might easily feel able to defy the emperor. Some governor had rebelled for nearly every year of the century.

Diocletian's reforms

Diocletian met these evils by four reforms:

1. He introduced a system of "partnership emperors." He chose *Maximian*, a rough soldier but an able man and faithful

friend, for his colleague. Diocletian kept the Eastern half of the Empire under his own direct control; Maximian took the Western half. The two rulers were equal in dignity. Each was Imperator Caesar Augustus.

This was *not* a partition of the Empire into two empires. *It was only a way of dividing up the burden of government* between two *joint* rulers. The power of each emperor, in theory, reached over the whole Empire, and the edicts of each were published under their joint names.

HALL OF THE BATHS OF DIOCLETIAN— now the Church of St. Mary of the Angels.

Division of labor

2. The next step in the reform was for each of the joint emperors to name his heir, under the title of *Caesar*, and to associate him in the work of governing. The *Augusti* (emperors) kept their own capitals in the central and well-ordered parts of the Empire — Diocletian at Nicomedia in Asia Minor, and Maximian at Milan in Italy. To the *Caesars* they assigned the more turbulent and exposed parts, the extreme East and the extreme West.

3. Thus the Empire was marked off into *four great sections*, called prefectures, each under the immediate supervision of one of the four chief rulers. The third step in the reform was to carry much further the division of duties. Below each Augustus and each Caesar there was now established *a series* of officials in regular grades, as in an army. In particular, the forty large provinces gave way to about one hundred and twenty smaller ones. These were placed in thirteen groups (dioceses), each under its own officer.[1] The provincial governor reported to the officer of his diocese (the *vicar*); the vicar to the prefect of the prefecture; and the prefect to the Caesar or Augustus. Each officer in the series sifted all business that came up to him from those below him, and passed on to his superior only the more important matters. This arrangement distributed duties in a workable way, and fixed responsibility precisely. At the same time, the emperor's control was made more effective, since all lines converged from below to him.

4. The provincial governor now was too little important to rebel against an emperor; and *this security was further strengthened by one more measure: the governors and vicars* now became merely *civil* officials. Military command in every province was given to some other officer, who was responsible directly to the emperor. Thus, as in the ancient Persian empire, the civil and military authorities checked and watched one another.

Republican forms discarded for avowed despotism

Thus the early, *loosely organized* despotism had become a vast *centralized* despotism. Each of Hadrian's old "ministers" or secretaries (p. 368) now became the head of an extensive *department*, with scores or hundreds of officials in many ranks; and along with this change at the capital, went a multiplication

[1] The following table and map show the divisions.

	Prefectures	*Dioceses*	*Provinces*
The East	East	East (15); Egypt (6); Asia (11); Pontus (11); Thrace (6)	49
	Illyricum,	Macedonia and Greece (6); Dacia (5)	11
The West	Italy,	Italy (17); Africa (6); Illyria (7)	30
	Gaul,	Spain (7); The Gauls (17); Britain (5)	29

of officials throughout the provinces (Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 117). Moreover, despotism was now avowed. Diocletian cast away the Republican cloak of Augustus and adopted even the *forms* of Oriental monarchy, to secure more reverence for the person of the emperor. He wore a diadem of gems, and robes of silk and gold, and fenced himself from even his highest officials by armies of functionaries and elaborate ceremonial. Subjects, if allowed to approach him at all, had to prostrate themselves slavishly at his feet.

Law-making by edict

And this change was in more than form. The Senate became merely a city council for Rome: its consent was no longer asked in law-making. *The emperor hereafter made laws* merely by publishing an *edict* to the world or by sending a *rescript* (a set of directions) to provincial governors. The only other source of new laws lay in the *interpretation* of old law, in doubtful cases, by the great judges whom the emperor appointed.

Absolutism and centralization

Absolutism refers to the *source of supreme power: i.e.* in a system of absolutism, supreme power is in the hands of one person. "Centralization" refers to the *kind of administration.* A centralized administration is one carried on by a body of officials of many grades, all *appointed from above. Absolutism and centralization do not necessarily go together.* A government may come from the people, and yet rule through a centralized administration, as in France to-day. It may be absolute, and yet allow much freedom to local agencies, as in Turkey or in Russia in recent times.

Under a great genius, like Napoleon the First, a centralized government may for a time produce rapid benefits. But the system always decays, and it *does nothing to educate the people politically.* Local self-government is often provokingly slow and faulty, but it is *surer in the long run.*

II. CONSTANTINE: THE CHURCH VICTORIOUS

In 303, after long hesitation, Diocletian began the most terrible of all the persecutions of the Christians. Two years

New struggles for the throne

later, while this persecution was at its height, he laid down his power, to retire to private life,[1] persuading his colleague Maximian to do the same. The two Caesars became emperors, — *Galerius* in the East and *Constantius* in the West. Each appointed a Caesar as an assistant and successor. But Constantius died in a few months, before the position of the new Caesars was firmly established, and this misfortune plunged the Empire into new strife. For eight years, civil war raged between six claimants for the throne.

Claimants court the favor of Christians

In such a struggle it was desirable not to be opposed by the growing power of the Christians. *Galerius* had been bitterly hostile to them, and had been mainly responsible for the persecution by Diocletian. But in the stress of civil war, shortly before his death, he published in 311 a grudging *Edict of Toleration*. The document deplored the fact that the Christians would not "come back to reason," but declared that under the demoralizing conditions, the emperor, "with accustomed clemency," judged it wise "to extend pardon even to these men," and to permit them to resume their own worship "provided they did nothing contrary to good order."

First edict of toleration

The next year the cruel civil war came to a close with the victory of Constantine, under whom Christianity was to be more than merely tolerated.

Constantine the Great

Constantine was the son of Constantius. Constantius had distinctly favored the Christians in his provinces. At his death, his devoted army at once clothed his son with the purple robes, hailing him Imperator. For some years Constantine was content to reorganize Britain and Gaul, preparing, at the proper moment, to interfere in Italy, where one claimant was destroying another in swift succession. In 312, he marched upon the worthless ruler who then held Rome. The Western army forced the passes of the Alps, and met the forces of the

[1] When pressed to assume the government again during the disorders that followed, Diocletian wrote from his rural retreat: "Could you come here and see the vegetables that I raise in my garden with my own hands, you would no more talk to me of empire."

master of Rome for the decisive struggle at the *Milvian Bridge*, near the capital.

Later writers told a famous story, which critics much question. On the eve of battle, runs the tale (Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 113), Constantine, after prayer for divine help, fell asleep. In his dream, Christ appeared to him, instructing him to inscribe the Cross upon his standards, — declaring, "In this symbol you shall conquer" ("Hoc signo vinces"). At all events,

THE MILVIAN BRIDGE TO-DAY. — The foundations belong to the bridge of Constantine's day.

Constantine did adopt this symbol, and his army was completely victorious. Constantine now established himself as Emperor in the West. The next year, *Licinius*, his ally in the civil war, became Emperor in the East.

Perfects the reforms of Diocletian

Constantine ruled from 312 to 337. He preserved the reforms of Diocletian and perfected them, standing to Diocletian somewhat as the first Augustus stood to Julius Caesar. He was far-sighted and unscrupulous. He did not hesitate to assassinate a rival, and his memory is stained by the cruel execution of his

wife and his son. But his work, with that of Diocletian, enabled the Empire to withstand unbroken the storms of another hundred and fifty years, and preserved a great part of it for ten centuries more.

Constantinople

Constantine definitely removed the capital of the Empire from Rome, and established it at *Byzantium*. This city he rebuilt with great magnificence, and from him it took its new name, — *Constantinople*, "Constantine's city." For this removal there were several wise reasons. (1) The turbulent Roman populace still clung to the *name* of the old Republic, and an Eastern city would afford a more peaceful home for the new Oriental monarchy. (2) Lying between the Danube and the Euphrates, Constantinople was a more convenient center than Rome from which to look to the protection of the frontiers. (3) Constantinople was admirably situated to become a great center of commerce. (4) It is often said also that Constantine wished a capital which he could make Christian more easily than was possible with Rome, attached as the Roman people were to the old gods connected with the glories of the city.

This last consideration introduces us to the most important part of Constantine's work.

Constantine makes Christianity a favored religion

The Christians still were less than one tenth the population of the Empire; but they were energetic and enthusiastic; they were massed in the great cities which held the keys to political power; and they were admirably organized for united action.

Causes and stages

It is not likely that Constantine gave much thought to the truth of Christian doctrine, and we know that he did not practise Christian virtues. But he was wise enough to recognize the good policy of allying this rising power to himself against his rivals. He may have seen, also, in a broader and unselfish way, the folly of trying to restore the old pagan world, and have felt the need of establishing harmony between the government and this new power within the Empire, so as to utilize its strength instead of always combating it. So, in 313, a few months after Milvian Bridge, from his capital at Milan, Constantine issued the famous decree known as the *Edict of Milan:* "We

Edict of Milan, 313 A.D.

grant to the Christians *and to all others* free choice to follow the mode of worship they may wish, in order that whatsoever divinity and celestial power may exist may be propitious to us and to all who live under our government."

Licinius attempts to restore paganism

This edict established *religious toleration* in a less grudging way than the Edict of Galerius, and put an end forever to pagan persecution of the Christians. At a later time Constantine showed many favors to the church, granting money for its buildings, and exempting the clergy from taxation, as was done with teachers in the schools (p. 382). But it is not correct to say that he made Christianity the state religion: at the most he seems to have given it an especially favored place among the religions of the Empire. Constantine himself, as Pontifex Maximus, continued to make public sacrifices to the pagan gods.

After ten years came a struggle between Constantine and Licinius for sole power. This was also the final conflict between Christianity and paganism. The followers of the old faiths rallied around Licinius, and before the decisive battle that general is said to have addressed his soldiers with these words:

"These are our country's gods, and these we honor with a worship derived from our remote ancestors. But he who leads the army opposed to us has proven false to the religion of his fathers . . . honoring, in his infatuation, some strange and unheard-of deity, with whose despicable standard he now disgraces the army, and confiding in whose aid he has taken up arms . . . not so much against us as against the gods he has forsaken. *However, the present occasion shall decide . . . between our gods and those our adversaries profess to honor.*"

Whether or not Licinius used such words, many of his followers were influenced by these feelings; and the victory of Constantine was accepted as a verdict in favor of Christianity.

Constantine ruled fourteen years more as sole emperor; and for a quarter of a century after him, his three sons ruled with Oriental inefficiency, cruelty, and treachery, and with frequent murders of relatives whom they feared. Finally the Alemanni (p. 400) broke into Gaul and seemed about to become masters of that province. This peril summoned *Julian*, a nephew of

Julian, 361–363

Constantine, from his studies at Athens, to the command of the imperial armies. The youthful philosopher defeated the invaders in a great battle at *Strassburg*, and the enthusiastic army, against his will, saluted him emperor.

And his attempt to restore paganism

Julian made a strong ruler; but he spent his energy in conflict with two forces, both of which were to prove victorious, — the barbarians and the church. This reign saw *the last official attempt to restore paganism*. Julian had been brought up in the Christian faith (so that he is sometimes called "*Julian the Apostate*"); but his studies had inspired in him a love for the pagan Greek philosophy, and he was filled with disgust at the crimes and vices of his cousins' "Christian" court. He reëstablished the worship of the old gods as the religion of the state, rebuilt the ruined temples, and restored the pagan emblems to the standards of the armies. He wrote also, with considerable ability, against Christian doctrines. He did not try, however, to use violence against the church; and after two years (361–363) he fell in a victorious battle in a brilliant campaign against the Persians. According to legend, when he felt the Persian arrow which gave him a mortal wound, he cried out (addressing Christ), "Thou hast conquered, O Galilean!" He lived two days in much pain, and spent the hours in talking with his friends about the immortality of the soul.

A Gold Coin of Theodosius. — Theodosius ruled from Constantinople and his coins show the features of a new "Byzantine" art found in the East after his time.

Theodosius the Great, 379–395

Julian's successor restored Christianity as the leading religion, and the system of partnership emperors. Then, in 379, the power in the East fell to Theodosius the Great, and this ruler finally became master in the West also.

Makes Christianity the state religion

Theodosius made Christianity the *only* State religion. — *He prohibited pagan worship, on pain of death,* and closed the ancient festival to Zeus at Olympia.

This makes more striking a remarkable penance to which a bishop of the church subjected him. A number of his Gothic officers were massacred by the citizens of Thessalonica. In rage Theodosius gave orders for a terrible punishment. By his command the army in the guilty city surrounded the theater where the great body of inhabitants were assembled for the games, and killed men, women, and children without mercy. At the time, Theodosius was at the Western capital, Milan. When next he attended church, the bishop *Ambrose* sternly forbade him to enter, stained as he was with innocent blood. The emperor obeyed the priest. He withdrew humbly and accepted the penance which Ambrose imposed, and then, some months later, was received again to the services (Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 116).

The Empire divided in 395

From 392 to 395 A.D., Theodosius was sole emperor. This was the last real union of the whole Empire. On the death of Theodosius, the Empire was divided between his sons, Arcadius and Honorius. After this *the Empire in the East* and *the Empire in the West* became separate and sometimes hostile powers, and the West soon fell to the barbarians. Before entering upon that new age, we will survey some phases of the fourth century more closely.

CHAPTER XLII

THE EMPIRE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY

I. THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

Organization based upon that of the Empire

The early Christian missionaries to a province naturally went first to the chief city there. Thus the capital of the province became the seat of the first church in the district. From this mother society, churches spread to the other cities of the province, and from each city there sprouted outlying parishes. At the head of each parish was a *priest*, assisted by deacons to care for the poor. The head of a city church was a *bishop* (overseer), with supervision over the rural churches of the neighborhood. The bishop of the mother church in the capital city exercised great authority over the other bishops of the province. He became known as *archbishop* or *metropolitan;* and it became customary for him to summon the other bishops to a central council.

Commonly, one of these metropolitans in a civil diocese (p. 414) came to have leadership over the others. This lot fell usually to the metropolitan of the chief city of the diocese. Over much of the Empire, the diocese became an ecclesiastical unit, and its chief metropolitan was known as a *patriarch.*

By degrees, the patriarchs of a few great cities were exalted above the others. Finally all the East became divided between the four patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Constantinople; while all the West, where there was only one *great* city, came under the authority of the bishop of Rome. *This unity of organization helped to develop the idea of a single "Catholic" (all-embracing) church, which should rule the whole world.*[1]

[1] See Robinson's *Readings*, I, 19–21, for a third century statement. For the Roman Catholic view, see ch. li.

Persecution of pagans and dissenters

After Theodosius, the church used violence to stamp out other religions. In out-of-the-way corners of the Empire, paganism [1] lived on for a century more; but in the more settled districts the worshipers of Christ destroyed the old temples, broke up the old philosophical schools, and sometimes put to death the worshipers of the old gods. Almost at once, too, the Christians began to use force to prevent differences of opinion among themselves. When the leaders tried to state just what they believed about difficult points, some violent disputes arose. In such cases the views of the majority finally prevailed as the *orthodox doctrine*, and the views of the minority became *heresy* — to be crushed out in blood, if need were.

Most of the early heresies arose from different opinions about the exact nature of Christ. Thus *Arius*, a priest of Alexandria, taught that, while Christ was the divine Son of God, He was not equal to the Father. *Athanasius*, of the same city, asserted that Christ was not only divine and the Son of God, but that He and the Father were absolutely equal in all respects, — "of the same substance" and "co-eternal."

The Nicene Creed

The struggle waxed fierce and divided Christendom into opposing camps. But the Emperor Constantine desired union in the church. If it split into hostile fragments, his political reasons for favoring it would be gone. Accordingly, in 325, he summoned all the principal clergy of the Empire to the first great council of the whole church, at Nicaea, in Asia Minor, and ordered them to come to agreement. Arius and Athanasius in person led the fierce debate. In the end the majority sided with Athanasius. His doctrine, summed up in the *Nicene Creed*, became the orthodox creed of Christendom; and Arius and his followers were persecuted.

The victory of Christianity profoundly influenced the old pagan world. It mitigated slavery; it built up a vast and beneficent system of charity; and it abolished the gladiatorial

[1] *Pagan* is from a Latin word meaning a *rustic*. In like manner, at a later time, the Christian Germans called the remaining adherents of the old German worship *heathens*, or "heath-dwellers."

games, and the exposing of infants to die. The greatest pagans had looked upon suicide as perfectly excusable, and that evil had been growing fearfully common: Christianity made it one of the worst of crimes. The deeper purifying results of the new faith, in the hearts of individual men and women, history cannot trace directly.

But no event of this kind can work in one direction only. Paganism reacted upon Christianity. The victory was in part a compromise. The pagan Empire became Christian; but the Christian church became, to some degree, imperial and pagan. The gain enormously exceeded the loss; but there did take place an inevitable change from the earlier Christianity.

Literature

The literature of the fourth century consisted almost wholly of dreary controversy in Christian theology. The following names, however, call for remembrance:

Augustine (Saint), bishop of Hippo in Africa, author of *The City of God.*

John Chrysostom ("John of the Golden Mouth"), a famous orator of the church, who, with Augustine, vigorously protested against the policy of persecution by the church.

Jerome (Saint), a hermit in Syria, who translated the Bible into Latin — the *Vulgate* version.

Ulfilas, a Gothic hostage, who, on his return to his people, converted them to the Arian form of Christianity. He made an alphabet for the Gothic language and translated the Bible into Gothic. This is the oldest Bible in any Teutonic language. A copy in silver letters upon scarlet parchment is preserved in the library of Upsala University.

Dislike and fear of pagan learning

The fourth century, even more than the third, was a time of intellectual decay. There were no poets and no new science. Even the old literature and science were neglected and largely forgotten. Many Christians were hostile to pagan science and literature. Pagan *poetry*, beautiful as it was, was filled with immoral stories of the old gods. The Christians feared contamination from it, as the Puritans of the seventeenth century did from the plays of Shakespeare.

The contempt for pagan *science* had less excuse, and was particularly unfortunate. For instance, the spherical form of the earth was well known to the Greeks (p. 234); but the early Christians demolished the idea by theological arguments. "It is impossible," said even St. Augustine, "there should be *inhabitants* on the other side of the earth, since no such race is recorded in Scripture among the descendants of Adam." And, said others, "if the earth were round, how could all men see Christ at his coming?" The prevalent feeling was forcefully expressed in a writing known as the "Apostolical Constitutions" (350 A.D.):

"Refrain from all the writings of the heathens; . . . For if thou wilt explore history, thou hast the Books of the Kings; or seekest thou for words of wisdom and eloquence, thou hast the Prophets, Job, and the Book of Proverbs . . . Or dost thou long for tuneful strains, thou hast the Psalms; or to explore the origin of things, thou hast the Book of Genesis. . . . Wherefore abstain scrupulously from all strange and devilish books."

In 398, a council of the church cautioned bishops against reading any books except religious ones; and persecution by the church had already broken up the old philosophical schools. The church was soon to become the mother and sole protector of a new learning; but it bears part of the blame for the loss of the old.[1]

II. SOCIETY AND DAILY LIFE

Fall of the Empire: causes true and false

The century that followed the reforms of Diocletian was marked by a fair degree of outward prosperity. But early in the coming century (the fifth) the Empire was to crumble under barbarian attacks. *These inroads were less formidable than many which had been rebuffed in earlier centuries* (p. 442). The barbarians, then, are not to be considered as the chief cause of the "Fall." The causes were internal. The Roman Empire was overthrown from without by an ordinary attack, *because it had grown weak within.*

[1] Drane's *Christian Schools and Scholars*, 1–47, gives an interesting account of early Christian culture somewhat different from the above.

This weakness was not due to decline in the army. The army kept its superb organization, and to the last was so strong in its discipline and its pride that it was ready to face any odds unflinchingly. But more and more it became impossible to find men to fill the legions, or money to pay them. *Dearth of men* (p. 401) *and of money was the cause of the fall of the state. The Empire was exhausted. It had become a shell.*

Lack of money

Lack of money was one of the great evils. The Empire did not have sufficient supplies of precious metals for the demands of business; and what money there was, was steadily drained away

ROMAN COINS OF THE EMPIRE, such as are found widely scattered in the Far East.

to India and the distant Orient (p. 377). By the fourth century, this movement had carried away hundreds of millions of dollars in coined money. Even the imperial officers had to take part of their salaries in produce — robes, horses, grain. Trade began to go back to primitive barter; and it became harder and harder to collect taxes.

Burden of taxes

The Empire demanded more and more taxes. It had to have taxes in order to fight barbarians. But the time came when the citizens dreaded the tax collector more than they feared the barbarians. They had less money wherewith to pay; and the complex machinery of government cost more and more. Says one historian, — "The earth swarmed with the consuming hierarchy of extortion, so that men said that they who received taxes were more than they who paid them."

The classes of society were becoming fixed. At the top was the emperor. At the bottom were the peasantry and artisans to produce food and wealth wherewith to pay taxes. Between were two aristocracies, — a small imperial nobility for the Empire at large, and a local aristocracy in each city. **The Emperor**

The imperial nobility had swallowed up the old senatorial class of Rome, and most of the knights. *It was "a nobility of office."* That is, a family lost its rank unless from time to time it furnished officials to the government. **The great nobles**

A noble of this class was a citizen of the whole Empire, not of one municipality alone, and he did not have to pay *local* taxes. True, he might be called upon at any moment for ruinous expenses at the capital, in fulfilling some imperial command, or he might be required to assume some costly office at his own expense on a distant frontier. But only a few individuals were actually ruined by such duties. The great majority, through their influence with the government and by bribery, escaped most of the burden of taxation — which they were better able to meet than any other class.

The great landowners were nearly all in this class; and their splendid *villas* (p. 312) dotted the Empire. For most purposes a villa was self-sufficient. It raised its own food, and prepared it for the table, and carried on the other industries necessary for the life of its inhabitants.

The local nobility (or *curials*) were the senate class in their respective cities. They too had some special privileges. They could not be drafted into the army, as the classes below them might be, or subjected to bodily punishment. But those who rose to high magistracies in the city had to bear cruel expenses in providing shows and festivals, and all curials had costly duties in supplying the city poor with grain. Worst of all, they were held responsible for the collection of the imperial taxes in their district. **Smaller nobles**

This burden finally became so crushing that many curials tried desperately to evade it — even by sinking into a lower class or by flight to the barbarians. Then, to make safe the

revenue, the emperors made them an hereditary class. They were forbidden to become clergy, soldiers, or lawyers; they were not allowed to remove from one city to another; and they could not even travel without permission. A place in the senate of his city had once been the highest ambition of a wealthy middle class citizen; but in the fourth century it had become almost an act of heroism to assume the duty. A story is told that in a Spanish municipality a public-spirited man voluntarily offered himself for a vacancy in the curia, and that his fellow-citizens erected a statue in his honor.

The middle class decays

Between these curials and the artisan class, there had been in every city of the Early Empire a large middle class of small landholders, merchants, bankers, lawyers, and physicians. This class was rapidly disappearing. Some were compelled by law to become curials; more, in the financial ruin of the times, sank into the working class.

The artisans

The artisans were grouped in gilds. All the bakers in a city belonged to the bakers' gild of that place; all the masons, to a masons' gild (p. 374). A gild regulated methods of work, and had much control over its members. *Each artisan was now bound to his gild by law, as the curial was bound to his office.* The condition of artisans had become desperate. An edict of Diocletian's regarding prices and wages shows that a workman received not more than one tenth the wages of an American workman of like grade, while food and clothing cost at least one third as much as now. His family rarely knew the taste of butter, eggs, or fresh meat.

The peasants

The peasantry had become *serfs*. That is, they were bound to their labor on the soil, and changed masters with the land they tilled.

In the last days of the Republic, the system of great estates, which had blighted Italy earlier (pp. 315–317), began to curse province after province outside Italy. Free labor disappeared before servile labor; grain culture declined; and large areas of land ceased to be tilled. To help remedy this state of affairs, the emperors introduced a new system. After success-

Serfdom

ful wars, they *gave* large numbers of barbarian captives to great landlords, — thousands in a batch, — not as slaves, but as *coloni*, or serfs. The purpose was to secure *an hereditary class of agricultural laborers*, and so keep up the food supply. The coloni were really given *not to the landlord, but to the land.* They were not personal property, as slaves were. *They were part of the real estate.* They, and their children after them, were attached to the soil, and could not be sold off it. They had some rights which slaves did not have. They could contract a legal marriage, and each had his own plot of ground, of which he could not be dispossessed so long as he paid to the landlord a fixed rent in labor and in produce.

Agricultural Serfs in Roman Gaul. — From Lacroix.

This growth of serfdom made it still more difficult for the free small-farmer to maintain himself. That class sank into serfs. On the other hand, many slaves rose into serfs, until nearly all men who tilled the soil were of this class.

Thus *society was crystallizing into castes.* The peasant was bound to the land, the artisan to his hereditary gild, the curial and the noble each to his hereditary place. Freedom of movement was lost. In industry and society, as well as in government, the Empire was becoming Oriental.

Diocletian denounces the money power; seeks to check high cost of living

We noted the pernicious alliance between the money power and the government in the closing years of the Republic. A like state of affairs continued under the Empire. Diocletian sought to break off this alliance. He charged that the ruinous rise in the cost of living in his day was due to combinations of capitalists to raise prices. He accused those combinations of "raging avarice" and "unbridled desire for plunder"; and, to check the evil, he fixed by edict the highest price it should be lawful to ask for each of some eight hundred articles of daily use, — wheat, leather, various sorts of cloth, butter, eggs, pork, beef. Such an effort in that day was doomed to failure. But

it is interesting as almost the only case, after Caesar's day, in which the government tried to interfere on the side of the poor.

No serious "back-to-the-land" movement

No serious attempt was made, after the early days of the Empire, to build up a new free peasantry by giving farms to the unemployed millions of the cities, as Gracchus and Caesar had tried to do. This is probably due to the influence of wealth upon the ruling powers. The noble landlords who shared among themselves the wide domains of Africa, Gaul, and Spain received gladly the free gift of thousands of coloni (p. 429) to till their lands; but they would have fought fiercely any attempt by the government to recover part of their domains to make homes for free settlers.

Serfs in Roman Gaul Making Bread. — From Lacroix. Cf. p. 427 on the villa.

But there is another side to the question. In the days of Gracchus and of Caesar, the city mob was made up, in good part, of ex-farmers, or of their sons, who had been driven from the land against their will. But long before Diocletian's day, the rabble of Rome or Alexandria had *lost all touch with country life*. Sure of free doles of grain, sleeping in gateways, perhaps, but spending their days in the splendid free public baths or in the terrible fascination of gladiatorial games or of the chariot races, they could no longer be drawn to the simple life and hard labor of the farm — even if farming had continued profitable. We know that today, in America, hundreds of thousands of stalwart men prefer want and misery on the crowded sidewalks and under the white blaze of city lights, with a chance to squander a rare nickel on

"the movies," to the monotony and loneliness of a comfortable living in the country. So in the ancient world, it was probably too late, when the Empire came, to wean the mob from its city life.

Peaceful admission of barbarians

The only measure that helped fill up the gaps in population was the admission of barbarians. Not only was the Roman army now mostly made up of Germans: whole provinces were settled by them, *before* their kinsmen from without, in the fifth century, began in earnest to break over the Rhine. Conquered barbarians had been settled, hundreds of thousands at a time, in frontier provinces, and friendly tribes had been admitted, to make their homes in depopulated districts. As slaves, soldiers, coloni, subjects, the German world had been filtering into the Roman world, *until a large part of the Empire was peacefully Germanized.*

These Germans within the Empire, in large measure, took on Roman civilization and customs; but at the same time, they kept some of their old customs and ideas and a friendly feeling for their kinsmen in the German forests. The infusion of new blood helped to renew the decaying population and to check the decline of material prosperity; but *the barrier between the Empire and its assailants melted away.*

For Further Reading. — *Specially suggested:* Davis' *Readings*, II, Nos. 109–119. *Additional:* Pelham's *Outlines*, 577–586; Robinson's *Readings*, I, 20–29; Adams' *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, 48–64; Kipling's *Puck of Pook's Hill* (a story).

Review Exercise

1. Add the dates 284, 325, 378, to the list.
2. Extend list of terms and names for fact drill.
3. Memorize characterization of the centuries of the Empire; *i.e.* —
   First and second centuries: good government, peace and prosperity.
   Third century: decline, — material, political, and intellectual.
   Fourth century: revival of imperial power; victory of Christianity; social and intellectual decline.
   Fifth and sixth centuries (in advance): barbarian conquest.

PART VI

ROMANO-TEUTONIC EUROPE

The settlement of the Teutonic tribes was not merely the introduction of a new set of ideas and institutions, . . . it was also the introduction of fresh blood and youthful mind — the muscle and brain which in the future were to do the larger share of the world's work.

— George Burton Adams.

CHAPTER XLIII

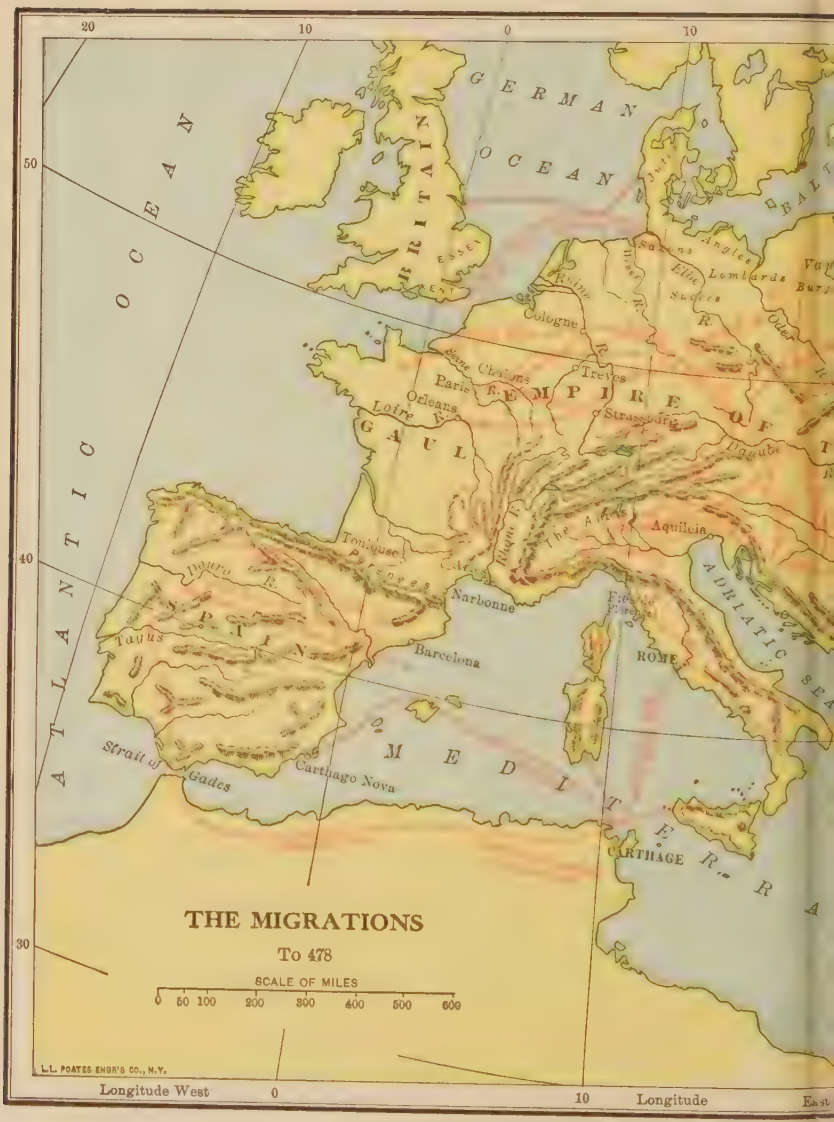
MERGING OF ROMAN AND TEUTON

The Teutons

Beyond the Rhine and the Danube, stretching away toward the Baltic and the Vistula, there had long roamed many "forest peoples," whom the Romans called Germans, or Teutons. These barbarians were tall, huge of limb, white-skinned, flaxen-haired, with fierce, blue eyes; and to the short, dark-skinned races of Roman Europe they seemed tawny giants. The distant tribes were savage and unorganized. Those near the Empire had taken on some civilization; but in general they were little above the level of the better North American Indians in our colonial period.

Savage virtues and vices

The usual marks of savagery were found among them. They lived mainly by hunting and fishing, and what little agriculture they had was carried on by women and slaves. They were fierce, quarrelsome, hospitable. Their cold, damp forests helped to make them drunkards and gluttonous eaters. They were desperate gamblers, too, staking even their liberty upon a throw of the dice. At the same time, they *reverenced truth and fidelity to the pledged word.* Their *grim joy in battle* rose sometimes to fierce delight or even to a "Baersark" rage that made a warrior cast away armor and fight "bare," in his shirt,


THE MIGRATIONS
To 478
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L.L. POATES ENGR'G CO., N.Y.
GERMAN OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BRITAIN
ESSEX
KENT
Jutes
Sazons
Angles
Lombards
Elbe
Sueves
Rhine R.
Cologne
Seine R.
Chalons
Treves
Paris
Orleans
Loire R.
GAUL
EMPIRE OF
Strassburg
Danube
Aquileia
Toulouse
Pyrenees
Rhone R.
The Alps
Narbonne
Douro R.
SPAIN
Tagus
Barcelona
Fiesole
Florence
ROME
ADRIATIC SEA
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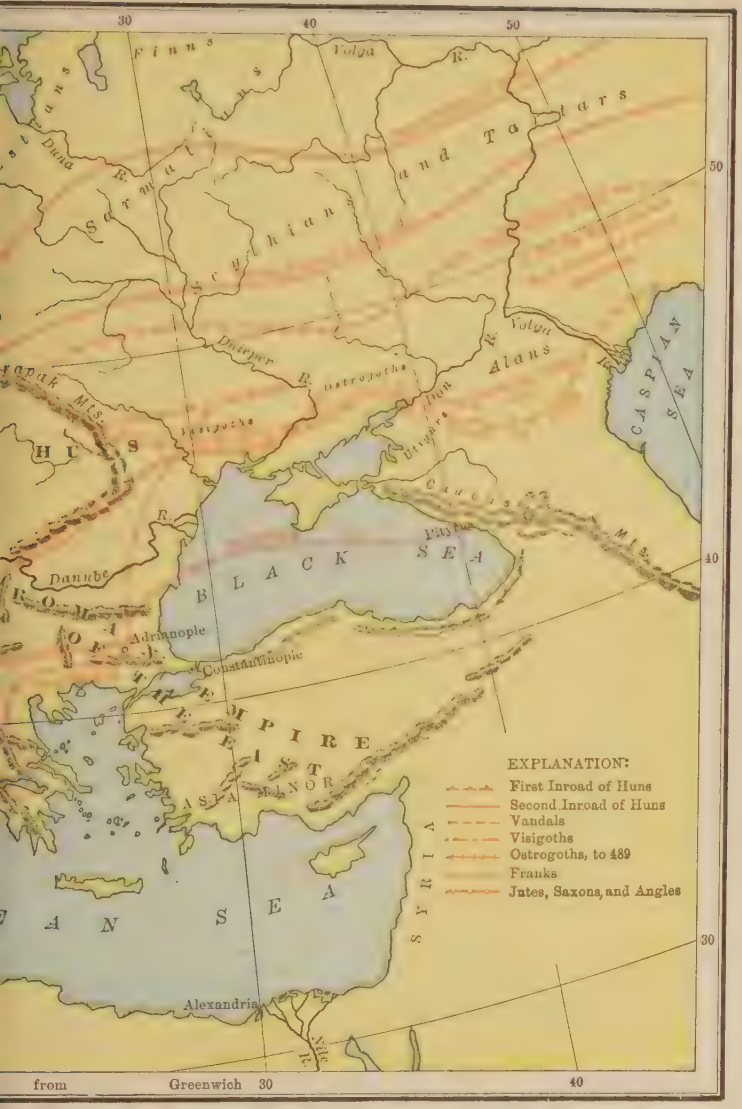


Finns
Volga
R.
Duna
R.
Sarmatians
Scythians and Tartars
Dnieper
R.
Ostrogoths
Visigoths
Don
Utigurs
Volga
R.
Alans
CASPIAN SEA
HUNS
Danube
R.
BLACK SEA
Pityus
Adrianople
Constantinople
EMPIRE
EAST
ASIA MINOR
SYRIA
SEA
Alexandria
Nile
R.
EXPLANATION:
First Inroad of Huns
Second Inroad of Huns
Vandals
Visigoths
Ostrogoths, to 489
Franks
Jutes, Saxons, and Angles
from Greenwich
30
40
50

insensible to wounds. In particular, they possessed a proud spirit of *individual liberty*, "a high, stern sense of manhood and the worth of man" — a spirit that had been lost in the Roman world. In the *Song of Beowulf* (an old poem that has come down to us from the pagan forests) the chieftain goes out to an almost hopeless encounter with a terrible monster that had been destroying his people. "Each man," exclaims the hero, "must abide the end of his life work; let him that may work, work his doomed deeds ere night come." And, again, as he sits by the dragon mound, victorious, but dying:

"These fifty winters have I ruled this folk; no folk-king of folk-kings about me — not any one of them — dare in the war-strife welcome my onset! Time's change and chances I have abided; held my own fairly; sought not to snare men; oath never sware I falsely against right. So, for all this, may I glad be at heart now, sick though I sit here, wounded with death-wounds!"

Religion and gods

The old Teutonic religion was a rude polytheism. *Woden*, the war god, held the first place in their worship. From him the noble families all claimed descent. *Thor*, or *Donner*, whose hurling hammer caused the thunder, was the god of storms and of the air. *Freya* was the deity of joy and fruitfulness. These gods live still in our names for the days of the week, — Woden's day, Thor's day, and Freya's day.[1] Heroes who had fought a good fight on earth were to find reward hereafter in fighting beside these gods of Light and Warmth against the giants of Cold and Darkness; but in the end, at the Twilight of the Gods, they were to perish before the powers of evil. Says John Richard Green (*History of the English People*), "life was built for them not on the hope of an hereafter, but on the proud self-consciousness of noble souls."

Government

Their government has been described for us by Tacitus (p. 385). A tribe lived in palisaded villages scattered in the forest. The village was originally no doubt the home of a clan. Village and tribe each had its popular Assembly and its chief.

[1] Tuesday and Saturday take their names from two obscure gods, Tiw and Saetere; and the remaining two days are the Moon's day and the Sun's day.

The tribal chief, or king, was surrounded by his council of village chiefs. To quote Tacitus:

> "On affairs of smaller moment, the chiefs consult; on those of greater importance, the whole community. . . . They assemble on stated days, either at the new or full moon. When they all think fit, they sit down armed. . . . Then the king, or chief, and such others as are conspicuous for age, birth, military renown, or eloquence, are heard; and gain attention rather from *their ability to persuade, than their authority to command.* If a proposal displease, the assembly reject it by an inarticulate murmur; if it prove agreeable they clash their javelins; for the most honorable expression of assent among them is the sound of arms."[1]

A chief's "companions"

Every great chief was surrounded by a band of "companions," who lived in his household, ate at his table, and fought at his side. To them the chief gave food, weapons, and plunder. For the safety of their "lord" they were ready to give their lives. To survive his death in battle, leaving his body to the foe, was lifelong disgrace. This *personal loyalty* corresponded to the Roman loyalty to the state.

Early attempts at invasion

The Teutons came into our story first in the days of Marius. For the five hundred years since, they had been beating about the barriers of the civilized world. Now and then they had broken through, but always hitherto even these terrible warriors had been driven out again by the disciplined Roman legions led by some Caesar, Aurelius, Diocletian, or Julian. With the falling away of Roman population, we have seen, many Teutonic tribes had been admitted peaceably, toward the close of the period, to settle within the Empire, and now a measure of this sort, on a larger scale than ever before, proved the first step in the Teutonic conquest.

Visigoths admitted

In 376 A.D., the whole people of the West Goths (*Visigoths*) appeared on the Danube, with their flocks and herds, and with

[1] Compare with the early Greek organization, pp. 95–97, and read Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 121, from Tacitus.

their women and children in long lines of wooden carts, fleeing from the terrible Huns — wild nomadic horsemen from Tartary. The Goths begged to cross the river into the protection of the Empire; and Valens, one of the shadow-emperors of that period, gave them lands south of the Danube. They were to surrender their arms, while Roman agents were to supply them food until the harvest. But these agents embezzled the funds, furnishing only vile and insufficient food, while, for bribes, they allowed the barbarians to keep their arms — in much the same way that corrupt American "Indian agents" have provoked many Indian wars. The Goths marched on Constantinople, defeated and slew Valens at Adrianople, and then ravaged at will in the Balkan lands.

Battle of Adrianople, 378 A.D.

During the reign of Theodosius the Great, these invaders seemed to have become quiet settlers in certain provinces he assigned them; but on his death, masses of the Goths rose again under an ambitious young chieftain, Alaric. Alaric led his host into Greece, spared Athens for a heavy ransom, but sacked Corinth, Argos, and Sparta. In 402, he invaded Italy, but was beaten back in two great battles by the gigantic Vandal, *Stilicho*, general of Honorius, Emperor of the West (p. 421). Soon afterward, however, Honorius suspected Stilicho of plotting to seize the throne, and had him murdered. The deed was signal for Alaric to try Italy once more. The weak Honorius hid himself in his impregnable fortress of Ravenna, defended by its marshes, and left the Goths free to work their will. Alaric captured Rome. Then, to the unspeakable consternation of the world, for five days and nights "the Eternal City," as men had called it, was given up to sack — just 800 years after its capture by the Gauls (Davis' *Readings*, II, Nos. 122, 123).

Alaric plunders Greece

And sacks Rome, 410 A.D.

In 414 a new king led the Goths into *Spain*. There they found the Vandals, who had entered by a shorter route across the Rhine. Driving these Vandals into Africa, the West Goths set up in Spain the first firm Teutonic kingdom. Meantime other Teutons were swarming across the Rhine. Finally, after

Spanish kingdom of the West Goths, 414 A.D.

"Wandering of the peoples," 400–600

frightful destruction, the *East Goths* established themselves in Italy; the Burgundians, in the valley of the Rhone; the Angles and Saxons, in Britain; the Franks, in Northeastern Gaul. *This "wandering of the peoples" filled the fifth century and part of the sixth.*

Vandal kingdom in Africa

When the Vandals were finally driven from Spain, they crossed into North Africa, and, after ten years of fighting, set up a kingdom with its capital at Carthage. From that port, their pirate fleets ravaged the Mediterranean coasts cruelly — until "Vandalism" became a synonym for wanton destruction. In 455 they sacked even Rome in a way that made Alaric's capture seem merciful. For fourteen days the barbarians ravaged the venerable capital, loading their ships with the spoils which Rome had plundered from all the world. Ancient Carthage was avenged, and Scipio's foreboding (p. 300) had come true.

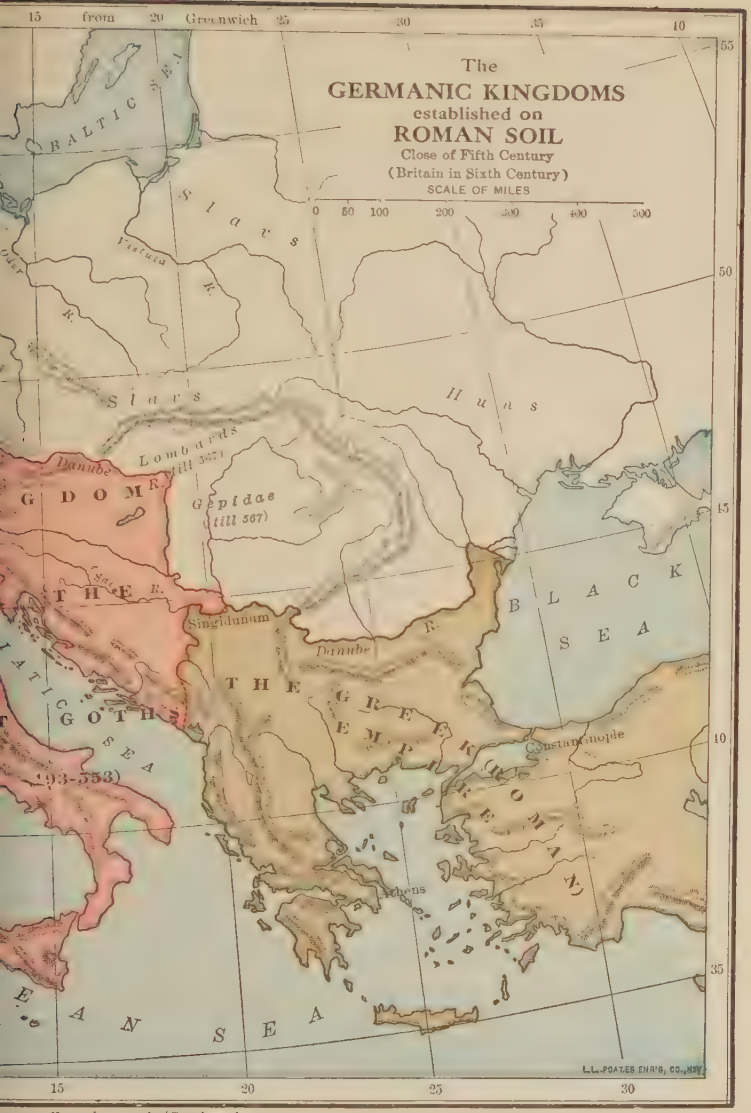
Peril from the Huns

While the Teutons were busy setting up kingdoms in the crumbling Empire, they and the Romans were threatened for a moment with common ruin. Somewhat before 400 A.D., there had appeared behind the Teutons a confused mass of more savage *Huns, Tartars, Finns, and Avars*, from the steppes of Asia. We call these peoples *Turanians*, and they seem to have resembled the ancient Scythians (p. 67). Out of them, about the middle of the fifth century, *Attila*, king of the Huns, had built up a vast military power, reaching from central Asia into central Europe. It was his boast that grass never grew again where his horse's hoof had trod. Now his terrible hordes rolled resistlessly into Gaul.

Teuton and Roman rally to repel them

Happily the peoples of the West realized their danger and laid aside all rivalries to meet it. Theodoric, hero-king of the Visigoths, brought up his host from Spain to fight under the Roman banner. Burgundian and Frank rallied from the corners of Gaul. And *Aëtius*, "the Last of the Romans," marshaled all these allies and the last great Roman army of the West against the countless Hunnish swarms. The fate of the world hung trembling in the balance while the great "battle of

After 507 the Kingdom of the West Goths in Gaul wa



o a small southern strip (Septimania)

the nations" was fought out at *Châlons*. United though they were, the forces of civilization seemed insignificant before the innumerable hosts of Asiatics. Theodoric fell gallantly, sword in hand. But at last the victory was won by the generalship of Aëtius (Davis' *Readings*, II, Nos. 125, 126), and with spent force the invasion rolled away to the East. Says Bury (*Later Roman Empire*): — **Châlons, 451 A.D.**

> "Aëtius was the man who now stood in the breach, and sounded the Roman trumpet to call the nations to do battle for the hopes of humanity. The interests of the Teutons were more vitally concerned at this crisis than [even] the interests of the Empire. . . . Their nascent civilization would have been crushed . . . *and they would not have been able to learn longer at the feet of Rome the arts of peace and culture.*"

The same two terrible centuries of invasion brought on the European stage another new race also — the Slavs; and the opening of the seventh century brought Mohammedanism (p. 452). Mohammedanism, we shall see, seized swiftly upon the old historic ground in Asia and Africa; but those lands have had little touch since then with our civilization. South of the Danube, Slavic barbarians settled up almost to the walls of Constantinople: Southeastern Europe became Slavic-Greek, just as Western Europe had become Teutonic-Roman. *But until very recently Southeastern Europe, too, has had little bearing, since then, upon our Western World.* The two halves of Europe fell apart, along the old cleavage between Greek and Latin civilizations (p. 306); and in all the centuries since, human progress has come almost wholly from Western Europe — Teutonic-Roman Europe — and from its offshoots in new continents.

Early in the fifth century the Empire in the West became limited to Italy. There, in the capital at Ravenna amid impenetrable swamps, the emperors still kept their courts, but real power was held by Teutonic generals, like Stilicho and Aëtius. After the Vandal raid, such generals set up and deposed **Italy in the fifth and sixth centuries**

puppet emperors at will. One of them ventured finally to set upon the throne his own son under the name *Romulus Augustulus*. Then, in 476, another successful general, *Odovaker*, dethroned this boy, and ruled Italy himself, claiming to be the lieutenant of the Emperor Zeno at distant Constantinople. Thus, in name, Italy became a province of the Greek "Empire in the East"; and, *after 476, there was no emperor in the West for more than three hundred years.* Odovaker was soon overthrown by the invasion of the East Goths, under their king, Theodoric, who, however, kept up the fiction of ruling Italy as a representative of the Greek emperor.

A province of the Greek Empire

The East Goths in Italy

The "Greek Empire" in the East

The Empire east of the Adriatic had always been essentially Greek in culture (p. 306). Separated now from the Latin West, it rapidly grew more Greek and Oriental. It still called itself Roman; but after 500 A.D. we commonly speak of it as *the Greek Empire* or *the Byzantine Empire.* Early in the sixth century, after a long line of weak rulers, the Greek Empire fell for a time to Justinian the Great. This emperor reconquered the Slavs in the Balkans, renewed the old frontier of the Danube, saved Europe from a threatened Persian conquest from the opposite frontier, and then turned to restore the imperial power in the West. He recovered Africa from the Vandals, and the Mediterranean islands, with part of Spain, and after twenty years of devastating war he even regained Italy and the ancient world-capital.

Silver Coin of Justinian.

Justinian the Great, 527–565

Lombards in Italy

But on the death of Justinian the Lombards, a new Teutonic people, swarmed into Italy and soon occupied much of it. Their chief kingdom was in the Po valley, which we still call Lombardy; but Lombard "dukedoms" were scattered also in other parts. The Empire kept (1) the Exarchate of Ravenna on the Adriatic, (2) Rome, with a little surrounding territory on the west coast, and (3) the extreme south.

Thus Italy, the middle land for which Roman and Teuton had struggled through two centuries, was at last divided between them, and shattered into fragments. No other country suffered so terribly during the centuries of invasion as this lovely land which had so long been mistress of the world.

The Justinian Code

Far more important than the brief and bloody conquests of Justinian was his codification of the Roman law. In the course

CHURCH OF ST. SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE, built by Justinian upon the site of an earlier church of the same name by Constantine. The whole interior is lined with costly, many-colored marbles. This view shows only a part of the vast dome, with eighteen of the forty windows which run about its circumference of some 340 feet. In 1453 the building became a Mohammedan mosque (ch. lix).

of centuries that law had become an intolerable maze. Julius Caesar had *planned* to codify it, and since his time the need had grown vastly more pressing. Under Justinian a commission of able lawyers put the whole body of law into a new form, marvelously compact, clear, and orderly.

The brief reconquest of Italy had established this Justinian Code in that land. Thence, in later centuries, it spread over the West, to become the basis of all modern continental European codes, and (through France) the basis even of the law of our own Louisiana. "Roman law," says Woodrow Wilson (*The State*, 158), "has furnished Europe with many, *if not most*, of her principles of private right."

CHAPTER XLIV

THE STATE OF WESTERN EUROPE, 400-800 A.D.

The invasions brought overwhelming destruction upon Western Europe — the most complete catastrophe that ever befell a great civilized society. True, civilization had already been declining; but the invasions accelerated the process tremendously, and long prevented any revival.

And when the invader had entered into possession, and so ceased to destroy, two new causes of decline appeared: —

New causes for decline in civilization

1. *The new ruling classes were grossly ignorant.* Few, even of their nobles, could read, or write their names, and they let much of the old civilization decay because they did not understand its use.

2. *The language of everyday speech grew away from the literary language* in which the remains of the old knowledge were preserved. The conquerors disregarded inflections when they used the speech of their subjects; they corrupted words by mispronouncing them; and they added a mass of new Teutonic words. Many different dialects were springing up in the different parts of Gaul, Burgundy, Spain, Italy, and were finally to grow into French, Spanish, and Italian. (These languages — mingled of Teutonic and Roman elements — are called *Romance languages*.) But meantime the language of learning became "dead." It was known only to the clergy, and, even by them, very imperfectly.

The fifth and sixth centuries brought the Teuton into the Roman world: the seventh and eighth fused Roman and Teutonic elements into a new "Western Europe." For the whole four hundred years Europe remained a dreary scene of violence and ignorance. The old Roman schools disappeared,

and classical literature seemed to be extinct. There was no tranquil leisure, and, therefore, little study. There was little security, and, therefore, little work. The Franks and Saxons were learning the rudiments of civilized life; but the Latins were losing all but the rudiments — and they seemed to lose faster than the Teutons gained.

Barbarian reverence for Roman culture

But after all, the invasions did not uproot civilization. *The barbarians felt a wholesome reverence for the Roman Empire* and for all connected with it. They were awed by the marvelous devices, the massive structures, the stately pomp, of the civilization they had conquered. They did not wish to destroy all this: they wished to possess it. Much, of course, they did destroy. Part they ruined in the wanton mood of children, — as in the story of the warrior who dashed his battle-ax at the beautiful mosaic floor to see whether the swans swimming there were alive. But much survived; and much which at the time *seemed* ruined was sooner or later to be recovered by the Teutons themselves.

Survival of civilization in the towns

Outside Britain and North Italy, the conquests were attended with little fighting. When the Roman legions had been beaten in the field, the struggle was over. The provincials (largely German anyway) had become indifferent to a change in masters. The invaders settled among populations ten or fifty times their own numbers. The highest estimate for the whole Burgundian nation is eighty thousand. The Vandals counted no more. The Visigoths, when they conquered Spain, hardly exceeded thirty thousand warriors. At first the newcomers were the rulers and almost the only large landlords. They formed the government and the aristocratic forces in *rural* society. But the *towns*, so far as they survived, *remained Roman;* and, almost unnoticed by the ruling classes, they preserved parts of the old culture and handicrafts. *The old population, too, furnished most of the clergy.* From this class — sole possessors of the art of writing — the Teutonic lords had to draw secretaries and confidential officers; and by these advisers they were gradually persuaded to adopt many customs of the old civilization.

And in the church

Most important of all, the church itself lived on. True, the barbarian converts to Christianity understood its teachings of love and purity very imperfectly. Christianity raised the new nations; but in the effort it was dragged down part way to their level. More emphasis was placed on ceremonies and forms. But in the darkest of the Dark Ages there were great numbers of priests and monks inspired with zeal for righteousness and love for men; and on the whole, the church protected the weak, and stood for peace, industry, and right living. It was the salt that kept the world sweet for later times, and the chief force that made life bearable for myriads of men and women (Davis' *Readings,* II, No. 135).

Teutonic codes

When the barbarians came into the Empire, their law was unwritten custom. Much of it remained so, especially in Britain; but, under Roman influence, the conquerors on the continent soon put *parts* of their law into *written codes* (Davis' *Readings,* II, No. 133). Two features of these codes throw interesting sidelights upon the times.

Money-payment for crimes

1. *Offenses were atoned for by money-payments,* varying from a small amount for cutting off the first joint of the little finger to the wergeld (man-money), or payment for taking a man's life. The wergeld varied, too, with the rank of the injured.

Trial by appeal to God

2. When a man wished to prove himself innocent, or to prove another man guilty of some charge, he did not try to bring evidence, as we do. *Proof consisted in an appeal to God to show the right.*

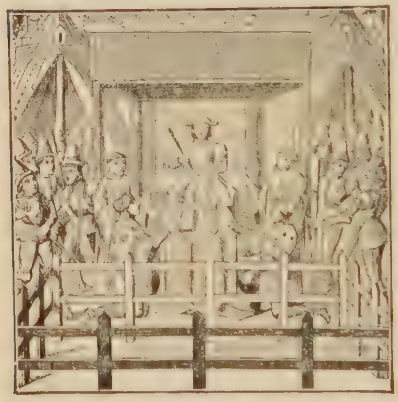
Thus in *trial by compurgation* the accused and accuser each swore solemnly to their statements, and each was backed by *compurgators,* — not witnesses but persons who swore they believed that their man was telling the truth. To swear falsely was to invite the divine vengeance, as in the boyish survival — "Cross my heart and hope to die"; and stories are told of men who fell dead with the judicial lie on their lips.

In *trial by ordeal,* the accused tried to clear himself by being thrown bound into water. If he sank, he was innocent: the

Trial by ordeal

pure element, it was believed, would not receive a criminal. Or he plunged his arm into boiling water, or carried red-hot iron a certain distance, or walked over burning plowshares; and if his flesh was uninjured, when examined some days later, he was declared innocent. All these ordeals were under the charge of the clergy, and were preceded by sacred exercises (Davis' *Readings*, II, 355 ff.). Such tests were sometimes made by deputy: hence our phrase to "go through fire and water" for a friend. Among the noble fighting class, the favorite trial came to be the *trial by combat*, — a judicial duel which was prefaced by religious ceremonies, and in which God was expected to "show the right."

Trial by combat



Religious Preliminary to a Judicial Combat: Each party is making oath, on Bible and cross, to the justice of his cause.—From a fifteenth century manuscript.

The Teutons introduced once more a system of *growing* law. Codification preserved the Roman law, but crystallized it. Teutonic law, despite its codes, remained for a long time crude and unsystematic; but it contained possibilities of further growth. The importance of this fact has been felt mainly in the English "Common Law," the basis of our American legal system.

Teutonic institutions modified

The conquest modified the political institutions of the conquerors in many ways. *Three changes* call for attention.

1. *The Teutonic kings became more absolute.* At first they were little more than especially honored military chiefs, at the head of rude democracies. In the conquests, they secured large shares of confiscated land, so that they could reward their

supporters and build up a strong personal following. Their authority grew by custom, since, in the confusion of the times, all sorts of matters were necessarily left to their decisions. Moreover, the Roman idea of absolute power in the head of the state had its influence. With all its excellencies, the Roman law was imbued with the principle of despotism. A favorite maxim was, — "*What the prince wills has the force of law.*"

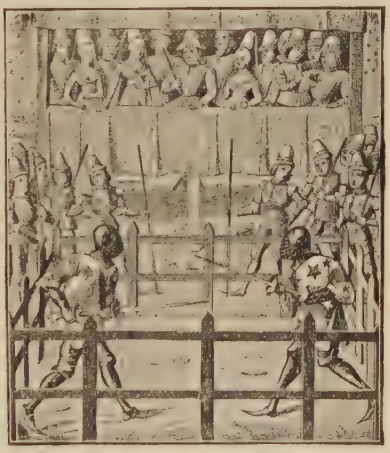
A new kingship

2. *A new nobility of service appeared.* The king rewarded his most faithful and trusted followers with grants of lands, and made them rulers (counts and dukes) over large districts.

A new nobility

3. *The Assemblies of freemen decreased in importance.* They survived in England as occasional "Folkmoots," and in the Frankish kingdom as "Mayfields"; but they shrank into gatherings of nobles and officials assembled to hear the king's will.

Assemblies fade away



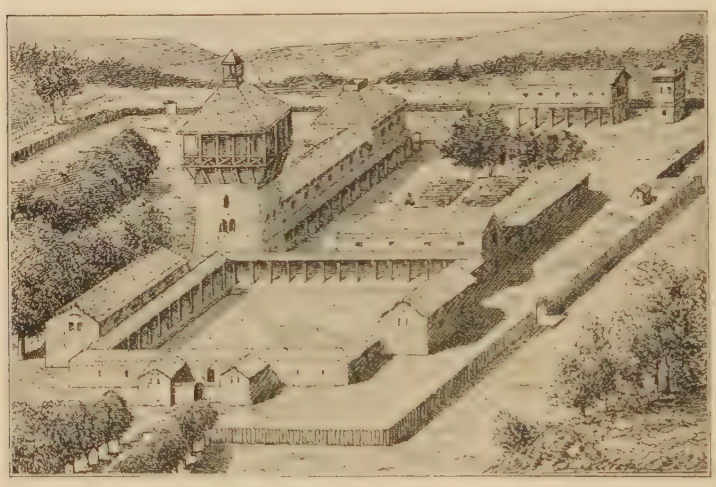
A Trial by Combat. — A companion piece to the foregoing illustration.

At the same time, while these assemblies *of the whole nation* died out or lost their democratic elements, they kept much of their old character for various *local* units, as in the *counties* of the Teutonic kingdoms of England. Thus the Teutons did carry into the Roman world *a new chance for democracy*. They did not give us representative government; but in England, as we shall see, representative institutions grew out of these local assemblies.

Everyday life in the seventh century

Everyday life in the seventh century was harsh and mean. The Teutonic conquerors disliked the close streets of a Roman town; but the villa, the residence of a Roman country gentleman, was the Roman institution which they could most nearly

appreciate. *The new Teutonic kings lived* not in town palaces, but *on extensive farmsteads in the midst of forests.* The new nobility, too, and other important men, were great landlords and lived in the open country, much as their kings did, in rude



Seventh Century Villa in Gaul, "restored" by Parmentier.

but spacious "villas" of wood, inclosed perhaps by a moat and certainly by a wall of stakes driven into the ground.

Population shrunken

Population had shrunken terribly since the times of the early Roman Empire. In the north, during the invasions and the following disorder, most towns had been destroyed. If they were rebuilt at all, it was upon a small scale, and from wood or from the ruins of the old dwellings. The occupations of town-dwellers had mostly vanished. The town, surrounded by a rude palisade, was valued chiefly for a refuge, and for its convenient nearness to the church or cathedral which made its center.

Towns survived in the South

In the south, it is true, *the old cities lived on,* with a considerable degree of the old Roman city life. They kept up, too, some commerce with the East; and sometimes colonies of Greek merchants dwelt in them.

Life of the poor

Everywhere, the great majority of the people were the poor folk who tilled the land for neighboring masters. Most of these toilers lived in mud hovels, or in cabins of rough boards, without floors and with roofs covered with reeds or straw. At the best, little more of their produce remained to them than barely enough to support life; and they were constantly subject to the arbitrary will of brutal and greedy masters. At frequent intervals, too, they suffered terribly from pestilence and famine.

Eastern hermits

This picture of ordinary seventh-century life helps us to understand the monastic life which became then popular. In the old East, holiness was believed to be related to withdrawal from the world, to contempt for human pleasures, and to disregard for natural instincts, even love for mother, wife, and child. This unnatural, ascetic tendency invaded Eastern Christianity, and, as early as the third century, in the oases of the Egyptian and Syrian deserts there appeared tens of thousands of *hermits*, who strove each to save his own soul by tormenting his body.[1] Then, in some cases these fugitives from society united into small societies of their own, with common rules of life.

Abbey of Citeaux — from a miniature in a twelfth century manuscript. Note the fields divided into strips and see p. 486.

European monasticism

In the latter part of the fourth century this idea of *religious communities* was transplanted to the West, and the long anarchy

[1] Davis' *Readings in Ancient History*, II, No. 136, has an account of an extreme and famous instance.

following the invasions made such a life peculiarly inviting. European monasticism differed widely, however, from its model in the East. The monks of the West, within their quiet walls, wisely sought escape from temptation, not in idleness, but in active and incessant work. Their motto was, "To work is to pray."

The growth of many a rich monastery was a romantic story of humble and heroic beginnings and of noble service to men. A body of devoted enthusiasts, uniting themselves for mutual religious aid, would raise a few rude buildings in a pestilential swamp or in a wilderness. Gradually their numbers grew. By their toil, the marsh was drained, or the desert became a garden. The first simple structures gave way to massive and stately towers. Lords gave lands; fugitive serfs tilled them; villages, and perhaps wealthy towns, sprang up upon them under the rule of the abbot.[1] Similar institutions for women offered a much-needed refuge for that sex in that rough age. During the seventh century, the majority of cultivated and refined men and women in Western Europe lived within monastic walls. More than one king voluntarily laid aside his crown to seek peace there from the horrible confusion of the world.

Beneficent work of the monks

During all the Middle Ages, the monks were the most skillful and industrious tillers of the soil. They copied and illustrated manuscripts with loving care; and they themselves produced whatever new literature Europe had for many centuries. They taught gladly all that they themselves knew to any youth of the countryside who would come to their instruction, so fitting many a poor peasant boy to become a powerful churchman, the master of lords and kings. Monks did not go out into the world to save souls; but their doors were always open to all who would come to them for help. In particular they cared for the poor and suffering. Their lives of quiet industry and devotion, their abstinence and self-sacrifice, seemed more than

[1] A *large* monastery was an *abbey*, and its elected head was an *abbot* (from a Syrian word *abba*, meaning *father*). An ordinary monastery called its head a *prior*, — "the *first* in place."

A Page from the Wingfield Horae.

A manuscript made for the first Duke of Buckingham. This is a fine illustration of the elaborate way the medieval monks illuminated their manuscripts.

human to other men during those evil ages of violence and brutality. For centuries the thousands of monasteries that dotted Western Europe were its only almshouses, inns, asylums, hospitals, and schools, and *the sole refuge of learning.* (Davis' *Readings*, II, 137, gives the monastic rules.)

Western Europe's heritage from the ages

We can now sum up the inheritance with which "Western Europe" began.

Through Rome the Western peoples were the heirs of *Greek mind* and *Oriental hand*, including most of those mechanical arts which had been built up in dim centuries by Egyptian, Babylonian, and Phoenician; and though much of this inheritance, both intellectual and material, was forgotten or neglected for hundreds of years, most of it was finally to be recovered. Rome also passed on *Christianity* and the organization of the church.

MONKS IN FIELD WORK. — From Lacroix, after a thirteenth century manuscript.

Rome herself had contributed (1) a universal language, which was to serve as a common medium of learning and intercourse for all the peoples of Western Europe; (2) Roman law; (3) municipal institutions, in southern Europe; (4) the imperial idea, — the conception of one, lasting, universal, supreme authority, to which the world owed obedience.

The fresh blood of the Teutons reinvigorated the old races, and so provided the men who for centuries were to do the world's work. *The Teutons* contributed, too, certain definite ideas and institutions, — (1) a new sense of personal independence; (2) a bond of personal loyalty between chieftain and follower, in contrast with the old Roman loyalty to the state; (3) a new *chance* for democracy, especially in the popular

assemblies of different grades in England; (4) a *growing* system of law.

Out of Roman and Teutonic elements there had already developed a new serf organization of labor; a new nobility; and a new Romano-Teutonic kingship — and soon there was to grow out of them a new feudalism (ch. xlix below).

Caution as to the terms "Teuton" and "German"

The use of the words *German* and *Teuton* in the above treatment calls for a word of caution. They are the only proper words to use, but they may easily give rise to misunderstanding. The *mingling* of Teutonic and Roman elements in our civilization took place not in Germany but in the lands we call England, France, Belgium, Italy, and Spain. The people who brought the Teutonic contributions into those lands were not the ancestors of the modern Germans — any more than were other Teutons, like the Danes and Swedes, who never entered Germany: they were, in part, the ancestors of English, French, Spanish, and Italian peoples. They left Germany fourteen hundred years ago; and the civilization which grew up in those Western lands, after these migrations into them, was the civilization of a new "Western Europe." Then, some three or four centuries later, as we shall see, Christianity and armed conquest began, in a measure, to carry this new civilization east from these lands into the forests of savage and heathen Germany, and, even farther, among the Prussians of the Baltic coast.

Kingdom of the
MEROVINGIANS
Showing their Conquests
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150
Longitude West
Longitude East
from Greenwich
NORTH SEA
BRITAIN
FRISIANS (689)
SAXONS
THURINGIANS 531
SLAVS
ENGLISH CHANNEL
(Köln) Cologne
Bonn
AUSTRASIA
Fulda
Trier (Treves)
Main
Würzburg
Soissons
Metz
PARIS
FRANCIA
BRITTANY
NEUSTRIA
Orleans
Nantes
Tours
Poitiers
AQUITAINE (507-511)
BURGUNDY (534)
ALAMANNIA (496)
BAVARIA (555)
Strasburg
L. Constance
Danube R.
Drave R.
Venice
Milan
Ravenna
ADRIATIC SEA
BAY OF BISCAY
Bordeaux
VASCONIA (567)
Toulouse
SEPTIMANIA
PROVENCE (536)
Massilia
Mediterranean Sea
WEST GOTHS

CHAPTER XLV

THE FRANKS AND THE PAPACY

During the centuries of confusion and fusion, two organizing forces grew up — *the Frankish state* and *the Papacy;* and one great danger appeared — *Mohammedanism.*

Empire of the Franks

The founder of Frankish greatness was *Clovis*, a brutal savage of shrewd intellect. In 481, he became king of one of several little tribes of Franks on the lower Rhine. Fifty years later, thanks to a continuous policy of war and perfidy, his sons ruled an empire comprising modern France, the Netherlands, and much of Western Germany. Such territory to-day would make the greatest power in Europe. In the sixth and seventh centuries it was practically the only power. Gothic Spain was weakened by quarrels between Arian and Catholic; Italy was torn to shreds; Britain was in savage chaos (p. 471); non-Frankish Germany was filled with savage, unorganized tribes.

The "Do-nothings" and their mayors

The family of Clovis is known, from his grandfather *Merovig*, as *Merovingian*. It kept the throne for two centuries — a dismal story of greed, family hate, treachery, and murder, and, toward the end, of indolence and incapacity. The last of the Merovingian kings were mere phantom rulers who earned the name of "*Do-nothings.*" All real power was exercised by a *mayor of the palace.* Originally this officer was a chief domestic, the head of the royal household; but, one by one, he had withdrawn all the powers of government from the indolent kings, and had even made his office hereditary. Once a year, the long-haired king himself was carried forth in stately procession on his ox-cart, to be shown to the Assembly of the Mayfield. The rest of the time he lived, on some obscure estate, in swinish pleasures that brought him to an early grave.

The empire nearly falls apart

About 650, the Frankish state seemed ready to fall to pieces. The Franks themselves had spread very little south of the Loire; but even this northern part of the state was divided into two kingdoms: *Austrasia*, the kingdom of the East Franks, had remained German in character; *Neustria*, the kingdom of the West Franks, had more of the Roman civilization and claimed greater dignity. While these two divisions struggled for supremacy, German Bavaria and Roman Aquitaine became practically independent under native dukes. But about the year 700, a great mayor, Charles, known as Martel ("the

Charles Martel

Repast in the Hall of a Frankish Chieftain of the eighth century.

Hammer") began to restore union and order by crushing blows right and left.

And none too soon. For the Mohammedans now attacked Europe. Except for the long pounding by "the Hammer of the Franks," there would have been no Christian power able to withstand their onset—and Englishmen and Americans to-day might be readers of the Mohammedan Koran instead of the Christian Bible.

Arabia before Mohammed

A century after Clovis built up the empire of the Franks, a better man, out of less promising material, built a mighty power in Arabia. Until that time, Arabia had had little to do with

human progress. It was mainly desert, with occasional small oases, and with strips of tillable land near the Red Sea. In this last district, the tribes had gained some mechanical skill and possessed a few small cities. The rest of the Arabs were wandering shepherds, — poor and ignorant, dwelling in black camel's-hair tents, living from their sheep and by robbery, and worshiping sticks and stones. The inspiring force that was to lift them to a higher life, and fuse them into a world-conquering nation, was the fiery enthusiasm of *Mohammed*.

Mohammed "the Faithful"

Mohammed was born at Mecca, the largest city of Arabia, about 570. He never learned to read; but his speech was ready and forceful, and his manner pleasing and stately. As a youth, he was modest, serious, and truthful, — so that as a hired camel-driver, he earned the surname "the Faithful." He had always been given to occasional periods of religious enthusiasm and ecstasy, watching and praying alone in the desert for days at a time, as indeed many Arabs did. In such a lonely vigil, when he was a respected merchant of forty years, God appeared to him (he said) in a wondrous vision, revealing to him a higher religion and ordering him to preach it to his countrymen. At first, Mohammed seems to have doubted whether this vision were not a subtle temptation by the devil; but his wife convinced him that it came truly from heaven, and he entered upon his mighty task. He really drew the best features of his new religion from Jewish and Christian teachings, with which he had become somewhat acquainted in his travels as a merchant. The two central requirements were *faith* and *obedience*. A "true believer" must accept only the one God, *Allah*, and offer complete submission (*Islam*) to his will.

And his "revelation"

The Koran and its teachings

The Koran,[1] the "sacred book" made up of Mohammed's teachings, taught a higher morality than the Arabs had known, — not so very unlike that of the Ten Commandments; but it accepted also certain evil customs of the time, such as slavery and polygamy, and it attracted converts by its sensuous appeals to future pleasures or pains. At the "Last Day," all souls would be

[1] See extracts in Ogg's *Source Book*, No. 13.

gathered to judgment. Then all sinful Mohammedans, together with all "Unbelievers," would be cast into an everlasting hell of scalding water covered with thick clouds of smoke. True believers, on the other hand, were to enter the joys of an eternal Paradise, to recline, in the midst of lovely gardens, on couches of gold and jewels, where they would be served constantly by beautiful maidens (*houris*) with delicious foods and wines.

Slow growth of the faith, to the Hegira

For twelve years the new faith grew slowly. A few friends accepted Mohammed at once as a prophet; but the bulk of his fellow townsfolk jeered at the claim, and when he continued to order them to put away their stone idols, they drove him from Mecca. Mohammed barely escaped from his home with his life. This flight is *the Hegira* (622 A.D.), the point from which the Mohammedan world still reckons time.

Swift growth by the sword

Now Mohammed converted the tribes of the desert, and then took up the sword. His fierce warriors proved themselves almost irresistible, conquering many a time against overwhelming odds. They felt sure that to every man there was an appointed time of death, which he could neither delay nor hasten, and they rejoiced in death in battle, as the surest admission to the joys of Paradise. "The sword," said Mohammed, "is the key to heaven. . . . Whoso falls in battle, all his sins are forgiven; at the day of judgment his wounds shall be resplendent as vermilion and odoriferous as musk."

Ninety years of conquest

Before his death, ten years after the Hegira, Mohammed was master of all Arabia. Eighty years later, his followers stood victorious upon the Oxus, the Indus, the Black Sea, the Atlantic, — rulers of a realm more extensive than that of Rome at its height. Within the span of one human life, the Mohammedans had won all the old Asiatic empire of Alexander the Great, and all North Africa besides; and drawing together the sweeping horns of their mighty crescent, they were already trying to enter Europe from both east and west, by the narrow straits of Gibraltar and the Hellespont.

The Arabs had overrun Syria and Asia Minor, and in 672, they besieged Constantinople itself; but the hero-emperor,

Constantine IV, repulsed them, and saved the Western world. *In 717* the Saracens returned to the attack; but another vigorous ruler had just seized the throne at Constantinople. This was *Leo the Isaurian*, who was to begin another glorious line of Greek emperors. Leo had only five months in which to prepare for the terrific onset of the Mohammedans; but once more the Asiatics were beaten back — after a twelve months' siege. Arabian chroniclers themselves say that only thirty thousand survived of a host of one hundred and eighty thousand well-appointed warriors who began the siege. *The most formidable menace to Europe wore itself away on the walls of the "City of Constantine,"* defended by its newly invented "Greek fire";[1] but in 711 the Arabs did enter Spain and were soon masters of the peninsula, except for remote mountain fastnesses. Then, pouring across the Pyrenees, the Mohammedan flood spread over Gaul, even to the Loire, and it "seemed that the crescent was about to round to the full."

The Greek Empire saves Europe

Saracens conquer Spain

And invade Gaul

But the danger completed the reunion of the Frankish state. The duke of Aquitaine, long in revolt against Frankish rule, fled to the camp of Charles Martel for aid against the Mohammedan; and, *in 732*, in the plains near *Tours*, the "Hammer of the Franks" with his close array of mailed Austrasian infantry met the Arab host. From dawn to dark, on a Saturday in October, the gallant, turbaned horsemen of the Saracens hurled themselves in vain against the Franks' stern wall of iron. At night the surviving Arabs stole silently from their camp and fled back behind the shelter of the Pyrenees.

Martel at Tours, 732 A.D.

[1] A combustible made, probably, by mixing naphtha, sulphur, and pitch. It could not be extinguished by water, and it was the most terrible weapon of warfare until the invention of gunpowder. It was to be used, later, with terrible effect by the Mohammedans themselves. As late as 1250, Western Europe was still ignorant of its secret, and an old crusader who first saw it in a night battle described it as follows: "Its nature was in this wise, that it rushed forward as large round as a cask of verjuice, and the tail of the fire which issued from it was as big as a large-sized spear. It made such a noise in coming that it seemed as if it were a thunderbolt from heaven, and it looked like a dragon flying through the air. It cast such a brilliant light that in the camp we could see as clearly as if it were noonday."

The battle of Tours, just one hundred years after Mohammed's death, is *the high-water mark of the Saracen invasion.* A few years later, the Mohammedan world, like Christendom, split into rival empires. The Caliph[1] of the East built, for his capital, the wonderful city of Bagdad on the Tigris. The

A Window in the Hall of the Ambassadors, Alhambra, one of the finest examples of Moorish architecture.

Caliphate of the West fixed its capital at Cordova in Spain. The two Caliphates were more or less hostile to each other, and the critical danger to Western civilization for the time passed away. *The repulses at Constantinople and at Tours rank with Marathon and Salamis, in the long struggle between Asia and Europe.*

[1] *Caliph* ("successor") became the title of the successors of Mohammed.

The Court of the Lions in the Alhambra.

The Frank had saved Europe from Africa. Next he allied to himself the Papacy — whose rise we will now trace.

The papal claim to headship

Before 300 A.D., the bishop at Rome had put forth a vigorous claim to supremacy over all the Christian church, somewhat as follows: Christ had especially intrusted the government of his church to Peter; Peter had founded the church at Rome; hence the bishops of Rome, successors of Peter, held spiritual sway over Christendom.[1]

Rome's advantages

Rome had advantages that helped to make good this claim. (1) Men inevitably thought of Rome as the world-capital. (2) The Latin half of the Empire had no other church founded by an Apostle, nor did it contain any other great city: Rome's rivals were all east of the Adriatic. (3) The decline of the Empire in the West, after the barbarian invasions, left the bishops of Rome freer from imperial interference than the Eastern bishops were. (4) A long line of remarkable popes, by their statesmanship and their missionary zeal, confirmed the place of Rome as head of the Western churches. (The word pope — "papa," or "father" — did not become an official term until 1085.)

Rome's rivals eliminated

Even in the West, however, until about 700 A.D., most men looked upon the bishop of Rome only as one among five great patriarchs — though the most loved and trusted one. *But the eighth century eliminated the other four patriarchs, so far as Western Christendom was concerned.* In quick succession, Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Antioch fell to the Saracens, and, soon afterward, remaining Christendom split into rival Latin and Greek churches, grouped respectively around Rome and Constantinople.

Growth of temporal power as an imperial lieutenant

For some time, indeed, while extending their spiritual authority over the West, the popes had been also growing into temporal[2] monarchs over a small state in Italy. In the break-up of Italy (p. 438) the imperial governor at Ravenna was cut off from Rome and the neighboring territory — which, however,

[1] Robinson's *Readings*, I, 62–73, has a good statement, with extracts from several of the early Fathers; see especially the argument of Pope Leo.

[2] *Temporal*, in this sense, is used to apply to matters of *this* world, in contrast to the *spiritual* matters of the world *eternal*.

still belonged to the Empire. Bishops *previously* had held considerable civil authority. This new condition left the bishop of Rome the only lieutenant of the Empire in his isolated district; and the difficulty of communication with Constantinople (and the weakness of the emperors) made him, in practice, an independent ruler.

Italy supports the popes

True the emperors did not permit this papal independence without a struggle. One pope was dragged from the altar to a dungeon; another died in lonely exile in the Crimea. But the Roman population of Italy rallied round its great bishops against the disliked Greek power, and the popes more and more came to defy the emperors. When the great reforming emperor, *Leo the Isaurian*, tried to collect imperial taxes in Italy, the pope sanctioned resistance — which proved successful because a storm wrecked Leo's expedition.

The Iconoclasts

Then came the final and formal separation, occasioned by a dispute over the use of images — the *iconoclast* (image-breaking) quarrel. An influential party in the Greek Empire felt that the ignorant degraded images in the church service from symbols into idols, and Leo the Isaurian ordered all images removed from the churches. The West clung to their use as aids to worship; and the Popes Gregory II and III forbade obedience to the emperor and even excommunicated[1] him.

Schism between Greek and Latin churches

These events, then, mark the "Great Schism" of Christendom into two great churches, the *Latin* and the *Greek*, along the ancient line of partition between Latin and Greek culture. Before 800 A.D., the image users in the East regained the throne there, in the *Empress Irene;* but there was no reunion of the two halves of the Christian world. The churches of Russia and Greece and the Balkan Slav states still belong to the Greek communion.

The popes were elected at this early time by the clergy and people of Rome; but, until these events, they always asked or accepted confirmation from the Emperor, like other bishops of the day. *Henceforward, however, bishops of Rome assumed*

[1] Excommunication is explained on p. 498.

office without sanction from Constantinople. Fifty years later, *Pope Hadrian made the political separation more apparent by ceasing to date events by the reigns of the Emperors.* Instead, he called a certain day "December 1, of the year 781 in the reign of the Lord Jesus Christ, our God and Redeemer," — and so introduced our method of counting time (p. 404).

Cloisters of St. John Lateran. — This church stands on the site of the first papal church in Rome. Adjoining is the Lateran palace, official residence of the popes until 1377.

Popes and Lombards

But as soon as the popes had made themselves independent of the distant Greek Empire, they were threatened by the Lombards. The king of Lombardy had seized Ravenna, and was preparing to seize Rome and to unite Italy. The popes appealed for aid to the Franks. The Frankish mayor needed papal sanction for his own plans just then; and so *the two organizing forces in Western Europe joined hands.*

Charles the Hammer had been succeeded as mayor by his son

Pippin the Short consecrated king by Pope Stephen

Pippin the Short. This prince soon began to think of taking the name of king. To reconcile the Frankish nation to such an act, he had sent an embassy to the pope, in 750, to ask whether this was "a good state of things in regard to the kings of the Franks." The pope, who needed Pippin's aid against the Lombards, replied, "It seems better that he who has the power should be king rather than he who is falsely called so." Thereupon Pippin shut up the last Merovingian in a monastery and assumed the crown (Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 145).

A little later, Pope Stephen visited the Frankish court and consecrated Pippin king, as the old Hebrew prophets did the Hebrew kings. All previous Teutonic kings had held their kingship by the will of their people, but this act began for European monarchs the sacred character of "the Lord's anointed." On his part, Pippin conquered Lombardy, and *gave to the pope the territory which the Lombards had recently seized from Ravenna* — a strip of land reaching across Italy (map after p. 530). This "Donation of Pippin" created the modern principality of "the Papal States," or "States of the Church," — to last until 1870.

The Donation of Pippin

CHAPTER XLVI

THE EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE

"A patch of light in a vast gloom."

In 768 Pippin was succeeded as king of the Franks by his son Karl, the greatest medieval ruler. This *Karl the Great* stamped himself upon his age, and his masterful mind even cast its shadow forward over many centuries. He was known in his own day as *Carolus Magnus* (the Latin form of his name), and he is best known to us by the French form, *Charlemagne*. We must not think of him, however, as a Frenchman: he was a full-blooded Teuton. His secretary (and intimate friend), Einhard, has left us a vivid pen-portrait of him (Davis' *Readings*, II). He was "large and robust, and of commanding stature. . . . His eyes were large and animated; his nose, somewhat long. He had a fine head of gray hair, and his face was bright and pleasant. . . . Whether standing or sitting, he showed great dignity." He dressed simply, ate and drank temperately, and delighted in riding and hunting. "He was ready of speech, and expressed himself with great clearness."

Karl the Great

SEAL OF CHARLEMAGNE. (This is the nearest approach we have to a likeness of Charlemagne. The so-called "pictures" of Charlemagne in many books are purely imaginative, by artists of later centuries.)

Charlemagne was a statesman rather than a fighter; but he found his realm still threatened by barbarian Germans on the east and by Mohammedan Moors on the south, and his long reign of a half century was filled with ceaseless border wars. He thrust back the Saracens to the Ebro, redeeming a strip of

Repulse of barbarian danger: civilization expanded

Spain;[1] and, in a long pounding of thirty years, he subdued the heathen Saxons amid the marshes and trackless wilderness between the lower Rhine and the Elbe. All this district, so long a peril to the civilized world, was colonized by Frankish pioneers and planted with Christian churches. In such bloody and violent ways *Charlemagne laid the foundation for modern Germany.*

Spain, Italy, Bavaria

Other foes engaged energy which the great king would rather have given to reconstruction. The vassal Lombard king attacked the pope. After fruitless expostulation, Charlemagne marched into Italy, confirmed Pippin's "Donation," and at Pavia placed the ancient iron crown of Lombardy upon his own head, as king of Italy. And when restless Bavaria rebelled once more, Charlemagne subdued it thoroughly, sending its duke into a monastery.

A Romano-Teutonic empire

Thus, Visigoth, Lombard, Burgund, Frank, Bavarian, Allemand, Saxon, — all the surviving Teutonic peoples, except those in the Scandinavian peninsula and in Britain, — were united into one Christian Romano-Teutonic state.[2]

Beyond this Teutonic Europe, to the east, stretched away savage Slavs and Avars, still hurling themselves from time to time against the barriers of civilization. In the closing part of his reign, Charlemagne attacked barbarism in these strongholds — as the best way to defend the civilized world. Gradually the first line of peoples beyond the Elbe and Danube were reduced to tributary kingdoms. *Charlemagne made no attempt, however, to incorporate them into his Teutonic state,* or to force Christianity upon them. *He meant them to serve as buffers against their untamed brethren farther east.*

But no mere "King of the Franks" could hold in lasting allegiance rival Teutonic peoples — Visigoth, Lombard, Saxon

[1] The defeat of Charlemagne's rear guard, on the return, by the wild tribesmen of the Pyrenees, in the pass of Roncesvalles, gave rise to the legend embodied later in the *Song of Roland*, the most famous poem of the early Middle Ages.

[2] The population was largely Roman still; but, — in Italy and South Gaul, as in Saxon-land, — *the rule*, for the most part, *was in Teutonic hands.*

— or the old Roman populations. And so *Charlemagne now strengthened his* authority over his wide realms *by reviving the dignity and magic name of the "Roman Empire" in the West.* There was already a "Roman Emperor" at Constantinople, whose authority, *in theory*, extended over all Christendom; but just at this time Irene, the empress-mother, put out the eyes of her son, Constantine VI, and seized the imperial power (p. 458). To most men, East and West, it seemed monstrous that a woman should pretend to the scepter of the world; and on Christmas Day, 800 A.D., as Charlemagne at Rome knelt in prayer at the altar, Pope Leo III placed upon his head a gold crown and saluted him as *Charles Augustus, Emperor of the Romans.* The act was ratified by the enthusiastic acclaim of the multitude.

The "Roman Empire" revived in the West

Silver Coin of Charlemagne. — Note the Latin form of his name *Carolus* (Karl). Cf. for finish with Justinian's coin, p. 402.

In theory, Rome had chosen a successor to Constantine VI, just deposed at Constantinople. In actual fact, however, the deed of Leo and Charlemagne *divided the Christian world into two rival empires*, each calling itself *the* Roman Empire. Two things regarding the restored Empire must be borne in mind.

The two "Roman" Empires

1. Neither Empire was really Roman. As the Eastern grew more and more Oriental, the Western grew more and more Teutonic. Charlemagne and his successors had to be crowned at Rome. But the German Rhine, not the Italian Tiber, was the real center of their state; and Aachen, not Rome, was their real capital.

2. The new Empire arose out of a union of the papacy and the Frankish power. In later times the union was expressed in the name, The *Holy* Roman Empire. The Empire had its spiritual as well as its temporal head, and dissensions were afterward to arise between the two.

Poverty of the West in 800

The glory and prosperity of the old Empire had not been restored with its name. To accomplish that was to be the work of centuries more. In 800 the West was ignorant and wretched. There was much barbarism in the most civilized society. Roads had fallen to ruin, and murderous brigands infested those that remained. There was little communication between one district and another. Money was little known and trade hardly existed. Almost the only industry was rude farming by serfs. Even Charlemagne was always pinched for money. He could raise no "taxes." He did exact "service in person" in war and peace, and the treasury received some fines, and occasional "gifts" from wealthy men; but its chief support came *from the royal farms* scattered through the kingdom.

To make sure of this last revenue in the cheapest way (and at the same time to attend to the wants of his vast realms), the king and court constantly traveled from farm to farm, consuming the produce upon the spot. No commercial traveler of today is so constantly on the move, or encounters such hardship on the road. Charlemagne took the most minute care, too, that his farms should be well tilled, and that each one should pay every egg due him (Davis' *Readings*, II, No. 149).

The Mayfields

To keep in touch with the feelings of his many peoples, Charlemagne made use of the old Teutonic assemblies in fall and spring. Sometimes this "Mayfield" gathering comprised the bulk of the men of the Frankish nation. At other times, only the great nobles and churchmen came (p. 445). To these gatherings were "published" (read) the *capitularies*, or collections of laws decreed by the king; but the assembly was not itself a legislature. At the most, it could only bring to bear upon the king mildly the force of public opinion. A modern French historian (Coulanges) pictures a Mayfield thus:

"An immense multitude is gathered in a plain, under tents. It is divided into separate groups. The *chiefs* of these groups assemble about the king, to deliberate with him. Then each of them tells his own group what has been decided, perhaps consults them, but at any

EUROPE
IN THE TIME OF
CHARLES THE GREAT
814
ROMAN EMPIRE OF THE WEST
Frankish State before Charlemagne
Charlemagne's Additions
Tributary States
ROMAN EMPIRE OF THE EAST
MOHAMMEDANS:
Emirate of Cordova
Caliphate of Bagdad
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400 500
Longitude 5 West 0 5 10 Longitude 15 East 20
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
MEDITERRANEAN
CALIPHATE
EMIRATE OF CORDOVA
FRANCIA
TRIBUTARY STATES
THE HEBRIDES
IONA
ORKNEY IS.
NORTHMEN
SWEDES
DANES
SAXONS
FRISIANS
Lindisfarne
Whitby
Humber R.
Aachen
Frankfort
BOHEMIA
Tours
AQUITANIA
GASCONY
Toulouse
Massilia
Milan
Ravenna
Rome
Lisbon
Toledo
Cordova
Granada
Tangier
MOROCCO
Tripoli
SICILY
LOMBARDS
BALEARIC IS.
Guadalquivir R.
Strait of Gibraltar

Novgorod
Kief
Dneiper
R.
TURKS OR MAGYARS
Cherson
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
Constantinople
Nicomedia
BITHYNIA
Nicæa
Dorylæum
PHRYGIA
Antioch
Tigris
R.
Bagdad
Euphrates
R.
Sidon
Tyre
Damascus
Jerusalem
Ascalon
Cæsarea
Gaza
Alexandria
Pelusium
RED SEA
Greenwich

rate obtains their consent as easily as the king had obtained his; for these men are dependent on him, just as he is on the king. . . . The king's will decided everything: the nobles only advised."

Attempts to revive learning

Charlemagne made brave attempts also to revive learning. He never learned to write; but he spoke and read Latin, as well as his native German, and he understood some Greek. For the age, he was an educated man, and he wished earnestly to make more learning possible for others. The difficulties were almost beyond our comprehension, — greater even than in Russia to-day. *There seemed no place to begin.* Not only the nobles, but even many of the clergy were densely ignorant. The only tools to work with were poor.

Still much was done. Charlemagne secured more learned men for the clergy. He set up schools in many of the monasteries and at the seats of some of the bishops, not only to train the clergy, but to teach all children to read, even those of serfs. Some of these schools, as at Tours and Orleans, lived on through the Middle Ages.[1] For teachers, Charlemagne brought learned men from Italy, where the Roman culture best survived. He also established a famous "School of the Palace" for the nobles of the court; and induced the scholar *Alcuin* to come from England to direct it. The Emperor himself, when time permitted, studied at the tasks of the youths, and delighted in taking part in the discussions of the scholars whom he had gathered about him. With great zeal, too, he strove to secure the true copying of valuable manuscripts. "Often," says one capitulary, "men desire to pray to God, but they pray badly because of incorrect books. Do not permit *boys* to corrupt them. . . . let *men* of mature age do the writing diligently."

In the year 700, there were four great forces contending for

[1] The in-pouring of the Teutons between 378 and 476 is sometimes said to close Ancient history. Those who speak in this way divide history into Ancient, Medieval, and Modern, and give the name Medieval to the period from about 400 to about 1500 A.D. This book pays little attention to this old classification. But we sometimes use the expressions *Medieval* and *Middle Ages*, as descriptive terms, for the period to which they are commonly applied.

Europe in 800 A.D.

Western Europe, — the Greek Empire, the Saracens, the Franks, and the Papacy. By the year 800, Charles the Hammer and Charles the Great had shut out the first two and had fused the other two into the revived Roman Empire. True, Charlemagne was ahead of his age. After his death, barbarism and anarchy again broke in. But the imperial idea, to which he had given new life, was to be for ages the inspiration of the best

THE FIELDS OF HISTORY TO 800 A.D.

minds as they strove against anarchy in behalf of order and progress.

Charlemagne himself towers easily above all other men from the fifth century to the fifteenth — the mightiest figure of a thousand years. He stands for five great movements. He widened the area of civilization, created one Romano-Teutonic state, revived the Roman Empire for the outward form of that state, reorganized church and society, and began a revival of learning. He wrought wisely to combine the best elements of Roman and Teutonic society, and so fused into one the various

streams of influence which the earlier world contributed to our modern world.

Charlemagne left the world divided among the two Christian "Roman" Empires and the two Mohammedan Caliphates. For centuries the Western Empire remained the least polished, least wealthy, least civilized of the four states.

And yet that rude state, with its Teutonic fringes in England and Scandinavia, was the only one of the four great powers which was to make further progress.

The scene of history had shifted to the West once more. This time, too, it had shrunken in size. Some Teutonic districts had been added; but vast areas of the old Roman world had gone, — the Euphrates, the Nile, the Eastern Mediterranean, Europe itself east of the Adriatic and south of the Pyrenees. The Mediterranean, the center of the Roman world, had become an ill-guarded moat between Christian Europe and Mohammedan Africa; and its ancient place as the highway of civilization was taken over, as well as might be, by the Rhine and the North Sea.

For Further Reading. — Emerton's *Introduction to the Middle Ages* or Masterman's *Dawn of Medieval Europe*. Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne* is published in Harper's Half-Hour series. Davis' *Charlemagne* and Hodgkin's *Charles the Great* are readable and valuable books.

Exercises

1. Topical and "catchword" reviews: (*a*) *The church;* (*b*) *The Franks;* (*c*) *The Empire.*

2. *Dates* to be added to earlier lists: 378, 410, 476, 732, 800.

What events connected with the invasions can the student locate, in order, between 378 and 476? What events in the history of the Empire between 476 and 732?

3. *Battles.* Add to previous lists five battles for the period 378–800.

PART VII

THE FEUDAL AGE, 800–1300

CHAPTER XLVII

THE NEW BARBARIAN ATTACK

"*From the fury of the Northmen, O Lord, deliver us.*" — PRAYER IN THE CHURCH SERVICE OF THE TENTH CENTURY.

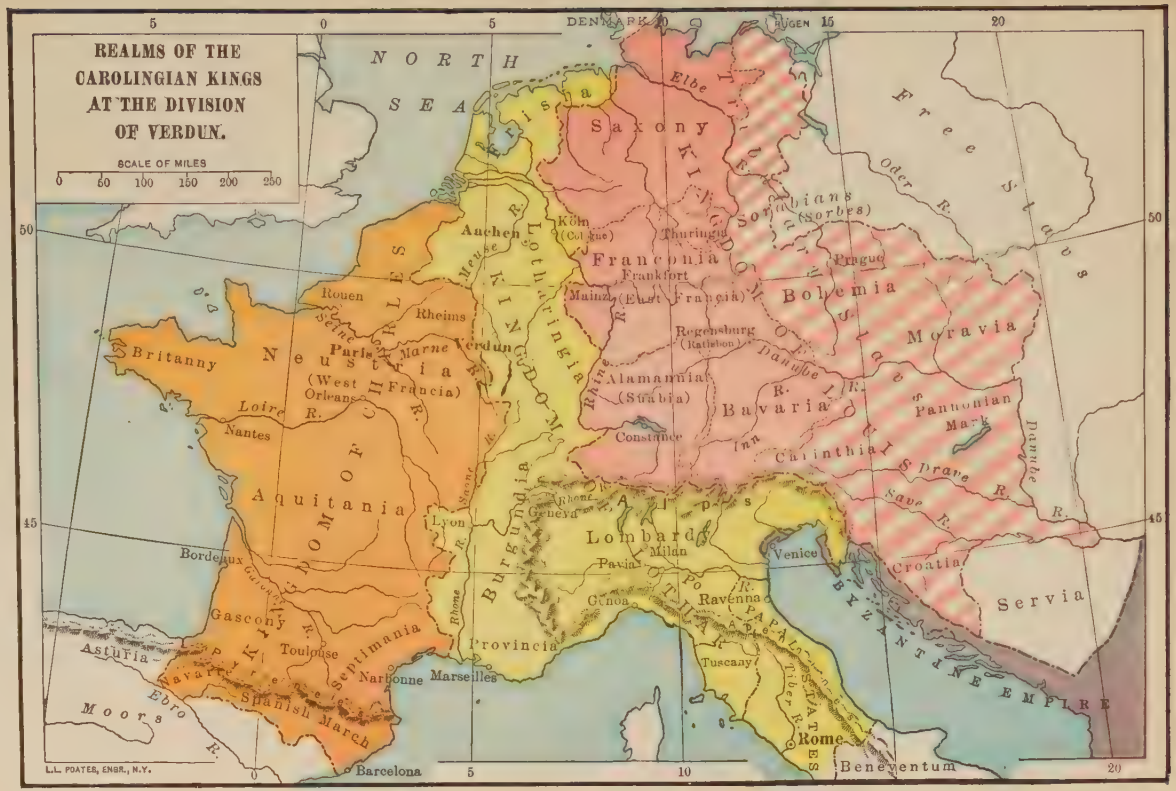
The division of Verdun, 843 A.D.

Charlemagne died in 814, and his Empire did not long outlive him. His brilliant attempt to bring Western Europe into order and union was followed by a dismal period of reaction and turmoil, while his ignoble descendants sought only to see who could grab the largest slices of the realm. The most important of these selfish contests closed *in 843* with the *Treaty of Verdun.*

Beginnings of France and Germany

This treaty *begins the map of modern Europe.* Lothair, Charlemagne's eldest grandson, held the title Emperor, and so he was now given North Italy and a narrow strip of land from Italy to the North Sea — that he might keep the two imperial capitals, Rome and Aachen (p. 463). The rest of the Empire, lying east and west of this middle strip, was broken into two kingdoms for Lothair's two brothers.

The eastern kingdom was purely German. In the western, the Teutonic rulers were being absorbed rapidly into the older Roman and Gallic populations, to grow into France. Lothair's unwieldy "Middle Europe" proved the weakest of the three. Italy fell away at once. Then the northern portion, part French, part German, crumbled into "little states" that confused the map of Europe for centuries. Most of them were


REALMS OF THE CAROLINGIAN KINGS AT THE DIVISION OF VERDUN.
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150 200 250
NORTH SEA
DENMARK
RUGEN
Free Slavs
Saxony
Frisia
Elbe R.
Oder R.
Sorabians (Sorbes)
Thuringia
Köln (Cologne)
Aachen
Meuse R.
Franconia
Frankfort
Prague
Bohemia
Moravia
Mainz
Regensburg (Ratisbon)
Danube R.
Rouen
Rheims
Seine R.
Paris
Marne R.
Verdun
Britanny
Neustria (West Francia)
Orleans
Loire R.
Nantes
Alamannia (Suabia)
Constance
Bavaria
Pannonian Mark
Carinthia
Drave R.
Save R.
Danube R.
Aquitania
Lyon
Burgundia
Geneva
Rhone R.
Lombardy
Milan
Pavia
Venice
Croatia
Servia
Bordeaux
Gascony
Toulouse
Septimania
Narbonne
Marseilles
Provincia
Genoa
Ravenna
Tuscany
Rome
Beneventum
Asturia
Navarre
Pyrenees
Spanish March
Ebro R.
Moors
Barcelona
BYZANTINE EMPIRE
L.L. POATES, ENGR., N.Y.

finally absorbed by their more powerful neighbors on either side. Four survive as Belgium, Holland, Luxemburg, and Switzerland.

Degenerate Carolingians

For a century after Verdun, political history remained a bloody tangle of treacherous family quarrels, while the descendants of the Hammer and the Great were known as the Bald, the Simple, the Fat, the Lazy. And now distracted Europe was imperiled by a new danger from without. Once more barbarian invasions threatened the civilized world. On the east, hordes of wild *Slavs* and of wilder Hungarians broke across the frontiers, ravaged Germany, and penetrated sometimes even to Rome or to Toulouse in southern France — burning, slaying, ravishing, carrying off prisoners and all movable booty. The *Mohammedan Moors* from Africa attacked Italy and Sicily, establishing themselves firmly in many districts and turning the Mediterranean into a Mohammedan lake. Fierce *Norse* pirates harried every coast, and, swarming up the rivers, pierced the heart of the land.

New barbarian inroads

The Norsemen

The Norsemen were a new branch of the Teutons, and the fiercest and wildest of that race. They dwelt in the Scandinavian peninsulas, and were still heathen. They had taken no part in the earlier Teutonic invasions; but, in the ninth century, population was becoming too crowded for their bleak lands, and they were driven to seek new homes. Some of them colonized distant Iceland, and set up a free republic there; but the greater number resorted to raiding richer countries. The Swedes conquered Finns and Slavs on the east, while Danish and Norse "Vik-ings" (Sons of the Fiords) set forth upon "the pathway of the swans," in fleets sometimes of hundreds of boats, to ravage Western Europe.

Remains of a Viking Ship found buried in sand at Gökstad, Norway. It is of oak, unpainted, 79′ 4″ by 16½′; 6 feet deep in the middle.

"The blast," they sang, "aids our oars; the hurricane is our servant."

Charlemagne had maintained a navy to prevent pirate attacks; but in the quarrels of his weak successors the Norsemen found their opportunity. They drove their light craft far up a river, into the heart of the land, and then, seizing horses, harried at will, even sacking cities like Hamburg, Rouen, Paris, Nantes, Bordeaux, Tours, Cologne, and stabling their horses in the cathedral of Aachen about the tomb of Charlemagne. A characteristic sport of the raiders, according to popular stories, was to toss babes upon their spears, from point to point. Especially did they plunder and burn the churches and monasteries. There they found the most desirable booty, — richly woven and splendidly decorated altar cloths, vessels of gold and silver used in the services, and sometimes deposits of treasure. The boldest outlaws of Christendom trembled at the thought of violating these sacred sanctuaries; but the scornful worshipers of Thor delighted in ravaging the defenseless temples of "the White Christ." When a band was defeated, the enraged people, on their part, flayed captives alive and nailed their skins to the church doors.

The beginning of Normandy

At last, like the earlier Teutons, the Norsemen ceased to be mere plunderers and became conquerors. They settled the Orkneys and Shetlands and patches on the coasts of Scotland and Ireland, and finally established themselves *in the north of France* — named *Normandy* from them — and *in the east of Britain.*

CHAPTER XLVIII

BRITAIN BECOMES ENGLAND

Britain abandoned by Rome, 408 A.D.

We must turn back to note how Britain had become England. In 408 the Roman legions were withdrawn from Britain to defend Italy against a threatened invasion by the Goths (p. 435). This left the dismayed Romanized Britons to defend themselves as best they could against Teutonic ravagers on the coasts and the wild Celts [1] of the Scottish mountains. The Britons called in the Teutons to beat off the other foe, and (449 A.D.) these dangerous protectors began to take the land for their own.

The Anglo-Saxon conquest, 449–600 A.D.

Many little states were formed by the invaders, and these were welded gradually into larger units, until there appeared seven main Teutonic states: *Kent*, the kingdom of the Jutes; *Sussex*, *Essex*, and *Wessex* (kingdoms of the South Saxons, East Saxons, and West Saxons); and *East Anglia*, *Northumbria*, and *Mercia*, — kingdoms of the Angles, or English, who were to give their name to the whole island. (Map, p. 474.)

The conquest slow and thorough

This conquest, unlike that of Gaul and Spain, was very slow. It took the Teutons a century and a half (till about 600) to master the *eastern half* of the island. For this there were four reasons: (1) The Angles and Saxons at home were living in petty tribes and therefore could make no great organized attack. (2) *Coming by sea*, they came necessarily in small bands. (3) They were still *pagans:* they spread ruthless destruction and provoked desperate resistance, until, about 600 A.D., Christianity began to win the heathen conquerors. (4) Britain had been less completely Romanized than the con-

[1] *Celt* includes the Highland Scots, the Irish, the Gauls of France, and the native Britons of Britain before the Teutonic conquest. At an earlier period the Celts seem to have covered much of Central Europe also.

tinental provinces were. There was more of forest and marsh, and a less extensive network of Roman roads; hence the natives found it easier to make repeated stands.

Eastern England Teutonic

Because the conquest was slow, it was thorough. Eastern England became strictly a Teutonic land. Roman institutions, the Roman language, Christianity, even names for the most part, vanished, and the Romanized natives were slain, driven out, or enslaved.

Egbert of Wessex head king, 850 A.D.

In the middle of the ninth century, *Egbert*, king of the West Saxons, brought all the Teutonic kingdoms in the island under his authority, — though he became merely a "head king" over jealous tributary kings ready to break away at any moment from a weak ruler. Then came the Danish invasions (p. 470), to shatter the new union but in the end to cement it more closely. The story fills a century.

Danes overrun Wessex

The Danes began their raids in the time of Egbert, and made their first attempt at permanent settlement in 850, when a band wintered on the southeastern coast. From that time their attempts grew more and more eager, until in 871, after a series of great battles, in the last of which the king of Wessex was slain, they became for a time masters of Saxon England.

Alfred the Great, 871–901 A.D.

The power of Wessex soon revived, however, under *Alfred the Great*, brother of the slain king. Just after the Danish victory, Alfred had been driven into hiding in moors and fens. But from his secret retreats he made many a daring sally, and finally the Danes were defeated, baptized as Christians, and, by the *Treaty of Wedmore* (885), shut off in the northeast beyond Watling Street, an old Roman road from London to Chester. (See map, p. 474.)

All the Saxon states of the South now willingly accepted the rule of Wessex for protection against the Dane, and Alfred gave the rest of his splendid life to healing the wounds of his South England. He reorganized the army, created the first English navy, and reared many a strong fort on commanding heights. But, also, — infinitely more important — he rebuilt the wasted towns, restored churches and abbeys, codified the laws, reformed

the government, and ardently encouraged the revival of learning, eagerly seeking out teachers abroad. Alfred wrote later that when he began his work there was not a priest in the kingdom who understood the church service (Latin) that he mumbled by rote. Moreover, there were no fit textbooks in English for the new schools; so Alfred himself laboriously translated four standard Latin works into English, with much comment of

Alfred's reforms

St. Martin's Church, near Canterbury. — From a photograph. Parts of the building are very old, and may have belonged to a church of the Roman period. At all events, on this site was the first Christian church in Britain used by Augustine and fellow missionaries, sent out by Pope Gregory. They secured the right to use the building through the favor of Queen Bertha, a Christian Frankish princess who had married the King of Kent. A tomb, said to be Queen Bertha's, is shown in the church.

his own, — adding thus to his other titles the well-deserved one of "the father of English prose."[1] His own day knew him by the honorable name of "Alfred the Truthteller." Later generations looked back at him as "England's Darling"; and few kings have so well earned his title of "the Great." A great historian has written of him, —

[1] There were a few ballads and one long poem (Song of Beowulf, p. 433) in English, but no prose literature until these translations by Alfred.

ENGLAND
AND
THE DANELAGH
about 900
SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 80
English
Danish
Watling Street
SCOT
KINGDOM
Alclyd
Edinburgh
STRATHCLYDE
Jedburgh
Cumberland
MAN
Northumbria
YORK
Manchester
Thelwall
Peakland
Lindesey
Chester
Nottingham
Repton
Shrewsbury
Watling
Tamworth
Medeshampsted
Crowland
Northfolk
East
Anglia
Southfolk
Bridgenorth
Brecknock
Worcester
WESSEX
Bedford
Essex
Dyfed
Gwent
Morganwg
Cirencester
AND ITS
Wallingford
Middlesex
LONDON
Eccesdun
Bristol
Wellmore
Reading
Surrey
CANTERBURY
DEPENDENCIES
Kent
WESSEX
Andredesweald
Glastonbury
Salisbury
WINCHESTER
Sussex
EXETER
WEST WALES
L.L. POATES, N.Y.

"To the scholars he gathered round him he seemed the very type of a scholar, snatching every hour he could find to read or listen to books. The singers of the court found in him a brother singer, gathering the old songs of his people to teach them to his children . . . and solacing himself, in hours of depression, with the music of the Psalms. He passed from court and study to plan buildings and instruct craftsmen in gold-work, or even to teach falconers and dog-keepers their business. . . . Each hour of the day had its appointed task. . . . 'So long as I have lived,' said he as life was closing, 'I have striven to live worthily': and again, 'I desire to leave to men who come after me a remembrance of me in good works.'" [1]

The Danish king in the north of Britain was supposed to pay some vague obedience to the Saxon king; but, in fact, the *Danelagh*, or *Danelaw* (land of the Danes' law), was an independent state. A second period of warfare (900–950) went to the reconquest of this Danelagh by the great successors of Alfred, — Edward the Unconquered, Athelstane the Glorious, and Edmund the Doer of Deeds. These heroes of the house of Alfred completed the great king's work, and under Edgar the Peaceful, his great-grandson, the island rested in union and prosperity. Even the kings of the Celtic tribes in the far west and north came to Edgar's court to acknowledge his overlordship.

The Danelagh reconquered by Alfred's successors

PLOWING. — From an Anglo-Saxon manuscript in the British Museum.

Edgar the Peaceful, 957–975

Unlike the invasions of the fifth century, those of the ninth century did not create a new society. But (1) they brought in new Teutonic stock to invigorate northern France and eastern England; (2) they helped along the political union of England; (3) they played a part in breaking up the Empire of Charlemagne; and (4) *they forced Europe to take on a new military organization for defense.* This organization we call *feudalism* (ch. xlix).

[1] An admirable brief account of Alfred's work is in Green's *History of the English People*, I, 74–80.

CHAPTER XLIX

FEUDALISM

"A protest of barbarism against barbarism." — TAINE.

The anarchy of the ninth century forces Europe into feudalism

After Charlemagne, the ninth century on the Continent became a time of indescribable horror. The strong robbed the weak, and brigands worked their will in plunder and torture. But man must seek some government that can protect life and property — and out of this anarchy emerged a new social order. Here and there, and in ever growing numbers, some petty chief — retired bandit, rude huntsman, or old officer of a king — planted himself strongly on a small domain, fortifying a stockaded house and gathering a troop of fighters under him to protect it. By so doing, he became the protector of others. The neighborhood turned gladly to any strong man as its defender and master. Weaker landlords surrendered ("commended") their lands to him, receiving them back as "*fiefs.*" They became his *vassals;* he became their *lord.* The former "free peasants," on the lord's own lands and on the lands of his vassals, saw that they were no longer at the mercy of any chance marauder. They ventured again to plow and sow, and perhaps they were permitted in part to reap. On their part, they cultivated also the lord's crop, and paid him dues for house, for cattle, and for

each sale or inheritance. The village became his village; the inhabitants, his *villeins*. Fugitive wretches, too, without the old resident's claim to consideration, gathered on the lord's lands to receive such measure of mercy as he might grant, and usually sank into the class of *serfs* (p. 428), of whom there were already many on all estates.[1]

Origin of feudal privileges

In return for the protection he gave, the lord assumed great privileges, unspeakably obnoxious in later centuries, but in their origin connected with some benefit. The noble slew the wild beast — and came to have the sole right to hunt. As organizer of labor, he forced the villeins to build the mill (*his* mill), the oven, the ferry, the bridge, the highways. Then he took toll for the use of each, and later he demolished mills that the villeins wished to build for themselves.

Finally each district had its body of *mailed horsemen* and its circle of *frowning castles*. These were the two outer marks of the new social order — which we call feudalism.

The feudal castle

Castles rose at every ford and above each mountain pass and on every hill commanding a fertile plain. At first they were mere wooden blockhouses, surrounded by palisades and ditches; but they grew into enormous structures of massive stone whose gray ruins still dot the landscape in Europe. The outer walls were crowned by frowning battlements whence boiling pitch and masses of rock could be hurled down upon assailants. Usually the approach was across a *moat* (a ditch filled with water), by a narrow *drawbridge*, to a heavy iron gate with a *portcullis* (a heavy iron grating) which could be dropped from above. Usually, too, the bridge was protected by flanking towers, from whose slitlike windows bowmen could command the road. Sometimes the walls inclosed several acres, with a variety of buildings and with room to gather cattle and supplies, and to shelter the neighboring villagers during an enemy's

[1] After the Teutonic conquests of the fifth century, most common Teutonic freemen became small farmers. By these changes of the ninth century this free class almost disappeared from France, though it still survived in England.

raid; but there was always an inner *keep* (an especially strong tower), with its own series of fortifications, and, if possible, with its own well. The keep was the especial residence of the lord's family,[1] and the stronghold where the last stand was made if the foe captured the outer defenses of the castle. Its walls were often enormously thick, so that a man crawling out of a window would have to creep three times his length. The

Bodiam Castle in England — present condition of a fine medieval structure. Note the water in the moat.

secret winding stairway to the upper floors was sometimes concealed within these walls; and near the keep there was usually a small "postern" gate in the outer walls for the private use of the lord and his family.

And the ironclad cavalry

Upon even the early and simple castle, the Norse invader spent his force in vain; and the mailed horsemen kept him from ravaging the open country. The old Frankish infantry had proved too slow to bring to bay the nomad Hungarians on their

[1] Some centuries later, the noble families began to escape from these damp and gloomy quarters by building a new "hall" for residence in time of peace.

agile shaggy ponies, or the Danes with their swift boats. But now each castle was ready to pour forth its band of trained *men-at-arms* (horsemen in mail), headed by its knight, either to gather with other bands into an army, or by themselves to cut off stragglers and hold the fords. The raider's day was over — but meanwhile the old Teutonic militia, in which every freeman had his place, had given way to an ironclad cavalry, the resistless weapon of a new feudal aristocracy.

Feudal armor

ENTRANCE TO A FEUDAL CASTLE. — From Gautier's *La Chevalerie*. The *drawbridge* crossed the *moat*. When it was raised, the *portcullis* (whose massive iron teeth can be seen in the doorway) was let fall.

In the early feudal period, down to 1100, *the defensive armor* was an iron cap and a leather garment for the body, covered with iron scales.[1] Next came coats of "chain-mail," reaching from neck to feet, with a hood of like material for the head. About 1300 appeared the heavy "plate armor," and the helmet with visor, a suit weighing fifty pounds or more. In battle the warrior wore also a weighty shield, besides his long two-handed sword and his lance. The powerful war horse, too, had parts of his body protected by iron plates. (The student will enjoy "Mark Twain's" humorous conceit in *A Yankee at King Arthur's Court* as to the discomforts of medieval armor, and the difficulty of getting at a handkerchief!) The supremacy of the noble

[1] The warriors in the illustration on p. 503 wear this kind of armor.

over common men during the Middle Ages (before the invention of gunpowder) lay mainly in this equipment. He could ride down a mob of unarmed footmen (*infant*ry) at will. The unarmored peasants and serfs who sometimes followed the feudal army to the field, to slay the wounded and plunder the dead, wielded only pikes or clubs and pitchforks.

KNIGHT IN PLATE ARMOR, visor up. — From Lacroix, *Vie Militaire.*

Feudal "decentralization"

In government, feudalism was extreme decentralization. Each petty district was practically independent of every other district. The king had been expected to protect every corner of his realm. Actually he had protected only some central district; but under feudalism each little chieftain proved able to protect his small corner, when he had seized the king's powers there. His territory was a little state. The great nobles coined money and made war like very kings. Of some 70,000 feudal lords in France in the year 1000, about 200 held these sovereign powers. Indeed *a vassal owed allegiance to his overlords* two or more grades above him *only through the one overlord just above him.* He must follow his immediate lord to war against them and even against his king.

Economic causes of feudalism

This decentralization was the result not only of military needs but also of economic [1] needs — of the lack of money and the lack of roads. Each locality was compelled to provide for its own needs. The rich man's wealth was all in land; and he could make his land pay him only by renting it out for services or for produce. "Nobles" paid him for parts of it by fighting for him. Workers paid him for other parts by raising and harvesting his crops and by giving him part of their own. A man without land was glad to pay for the use of some in one way or the other.

[1] *Economics* refers to wealth, as *politics* does to government.

Feudal land-holding

In theory, *the holder of any piece of land was a tenant of some higher landlord.* The king was the supreme landlord. He let out most of the land of the kingdom, on terms of military service, to great vassals who swore fealty to him. Each of these parceled out most of what he received, on like terms, to smaller vassals; and so on, perhaps through six or seven steps, until the smallest division was reached that could support a mailed horseman for the noble's life of fighting.

Lords and vassals

In practice, there was no such regularity. The various grades were interlocked in the most confusing way. Except for the smallest knights, all landlords of the fighting class were "suzerains" (liege lords); and, except perhaps the king, all were vassals. There was no great social distinction between lord and vassals. They lived on terms of familiarity and mutual respect. The "vassal" was always a "noble," and his service was always "honorable," — never to be confounded with the "ignoble" service paid by serfs and villeins.

Hereditary nobles

At first, fiefs were granted only for the lifetimes of the vassals; but, in the ninth century, *they became hereditary.* In order the more easily to secure the services due them, the lords objected to a vassal's dividing a fief among his sons, and thus established the practice of "primogeniture" (inheritance of landed property by the eldest son only). On the Continent, however, all the sons of a noble kept their *nobility*, even if they were *landless;* and (unless they entered the clergy) it became their aim to win lands, by serving some great lord who might have fiefs to bestow. In England the term "noble" had a much narrower meaning: it applied only to the greatest lords, and to their *eldest* sons after them.

The act of homage

The receiving of a fief was accompanied by the solemn ceremony of *homage.* This was a sort of "bargain" between lord and vassal. The future vassal, with head uncovered and sword ungirt, knelt before the lord, placed his folded hands between the lord's hands, and swore to be the lord's "man" (*homo*). The lord raised him from his knees, gave him the "kiss of peace," *invested* him with the fief, — usually by presenting him with a

sword or a clod of earth as a symbol, — and promised to *defend* him in it.

Duties of vassals

The vassal was to present himself, at the call of his lord, to serve in war, with followers according to the size of his fief, but only for short times and usually not to go "out of the realm." He must serve also in the lord's "court" twice or thrice a year, to "advise and consent" in matters of policy and to give judgment in legal disputes between vassals. A vassal, accused even by his lord, could be condemned only by this judgment of his peers (*pares*), or equals. The lord was only the presiding officer, not the judge.

A Baron's Court. — From a sixteenth century woodcut.

The vassal did not pay the lord "taxes," in the usual sense of that word, but on certain special occasions he did have to make contributions in money. (1) Upon receiving a fief, either as a gift or as an inheritance, he paid the lord a sum called a *relief*, commonly a year's revenue. (2) If he wished to sell his fief, or to sublet part of it, he was obliged to pay for the lord's consent. (3) He made payments known as *aids*, — *to ransom the lord*, if a prisoner, and to help meet the expense of *knighting the lord's eldest son* and of *the marriage of his eldest daughter*.

The lord's rights: "wardship and marriage"

In the lack of an heir, a fief *escheated* to the lord; and if the vassal's duties were neglected, it might come back to him by *forfeiture*, through a decree of his court. The lord also was the guardian of the widow and minor heirs of a vassal, and could dispose of a female ward in marriage. These powers were used often to extort money. Thus the English royal accounts contain various entries similar to the following one: "Hawissa, who was wife to William Fitz-Roberts, renders [to the king] 130 marks and 4 palfreys, that she may have peace from Peter of

Borough, to whom the king has given permission to marry her, and that she may not be compelled to marry."

Private wars and the Truce of God

Feudal *theory*, then, paid elaborate regard to *rights;* but feudal *practice* was mainly a matter of force. There was no adequate machinery for obtaining justice: it was not easy to enforce the decisions of the crude courts against an offender who chose to resist. The whole noble class, too, thought war the most honorable and perhaps the most religious way to settle disputes. Like the trial by combat, it was considered an appeal to the judgment of God. Naturally, "private wars" between noble and noble became a chief evil of the age. They hindered the growth of industry, and commonly they hurt neutral parties quite as much as they hurt belligerents. There was little actual suffering by the warring nobles, and very little heroism. Indeed, there was little actual fighting. The weaker party usually shut itself up in its castle. The stronger side ravaged the villages in the neighborhood, driving off the cattle, and perhaps torturing the peasants for their small hidden treasures. In the eleventh century the church, unable to stop such strife, tried to regulate it by proclaiming the "Truce of God," forbidding *private* war between Wednesday evening and the following Monday and during the many church festivals. This truce, however, was not well observed.

The good side of feudalism

Feudalism lasted 400 years and has left traces even in the Europe of to-day. It seems to us a vicious system, but it had some virtues of its own. The fief, large or small, became an object of love and devotion to its inhabitants — even to the most downtrodden. The lord was admired and almost worshiped by his people; and in return, however harsh himself, he permitted no one else to injure or insult one of his dependents. An honorable noble, indeed, lived always under a stern sense of obligation to all the people subject to him. A rough paternalism ruled in society. Perhaps the system was more rough than paternal; but it was better than anarchy. A passage from Joinville's *Memoir of St. Louis* illustrates this better side of the feudal relation — *among the noble classes.* Joinville was a great French noble of the

thirteenth century, about to set out on a crusade. At Eastertide he summoned his vassals to his castle for a week of feasting and dancing in honor of his approaching departure:

"And on the Friday I said to them: 'Sirs, I am going beyond sea and know not whether I shall ever return; so draw near to me. If I have ever done you any wrong, I will redress it to one after another, as is my practice with all who have anything to ask of me.' And I made amends to them, *according to the decisions of those dwelling on my lands;* and, *that I might not influence them,* I withdrew from their deliberations and carried out without dispute whatever they decided."

The ignoble workers

Clergy and nobles, "praying class" and "fighting class," were fed and clothed by vastly larger numbers of "ignoble" workers, who were usually referred to only as other live stock might be mentioned. They had few rights and many duties.

Each noble had to keep some land for the support of his own household and for other revenue. This "domain" land was cultivated by his serfs and villeins under the direction of his bailiff, or steward. The peasant workers did not live in *scattered* farmhouses, each on its own field: they were *grouped* in little villages of twenty or fifty homes, as in Europe to-day. *Such a village with its adjoining fields was a manor.*[1]

The manor

Each manor had its church, at a little distance, and usually its manor house. This might be the lord's castle, on a hill above the other dwellings, or it might be a house only a trifle better than the homes of the villeins, to be used by the lord's steward. At one end of the village street stood the lord's smithy; and near by, on some convenient stream, was the lord's mill. The smith and miller were usually serfs or villeins, and spent most of their labor on the land, but they were somewhat better housed and more favored than the rest of their class.

Serfs and villeins

As in the last Roman days, *the serf* was bound to the soil by law: he could not leave it, but neither could he be sold apart from it. He had his own bit of ground to cultivate, at such

[1] The most graphic treatments of peasant life are in Jessopp's *Friars*, 87–112; Jenks' *Edward Plantagenet*, 46–52; and in Cheyney's *Industrial and Social History*, 31–52. Of the last, read especially 31–40 and 50–52.

times as the lord's bailiff did not call him to labor on the lord's land. Usually the bailiff summoned the serfs in turn, each for two or for three days each week; but in harvest or haying he might keep them all busy, to the ruin of their own little crops. If the serf did get a crop, he had to pay a large part of it for the use of his land. He paid also a multitude of other dues and fines, — sometimes money, but almost always "in kind," — eggs, a goose, a cock, a calf, a portion of grain.

The villein was a step higher. He was free in person. That is, he could leave his land and go from one lord to another; but he had to have *some* lord. *The landless and masterless man was an outlaw, at the mercy of any lord.* In profits from labor and in manner of life there was not much to choose between serf and villein ("villain").

Peasant homes

The peasant homes (serfs' or villeins') were low, filthy, earth-floored, straw-thatched, one-room hovels of wood or sticks plastered together with mud. There was no chimney and usually no opening (no window) except the door. These homes straggled along either side of an irregular lane, where poultry, pigs, and children played together in the dirt. Behind each house was its weedy garden patch and its low stable and barn. These last were often under the same roof as the living room of the family.

The house, small as it was, was not cluttered with furniture. A handmill for grinding meal, or at least a stone mortar in which to crush grain, a pot and kettle, possibly a feather bed, one or two rude benches, and a few tools for the peasant's work, made up the contents of even the well-to-do homes.

Tillage in common: the three-field system

Farming was very crude. *The plowland was divided into three great "fields."* These were unfenced, and lay about the village at any convenient spots. One field was sown to wheat (in the fall); one to rye or barley (in the spring); and the third lay fallow, to recuperate. The next year this third field would be the wheat land, while the old wheat field would raise the barley, and so on. This primitive "rotation of crops" kept a third of the land idle.

Every "field" was divided into a great number of narrow strips (cut on p. 447), each as nearly as possible a "furrow-long" (*furlong*), and one, two, or four rods wide, so that each contained from a quarter of an acre to an acre. Usually the strips were separated by "balks," or ridges of turf. A peasant's holding was about thirty acres, ten acres in each "field"; and his share in each lay not in one piece, but in fifteen or thirty scattered strips. The lord's land, probably half the whole, lay in strips like the rest.

This kind of holding compelled a "common" cultivation. That is, each man must sow what his neighbor sowed; and as a rule, each could sow, till, and harvest only when his neighbors did. Serfs were not intelligent or willing workers, and even the lord's stewards did not know how to get good returns from the land. Threefold the seed, or six bushels of wheat to the acre, was a good crop.

Small variety of food

Farm animals were small. The wooden plow required eight oxen, and then it did hardly more than scratch the surface of the ground. Carts were few and cumbrous. There was little or no cultivation of root foods. Potatoes, of course, were unknown. Sometimes a few turnips and cabbages and carrots, rather uneatable varieties probably, were grown in garden plots behind the houses. Beer was brewed from the barley; and well-to-do peasants had a hive of bees in the garden plot. Honey was the chief luxury of the poor. (Sugar was still unknown in Europe.)

The most important crop was the wild hay, upon which the cattle had to be fed during the winter. Meadowland was twice as valuable as plowland. The meadow was fenced for the hay harvest, but was afterward thrown open for pasture. Usually there were other extensive pasture and wood lands, where lord and villagers fattened their cattle and swine. It was difficult to carry enough animals through the winter for the necessary farm work and breeding: so those to be used for food were killed in the fall and salted down; and the large use of salt meat and the little variety in food caused loathsome diseases among the people.

A stupefying shut-in life

Each village was a world by itself. Even the different villages of the same lord had little intercourse with one another. The lord's bailiff secured from some distant market the three outside products needed, — salt, millstones, and iron for the plowshares and for other tools. Except for this, a village was hardly touched by the great outside world — unless a war desolated it, or a royal procession chanced to pass through it. Commonly in the ninth century it had not even a shop. The

A Reaper's Cart Going Uphill. — After Jusserand's *English Wayfaring Life;* from a fourteenth century manuscript. The force of men and horses indicates the nature of the roads. The steepness of the hill is, of course, exaggerated, so as to fit the picture to the space in the manuscript.

women of each household wove rough cloth for the single garment that covered them; and the men prepared leather for their own heavier clothing.

This shut-in life seems to us stupefying and degrading, and often indescribably ferocious and indecent. Pictures in manuscripts of the time, however, show that it had occasional festivities; and it was a great step up from the slavery of laborers in earlier times.

The noble classes lived a life little more attractive to us. They dwelt in gloomy fortresses over dark dungeons where

Life in the castle

prisoners rotted. They had fighting for business, and hunting with hound and hawk, and playing at fighting, for pleasures. The ladies busied themselves over tapestries and embroideries, in the chambers. Gay pages flitted through the halls, or played at chess in the deep windows, or at tennis in the castle "courts." And in the outer courtyard lounged gruff men-at-arms, ready with blind obedience to follow the lord of the castle on any foray or even in an attack upon their king.

Play fighting

Peasants' May Dance. — From a miniature in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The dress at least is idealized.

The favorite sport of this fighting age was a sort of mock battle called a tournament. Every student should know the splendid story of the combats in "the lists at Ashby" in Scott's *Ivanhoe*. The news of the coming event was carried far and near for weeks in advance. Knights began to journey to the appointed place, perhaps from all parts of a kingdom, in groups that grew ever larger as the roads converged. Some came to win fame; some to repair their fortunes, — since the knight who overthrew an opponent possessed his horse and armor and the ransom of his person, as in real war. The knightly cavalcade might be joined or followed by a motley throng journeying to the same destination; among them, jugglers to win small coins by amusing the crowds, and traveling merchants with their wares on the backs of donkeys. There were few inns, but the mixed group of travelers found

ready welcome for meals and lodging at any manor house. The contests took place in a space (the "lists") shut off from interference by palisades. The balconies, above, gay with streamers and floating scarfs, were crowded with ladies and nobles and perhaps with rich townsmen. Below, a mass of peasants and other common men jostled one another for the better chances to see the contestants. Sometimes two or more days were given to the combats. Part of the time, one group

FALCONRY. — From a medieval manuscript reproduced by Lacroix. A falconer, to capture and train young hawks to bring game to the master, was among the most trusted under-officials of each castle.

of knights "held the lists" against all comers, affording a series of single combats on horseback and on foot. Again, two mimic armies met in the mêlée. Perhaps even the yeomen were allowed to show their skill with bow and in wrestling.

The chase and falconry

Population was thinly scattered, and large districts everywhere were waste or forest. This gave admirable opportunity for hunting. The noble hunted indeed for food quite as much as for sport, and the castle folk did not often suffer for fresh meat. The game in forest and stream belonged to the lord

of the manor. For a common man to kill deer or hare or wild duck or trout was to lose hand or eyes or life.

Feasting and "fooling"

Feasting filled a large part of the noble's life. Meals were served in the great hall of the castle, and were the social hours of the day. Tables were set out on movable trestles, and the household, visitors, and dependants gathered about them on seats and benches, with nice respect for precedence in rank, — the master and his noblest guests at the head, and the lowest servants toward the bottom of the long line. A profusion of food in many courses, especially at the midday "dinner," was carried in from the kitchen across the open courtyard. Peacocks, swans, whole boars, or at least boar heads, were among the favorite roasts; and huge venison "pies" were a common dish. Mother Goose's "four and twenty blackbirds" had real models in many a medieval pasty, which, when opened, let live birds escape, to be hunted down among the rafters of the hall by falcons.

A Court Fool. — After a medieval miniature in brilliant colors. Many great lords kept such jesters.

At each guest's place was a knife, to cut slices from the roasts within his reach, and a spoon for broths, but no fork or napkin or plate. Each one dipped his hand into the pasties, carrying the dripping food directly to his mouth. Loaves of bread were crumbed up and rolled between the hands to wipe off the surplus gravy, and then thrown to the dogs under the tables; and between courses, servants passed basins of water and towels. The food was washed down with huge draughts of wine, usually

diluted with water. Intervals between courses were filled with story-telling and song, and with rude jokes by the lord's "fool," or perhaps passing jugglers entertained the company.

Chivalry

This grim life had its romantic and gentle side, indicated to us by the name *chivalry*. The term at first meant the nobles on horseback (from the French *cheval*, horse), but it came to stand for the whole institution of "knighthood." There were two stages in the training of a young noble for knighthood.

Training as page

1. At about the age of seven he was sent from his own home into the household of his father's suzerain, or of some other noble friend, to become a *page*. Here, for seven or eight years, with other boys, he waited on the lord and lady of the castle, serving them at table and running their errands. As soon as he was strong enough, he was trained daily, by some old man-at-arms, in riding and in the use of light arms. But his attendance was paid chiefly to some lady of the castle, and by her, in return, he was taught obedience, courtesy, and a knight's duty to religion and to ladies.

Jugglers' Sword Dance. — From a thirteenth century manuscript.

And squire

2. At fourteen or fifteen the page became a *squire* to the lord. Now he oversaw the care of his lord's horse and the cleaning of his shining armor; he went with his lord to the hunt, armed him for battle, carried his shield, and accompanied him in the field, with special care for his safety.

Knighthood

After five or six years of such service, at the age of twenty or twenty-one, the squire's education was complete. He was now ready to become a knight. Admission to the order of knighthood was a matter of imposing ceremonial. The youth bathed (a symbol of purification), fasted, confessed his sins to a priest, and then spent the night in the chapel in prayer,

"watching" his arms. The next morning came solemn church services and a sermon upon the duties of a blameless knight. Then the household gathered in the castle yard, along with many visiting knights and ladies and their attendants. In the background of this gay scene a servant held a noble horse, soon to be the charger of the new knight. The candidate knelt before the lord of the castle, and there took the vows to

THE EXERCISE OF THE QUINTAIN. — This shows an important part of the schooling of noble children. The boys ride, by turns, at the wooden figure. If the rider strikes the shield squarely in the center, it is well. If he hits only a glancing blow the wooden figure swings on its foot and whacks him with its club as he passes.

be a brave and gentle knight, to defend the church, to protect ladies, to succor the distressed, especially widows and orphans. The ladies of the castle put his new armor upon him, gave him his sword, and buckled on a knight's golden spurs. Then the lord struck him lightly over the shoulder with the flat of the sword, exclaiming, "In the name of God, of St. Michael, and of St. George, I dub you knight." (This blow was the "accolade.")

More honored still was the noble who had been dubbed

knight by some famous leader on the field of victory, for distinguished bravery.

"The flower of feudalism"

Chivalry was an attempt to fuse the ideals of the Teutonic warrior and of the Christian. It has been called "the flower of feudalism." Its faults were twofold. (1) *It was exclusive.* Its spirit was altogether a class spirit. It recognized no obligations except to nobles. Even the vow to protect women did not apply to any women but those of gentle birth. (2) *It carried some of its virtues* (bravery and devotion to ladies) *to such extremes as to make them fantastic, if not vicious.* Still chivalry did help to soften manners and to humanize society. It elevated women, and it had much to do with creating the modern home and our idea of a gentleman. Toward the year 1400, the English poet Chaucer gives this picture of his ideal knight:

> "A knight there was, and that a worthy man,
> That fro the time that he first began
> To riden out, he lovéd chivalry,
> Truth and honor, freedom and courtesy. . . .
> And tho that he was worthy, he was wise,
> And of his port as meek as is a maid.
> And never yet no villainy he said
> In all his life, unto no manner wight.
> He was a very perfect, gentle knight."

For Further Reading. — Excellent "source" material may be found in Robinson's *Readings* or in Ogg's *Source Book*, and in Lanier's *The Boy's Froissart.*

Historical fiction upon the feudal period is particularly valuable. Scott's novels, of course, must not be overlooked, although they give a false glamour to the age. They should be corrected by "Mark Twain's" *Connecticut Yankee at King Arthur's Court.* Other excellent portraits are given in Robert Louis Stevenson's *Black Arrow* and Conan Doyle's *White Company.* Charlotte Yonge's *Little Duke* and Stockton's *Story of Viteau* are good for younger students and will be enjoyed by older ones. Martineau's *Prince and Peasant* pictures the abuses of feudalism at a later period. *Students may be called upon to find incidents in such literature illustrating various paragraphs in this chapter.*

Exercise. — Explain the terms, — vassal, fief, commendation, homage, fealty. Let the class prepare lists of such terms for rapid and brief explanation.

CHAPTER L

THE CHURCH IN THE FEUDAL AGE

The "church universal"

Nowhere in the world to-day does any church fill so large a place, or wield so great authority, as the Catholic church did from the sixth century to the fifteenth. It was not only a religious organization: *it was also a government.* Its officers exercised many powers that have now been handed over to civil [1] officers. Public order depended upon it almost as completely as did private morals. With its spiritual thunders and the threat of its curse, it protected the widow and orphan from the brutal barons who had respect for no earthly power. For seven hundred years after Charlemagne's Empire broke up, the church was the only bond that held the Western world together in a sense of unity. Nations were not yet made. Not Britain or France or Germany, but "Christendom," was the true fatherland to which men gave their love and patriotism.

Penance and absolution

Penance and absolution played an especially important part in human life. In ordaining a priest, the bishop said to him "Whosesoever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven him; whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained." A man who had fallen into sin, then, according to the church's teaching, could escape *only* through a priest's absolution. Before the priest could absolve from sin he must hear the confession of the sinner, and be convinced of his sincere repentance. Then his absolution freed the soul from danger of punishment in hell, — but, to escape the fires of purgatory, it was still needful for the offender to do "penance." The priest might order the offender, according to the sin, to repeat many prayers, or to keep fasts, short or long, or to make a pilgrimage to the shrine of some saint,

[1] *Civil* is used very commonly in contrast to *ecclesiastical.*

or even to the Holy Land. Or, in place of these penalties, the absolved sinner might be permitted to give money to the church for its work.

The *worship* of the church *remained* generally in Latin, — the language in universal use in Western Europe when the services took their form. The chief place in the service was held by the Mass. All men believed that the bread and wine, when consecrated by the priest, were *transformed* into the very *substance* of the body and blood of Christ. Hence the term *Transubstantiation*, which came later into use to signify this miraculous change. The Mass, it was thought, could purify not only those who were present at the sacrament but even those who were suffering in purgatory. So rich men often left large sums to the church to pay for Masses for their souls after death, and many gifts were made in like manner for Masses for the souls of departed friends.

The Mass

As early as the fourth century, *most of the great religious festivals, such as Christmas and Easter, had come to be celebrated much as in the present day.* The splendor of the religious celebration, and the joyousness of the social side of such festivals, were high lights amid the gloom and savagery of the dark centuries. *Preaching was usually in the language of the people.* It played a smaller part in the church's work than to-day, but there was no time when it was not a mighty instrument for good. The following extract from a sermon by the good Bishop, St. Eloy, in the seventh century, is typical in the force with which it insists on man's duties to his fellowmen as well as to God.

The teaching of morals

"It is not enough, most dearly beloved, for you to have received the name of Christians if you do not do Christian works. . . . . love your neighbors as yourselves; what you would desire to be done to you by others, that do you to others; what you would not have done to you, do to no one; before all things have charity, for charity covereth a multitude of sins; be hospitable, humble, casting your care upon God, for he careth for you; visit the sick; seek out the captives; receive strangers; feed the hungry; clothe the naked; set at naught soothsayers and magicians; *let your weights and measures be fair, your balance just, your bushel and your pint honest. . . .*"

We have already described the early growth of the church organization (p. 422). Now we are to look at it as it stood when it had won Western Europe.

Parish and priest

1. All Christendom was made up of parishes. The parish was the smallest church unit. Commonly it was a manor; but, as towns grew up, each was divided into a suitable number of parishes. At the head of a parish was a priest, who, in large city parishes, was assisted by deacons.

Diocese and bishop

2. A group of parishes made up the diocese of a bishop. Nearly every town of any consequence in the twelfth century was a bishop's seat ("city"), and its "cathedral" was far more magnificent than the smaller parish churches. The bishop was the mainspring in church government. He was revered as a successor of the Apostles, and he was subject only to the guidance of the pope — who was successor to the chief of the Apostles. Originally, the bishop's special duty had been to *oversee* the parish priests. But, with the growth of the church, he had come to have other functions. He was a great feudal lord, owing military service to one or more suzerains, and holding temporal power over many vassals. He had charge of the extensive church property in the diocese. His agents collected the "tithes" (the tenth of all produce) and distributed to each parish church its share. And *he looked after the enforcement of the laws of the church.* This "canon law" had grown into a complex system. To administer justice under it, *each bishop held a court*, made up of trained churchmen, over which he presided. This court had jurisdiction not merely over ecclesiastical matters: it tried any case that involved a clergyman — *or any one else who was under the special protection of the church.*

To help in all these duties, the bishop had a body of assistant clergy, called *canons*. On his death this "cathedral chapter" appointed his successor, — subject perhaps to the approval of some temporal ruler and certainly to that of the pope.

Province and archbishop

3. A number of dioceses made up a province, — which was usually one of the old divisions of that name under the Roman Empire. Over each province, seated in its most important

city, was an *archbishop*, or *metropolitan*. The archbishop was a bishop also of one diocese, and he had a general supervision over the other bishops of the province. His courts, too, heard appeals from theirs.

Christendom and pope

4. At the head of all this church hierarchy stood the *pope*, the spiritual monarch of Christendom. He was *supreme lawgiver, supreme judge, supreme executive*. He issued new laws in the form of *bulls* (so-called from the gold seal, or *bulla*, on the documents), and he set aside old laws by his *dispensations*, — as when it seemed best to him to permit cousins to marry (a thing forbidden by the canon law). His court heard appeals from the courts of bishop and archbishop, and likewise from many of the temporal courts of Christendom. Now and then he set aside appointments of bishops and other clergy, and himself filled the vacancies. At times he also sent *legates* into different lands to represent his authority directly. A legate could revoke the judgment of a bishop's court, remove bishops, and haughtily command obedience from kings, — quite as Shakspere pictures in *King John*. For help and counsel, the pope gathered about him a "college" (*collection*) of cardinals. At first this body was made up of the bishops of Rome and its vicinity; but it grew to include great churchmen from all Christian lands.

Peter's Pence

There was also a *papal system of taxation* extending over all Christendom, long before any king had an effective revenue system. The most *famous* element in this taxation was *Peter's Pence*, or a penny for each hearth each year, collected over Western Europe by papal officers. Much more important, however, were the many enormous payments made by the clergy, — such as the payment by each bishop, at his accession, of half the first year's revenue of his office, — a payment corresponding to a feudal *relief*.

Church councils

5. Bishop, archbishop, and pope could each call *councils* of inferior clergy. The local councils dealt, of course, with local concerns. A *general council*, made up of all bishops in Latin Christendom, settled supreme matters of faith and of church

policy. Such an assembly was believed to be divinely inspired in its decisions. The first general council was the one Constantine called at Nicaea (p. 423); and at some other times emperors as well as popes summoned these gatherings.

Excommunication and interdict

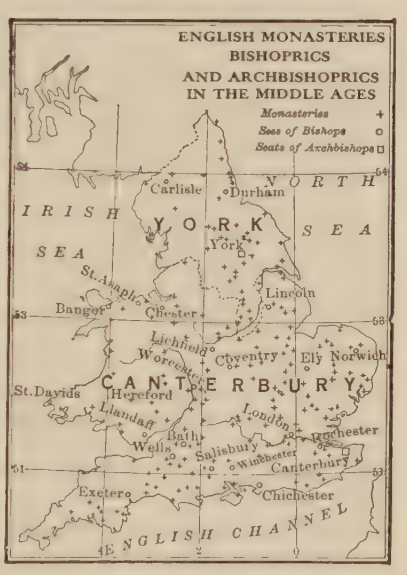
To compel obedience, bishops and pope had two mighty weapons — excommunication and interdict. Excommunication shut the offender out from all religious communion. He could attend no church service, receive no sacrament, and at death, if still unforgiven, his body could not receive Christian burial. In modern language, excommunication was also a universal boycott for all social and business relations. If it was obeyed by the community, it cut a man off absolutely from all communication with his fellows, and practically made him an outlaw. No one might speak to him or give him food or shelter, under danger of similar penalty, and his very presence was shunned like the pestilence. One decree of excommunication reads:

"By virtue of the divine authority given to bishops by St. Peter we cast him out from the bosom of our Holy Mother Church. Let him be accursed in his town, accursed in his field, accursed in his home. Let no Christian speak to him or eat with him. Let no priest say mass for him, or give him the communion. Let him be buried like the ass."

What excommunication was to the individual, the interdict was to a district or a nation. Churches were closed, and no religious ceremonies were permitted, except the rites of baptism and of extreme unction. No marriage could be performed, and there could be no burial in consecrated ground. "The dead were left unburied, and the living were unblessed."

Thus *Christendom* was divided into *provinces*, *dioceses*, and *parishes*, ruled by *pope*, *archbishops*, *bishops*, and *priests*. Besides these, there were the thousands of monasteries (p. 448) that dotted Europe, with their multitudes of monks, ruled by *priors* and *abbots*, subject to the final authority of the pope. This vast centralized monarchy had its laws, legislatures, and judges, its taxes, its terrible punishments, and its promise of eternal happiness.

And yet this government was vastly more democratic than feudal society was. Men of humblest birth rose sometimes to its loftiest offices. Gregory VII, who set his foot upon the neck of the mightiest king in Europe, was the son of a poor peasant. Another pope was a shepherd's son; another, a baker's; and many a great bishop had even a lowlier origin. *The church* in the Middle Ages *was the only part of society where talent and study could lift a poor boy to power* — and so it was recruited by the best minds.



The village priest

Of all the mighty organization, the village priest brought the church closest home to the mass of the people. The great ecclesiastics — bishops, archbishops, and abbots — were always part of the aristocracy. But the rural priest was commonly a peasant by birth, and he often remained essentially a peasant in his life, — marrying in the village (until the eleventh century) and working in the fields with his neighbors. He was a peasant with a somewhat better income than his fellows, with a little learning, a revered position, and with great power for good. He christened, absolved, married, and buried his parishioners, comforted the heart-sore and wretched, and taught all, by word and example, to hold fast to right living. He looked, too, to their physical welfare. It was as much his duty to guard the village against a leper as against a heretic.

The church building was the social center of the parish. Near it, on Sunday, between the sacred services, the people found their

chief recreation in sports and games; and from its steps the priest gave to them what news they received from the outside world, reading aloud there, too, any rare letter that some adventurous wanderer might be able to get written to his home.

"Benefit of clergy"

The right of the clergy to be tried in clerical courts was known as "benefit of clergy." The practice had its good side. Ordinary courts and ordinary law partook of the violent and ferocious life of the age. Trials were rude; and ghastly punishments were inflicted for trivial offenses, — often, no doubt, upon the innocent. It was a gain when the peaceful and moral part of society secured the right to trial in more intelligent courts and by more civilized codes.

But the church law was too mild to deal with serious crimes. It did not use force in its punishments, but only required the offender to punish himself by penances of various kinds or by fines, or payments to the church. This mildness was seriously abused. Its advantages tempted men to "take Holy Orders" (enter the clergy) until, besides the preaching clergy and the monks, the land swarmed with "clerics" who were really only lawyers, secretaries, scholars, teachers, or mere adventurers. Some of these, by their crimes, brought disgrace upon the church and danger to the state.

For Further Reading. — Cutts' *Parish Priests and their People* (ch. ix) and Gasquet's *Parish Life in Medieval England* (ch. iv) give admirable descriptions of the way in which the medieval church affected the life of the common people.

CHAPTER LI

ENGLAND IN THE FEUDAL AGE

The splendid story of England for the thousand years from Alfred the Great to the present day is also, most of it, the story of the foundations of American liberty. And so, even in this brief "survey," that story is told more fully than other topics are.

Danish rule

A century after Alfred, England for a time became a subject province of Denmark — which, under Knut the Great, was the head of a mighty Christian Scandinavian Empire. But in 1042 the English regained independence, and then a national folk-moot (the *Witan*, or "Wise Men") chose for king a prince of Alfred's line, known in history, because of his piety, as Edward the Confessor.

Edward the Confessor

Edward was the son of a Norman princess, and had spent his exiled youth in Normandy (p. 470), then one of the most populous and prosperous parts of Europe. The Norman nobles had taken on French customs, adopted the French language, and were now to spread their new civilization into other lands. Edward brought swarms of Norman favorites to England and began to introduce Norman customs there — much to the disgust of his English subjects. He left no son; and at his death the English Witan chose *Harold*, the most powerful Saxon nobleman, for their king.

And Norman influence

Harold of England

"Harold, the Last of the Saxons," [1] is a gallant figure. England was threatened from two sides. Harold's turbulent and tyrannical brother, Tostig, Earl of Northumbria, had been driven into exile by a popular rising. Harold, standing firm

[1] This is the title of Bulwer's novel, which all students should know. Charles Kingsley's *Hereward* describes another side of the Conquest.

for justice, had refused to restore him. So Tostig had stirred up Harold Hardrada, the adventurous king of Norway and one of the most romantic heroes in history, to attack England on the east; while William of Normandy, claiming the throne flimsily on the ground of a promise from Edward, prepared to invade from the south. For months, Harold of England watched anxiously the two storm clouds, holding fleet and army ready to meet either onset. But in September his array, — mainly a farmer militia, — dispersed for the harvest; and at once the two storms burst.

Stamford Bridge

The Norwegian host landed first, on the coast of Yorkshire. Hurrying northward with his trusty household troops, English Harold overthrew and slew Norwegian Harold in a desperate and brilliant battle at *Stamford Bridge*. But meantime William had made his landing on the south coast. Back hastened the English king, by forced marches, with his thinned and exhausted troops, while the jealous nobles of the old Danelaw foolishly and treacherously held aloof. The gentlemen and husbandmen of Kent and Wessex rallied nobly to his banner; but they made only a poorly armed, rustic force, with which to meet the steelclad Norman knights.

NORMAN WILLIAM'S SHIP. — From the Bayeux Tapestry (see cut, p. 503).

Battle of Hastings

William was ravaging cruelly, to support his host and to draw Harold to an attack. But the English king wisely seized the hill of Senlac, commanding William's position, and intrenched his troops there by palisades; so that the invader, unable to forage further, was forced to risk an attack on Harold's terms. This brought on the battle of *Hastings*, or *Senlac*, one of the world's decisive struggles. A long day the battle raged between

two civilizations. The English strength lay in the mail-clad family guards of the king massed about his standard, the Golden Dragon of Wessex. They wielded huge, two-handed battle axes, and fought on foot, shoulder to shoulder, the king among them, behind a wall of overlapping long shields. *This was a splendid force to resist attack.* The Norman strength lay in their

Saxon foot and Norman horse

BATTLE OF HASTINGS. — From the Bayeux Tapestry. The Bayeux Tapestry is a linen band 230 feet long and 20 inches wide, embroidered in colored worsteds, with 72 scenes illustrating the Norman Conquest. It was a contemporary work. The scene given here pertains to the close of the battle.

mounted knights and men-at-arms, assisted by bowmen, — *magnificent troops to make an onset.* For the last time for centuries, footmen met knights on equal terms.

Charge after charge of Norman horse failed to break the Saxon shield-wall. William's furious valor and personal strength, which had already won him fame on many a bloody field as the most terrible knight in Christendom, showed as never before, mingled with cool generalship and quick resourcefulness. Three times a horse was killed under him. Once his troops broke, and the cry went up, — "The Duke is slain." William tore off his helmet, to show his face, shouting with mighty voice, — "I live; and by God's help I shall

conquer!" And a blow from his mace struck down one of Harold's brothers at the foot of the English standard.

The Norman Conquest, 1066 A.D.

Finally, at three in the afternoon, by feigning flight, William drew part of the English troops from their impregnable position, in spite of Harold's efforts, and then, turning savagely upon their disordered ranks, he rode them down in masses. Still the household troops stood firm about the king, and at six the fight swayed back and forth as stubbornly as ever about the Dragon standard. But the Duke brought his archers to the front, to pour their deadly shafts into the massed Saxon array; and, as the sun went down, an arrow pierced Harold's eye. The combat closed in the gathering dusk, with the slaughter of his followers over his corpse.

Saxon local government

This Norman Conquest is a turning point in English (and American) history. But the old Saxon institutions concerned with *local* government are part of our inheritance. Long before the Conquest, the Saxons had learned to manage many matters of common interest *at their own doors* — in *village moots* and in the "courts" of larger units known as *hundreds* and *shires*.

1. True, after 900 A.D. an irregular Saxon feudalism had been growing up, and *the ordinary township had come to have little self-government*. Such powers as it had once possessed had passed mainly into the hands of some neighboring noble, to whom the village was coming to stand much like a "manor" on the Continent. But, at the worst, a manor had a "court" every three or four weeks. The lord's steward presided, with great power of control; but all heads of families took part, and especially had voice in declaring "the custom of the manor," — a thing that varied from manor to manor, and corresponded to town ordinances of to-day.

2. *The hundred was the busiest unit for carrying on local government.* (It was a collection of villages, probably set off originally in an old tribal kingdom as a military unit. The name survives to-day in Maryland for local divisions.) The *hundred court* met once a month, and was made up of the

landlords, or their stewards, and the "reeve" (headman), priest, and "four best men," of each village. It settled disputes about land and other property, and tried criminal cases.

And the germ of representative government

3. *The shire* (the later *county*) was originally a survival of an old tribal kingdom. In the end England came to contain some forty such units. The *shire court* met twice a year, presided over by its sheriff (shire-reeve) and bishop. It was composed much as the courts of the hundreds were, except that it was larger. It tried appeals from the hundred courts, and decided many matters of local government.[1]

4. The chief village of each shire had usually grown into a fortified *borough*, a trading town, with some special privileges of self-government granted by the kings. Trade had raised some other villages, too, into boroughs.

Shire and hundred, like the township, had been coming more and more under the control of neighboring lords, and sometimes those lords had set up their own private courts alongside the people's courts. *Still it was in these self-governing courts of the shire and hundred that the old Teutonic freedom best survived. It was these institutions, too, which were to prove the cradle of later English liberty.*

Norman centralization

The Normans did not meddle much with these local institutions. They did build up a more effective *central* government through the establishment of *a new sort of feudalism.* Feudalism was already fully developed in Normandy. William introduced it into England as a complete system, but with certain changes which freed it from its worst evils — so far as government is concerned.

A new feudalism without decentralization

(1) No one lord was permitted to accumulate such vast possessions as were often held by single barons in France and Germany. (2) The properties that the great lords did hold were scattered in different counties, so that each piece really became a surety for the lord's fidelity. (3) The chief authority

[1] "Court" in medieval history has a more extended meaning than in recent times. A "court" was concerned with any or all matters of government, — not merely with judicial business. (Cf. p. 482.)

in a shire was now exercised, not by an hereditary nobleman, but by the king's sheriff (shire-reeve). (4) *Vassals of every degree were required to swear fidelity directly to the king*, so that they owed him allegiance *even against their own immediate lords.*

Summary of the Conquest

Until 1066, England had counted for little in the life of Europe. Its church had become almost independent of Rome, and in politics its foreign relations had been mainly with the Scandinavian countries. At home, from the time of Alfred the Great, the two chief dangers had been the growth of anarchy and the splitting apart of Danish England and Saxon England.

The Norman Conquest brought the church again into dependence on Rome,[1] and drew England into the thick of European politics.[2] Within the island, it crushed together north and south, so that the two parts never again dreamed of separation, and it built up a strong central government. *To the old spirit of Saxon freedom, the Normans added a new genius for organization.* The local institutions to a considerable degree remained Saxon, but the central government owed its efficiency to Norman influences. The kings were strong enough to keep down feudal tyrants, but not quite strong enough to become royal tyrants themselves. This was mainly because, through dread of royal power, Norman nobles and Saxon people drew together quickly into an English nation (the first true nation in Europe). Then, in centuries of slow, quiet, determined progress, this new nation won constitutional liberty.

"Lance and torch and tumult, steel and gray-goose wing,
Wrenched it, inch and ell and all, slowly from the king."

[1] The pope had blessed the enterprise and had sent Duke William a consecrated banner. (This is the banner in the stern of William's ship, in the illustration on page 502.) Afterward, Pope Gregory VII demanded that William do homage to him for his realm. William haughtily refused. He filled the high places in the church with Normans in sympathy with Rome, but he guarded jealously against papal interference in his government. He forbade the clergy to place any of his knights under excommunication without consulting him; he declared any one an outlaw who should carry an appeal to Rome without royal permission; and no papal letter could be received in England without his sanction.

[2] For some generations the rulers of England were also dukes of Normandy, and so great vassals of the French crown.

And not merely by fighting in the field was this liberty won, but, even more, by countless unrecorded martyrdoms of heroic and often nameless men, on the scaffold, in the dungeon, or, harder still, in broken lives and ruined homes. At a great price did Englishmen work out, first of all peoples for a large territory, the union of a strong central government and of free institutions.

The Conquest also brought in new blood, a higher culture, and new elements in language. Norman lords and clergy, and likewise Norman merchants, architects, and artisans, flocked into England. All these people spoke their own Norman-French tongue, and for a time only the lowest classes spoke English. Gradually, the English gained its place as the language of the whole people; but meantime it lost its more complicated grammatical forms and was enriched by a multitude of Norman words.

William I, 1066–1087

William the Conqueror was king by right of the sword; but he went through the form of an election by an English Witan, and he ruled with much regard for English custom. Some of his chief work has been described. Among his other wise deeds was the taking of a great census to find out the resources of the kingdom and the dues payable to the king. This survey is recorded in *Domesday Book*, and gives us more exact knowledge about England than we have of any other country in that century. The population numbered some 1,200,000. One tenth of these are called "burgesses" ("inhabitants of "boroughs"), though half of them dwelt in what we should call mere villages. The king's feudal army contained about 5000 knights.

In the Conqueror's makeup there mingled strangely the wild passions of his barbaric Norse ancestors and the shrewd caution of a modern statesman. His person was gigantic, his strength enormous, his will knew no pity, and his outbursts of anger made his closest counselors tremble. "Starkman he was, and great awe men had of him," says the English chronicler of the

period; "so harsh and cruel, that no man dared withstand his will." But the same conquered English writer fails not to praise the "good peace" William's stern pitilessness made, "so that a man might fare over his realm with a bosom full of gold." And he tells us, too, how the lonely, grim king grew gentle in the woods and "loved the red deer as though he were their father."

William II, 1087–1100

There were three more "Norman kings." William, by will, left Normandy to his eldest son Robert, and England to his second son *William Rufus* (the Red). This prince, to strengthen his claim, procured an election from an English Assembly, but he proved unscrupulous, and is remembered as a tyrant.

NORMAN DOORWAY, ST. PETER'S, NORTHAMPTON. – Note the massive round arch and the simple but effective ornament.

Henry I, 1100–1135

He was succeeded by his brother, *Henry I*, the youngest son of the conqueror. Henry had been born in England and he married an English princess. He, also, secured an election, and in return he granted to the people of England a Charter of Liberties, which a hundred years later was to become the model for a more important grant.

Stephen, 1135–1154

The English nobles promised Henry to make his daughter Matilda his successor; but, after his death, his nephew *Stephen* secured an election. Stephen was weak, and his rule was distracted by civil war with the supporters of Matilda. His reign is the darkest period in English history after the Conquest. Feudal anarchy seemed at last to have seized upon the land. The contemporary chroniclers exclaim upon the misery of the age with bitter phrases:

"Every powerful man made his castles, and when they were built they filled them with devils and evil men; they put men in their dungeons for their gold and silver, and tortured them with pains unspeakable . . . men died of hunger, for the earth bare no corn . . . and it was commonly said that Christ and his saints slept. . . . In those days, if three or four men came riding towards a township, all the township fled hastily, believing them to be robbers. . . . That lasted the nineteen winters Stephen was king."

Henry II, 1154–1189

Matilda had married Geoffrey, Count of Anjou, a province of France. Geoffrey commonly wore in his cap a sprig of the broom plant (*planta genesta*), and this pleasing habit gave to his family the surname, *Plantagenet*. On the death of Stephen, the son of this marriage became Henry II of England, the first of a long line of Plantagenet kings.

Henry's stout body and broad shoulders rose from bowed legs, and were topped by a bull neck and a round head with fiery face and bulging eyes. He wore his hair cropped close, among the long-haired nobles of the court, and was careless in dress, rough and hurried in manner, and exceedingly sparing in food and drink. He had a memory that forgot no detail of business, a strong will that held steadfastly to his plans, and great physical strength which enabled him to keep tirelessly at his tasks while servants and attendants dropped with weariness. He was the hardest worker of his day. Said one observer, — "He never sits down"; and it was remarked that in travel (on horseback, over the bad roads of the time) he was fond of crowding two days' journey into one.

Henry's realms outside England

Henry was the most powerful ruler in Europe. *England was only a part of his territories.* Through his mother he had inherited the dukedoms of Normandy, Maine, and Brittany. Through his father, he was Count of Anjou and Touraine. By marriage with Eleanor, divorced wife of Louis VII of France, he had obtained Aquitaine, which then included also Poitou and Gascony. Thus *he ruled more than half of what is now France* — and six times as much French territory as the French king in that day ruled. (See map after page 522.)

True, Henry held these French provinces, in name, as a

vassal of the king of France, and he was constantly entangled in warfare with his suzerain. Out of his thirty-five years of kingship, only about a third were spent in England; and these, a few months at a time. He thought of himself chiefly as a French prince with important possessions in the neighboring island. None the less, he proved one of the greatest and most beneficent of all the English kings.[1]

Feudal anarchy crushed

The first task of the new king was to restore order. He drove out or hunted down the swarms of foreign mercenaries that had been ravaging the country during the long civil wars, and demolished ruthlessly the new castles which had risen in Stephen's time — in spite of the grumbling and the black looks of the great nobles, and some trifling rebellions. He also decreased *permanently* the *military* importance of the feudal lords by two measures.

The Assize of Arms

1. A law known as the *Assize of Arms* revived the old national militia. Every freeman (below the rank of the vassals who held their land by military service) was ordered to provide himself with weapons and armor, and to hold himself always ready for service at the summons of the royal sheriff.

And scutage

2. *The subvassals of the great lords were excused from military service on condition of a money payment to the king.* This sum was called *scutage* ("shield money"). With this fund the king could hire trained professional soldiers, more reliable and effective than the unwieldy feudal armies. The great nobles were no longer followed to the field by such numerous bodies of knights as formerly. The knights, too, turned their attention in part away from fighting, and became more and more interested in farming their lands and in the business of the shire courts, — so that we begin soon to speak of them as "knights of the shire."

Henry and the church

Henry tried next to check the authority of the church. All

[1] Before his death, Henry had still other possessions. He began the English conquest of Ireland. For a time, he held Scotland in imperfect subjection, her king his imprisoned vassal. And the conquest of Wales went on slowly but steadily, as in every strong English reign.

"clerics," or "clerks," were exempt from the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts (p. 500). Henry was resolute to make all men, lay or cleric, equal before the law. As a step to his purpose, he secured the archbishopric of Canterbury (the highest ecclesiastical office in England) for his trusted counselor, Thomas Becket. This appointment proved the greatest error in Henry's life. Thomas had been his friend as well as his chief minister, — a gay companion at the feast or in the hunt, and a gallant follower in the French campaigns. Henry had heaped riches and offices upon him. But in this new position, Thomas became a changed man. He renounced all luxury and gayety, and wore at all times next his body a coarse hair shirt, like the meanest penitent; and he took up enthusiastically the cause of the church against the king.

Thomas Becket

To settle this dispute, a "Great Council" of lords and bishops was gathered at Clarendon. This Assembly drew up a long code to regulate the relations of church and state. This body of laws reënacted the rules for the church proclaimed by William the Conqueror (p. 506), and went on to make good the claim of Henry about jurisdiction. The royal courts were to decide, in the first place, whether a suit belonged in the church courts or not; church courts were to hold trials only in the presence of royal officers; and a convicted clerk was to pass to the ordinary courts for punishment.

"Constitutions of Clarendon"

Thomas refused assent. His personal enemies took advantage of the king's wrath against him to try to ruin him by trumped-up suits in the king's court. Thomas appeared there, cross in hand, haughtily refused to plead, and appealed to the pope for judgment, — in defiance of the Constitutions of Clarendon. Shouts of "Traitor!" drove him from the room; and that night he fled from the realm in disguise, leaving Henry *for a time* victorious.

The most important of Henry's reforms had to do with the administration of justice. To improve this was the great need of the Middle Ages. In theory, anywhere in Europe, the king was "the fountain of justice," and could set aside the decision

Judicial reforms

of other courts so as to do justice. But in practice it was exceedingly hard for the man who was suffering injustice to get at the king. The king's court had been practically a feudal court for the king and his great vassals; and the majority of Englishmen sought justice still in the courts of hundred and shire, or in the local feudal courts that were rising alongside these popular courts.

If this condition had continued longer, each district in England would have developed its own local customs, and national uniformity would have become almost impossible. *Henry saw the need of one law for all England.* He opened the doors of the royal courts to all. In particular, he undermined the feudal courts by ordering that any free landholder in danger of being dispossessed of his land unjustly by his lord might find protection in the king's courts.

Circuit judges and the common law

But Henry did more than issue an empty invitation for all Englishmen to come to the king's justice. *He sent the king's justice out through the realm to the doors of all Englishmen.* Early in his reign, he had sent out judges from his court, from time to time, to visit different shires. The primary duty of these visiting judges had been to watch the sheriffs, and see to the just collection of royal dues. But, incidentally, they were empowered to represent the king by doing justice wherever any man appealed to them, — even from the local court of a great lord.

Before his death, Henry extended and systematized this method. England was divided into six districts, and three judges from the king's court were sent to journey through each district, to hold court in every shire each year at a stated time. These were *circuit* or *itinerant* judges. Thus the customs of the king's court became common law for all England, — the "Common Law," which is to-day the basis of English and American justice.

Jury trial for civil cases

Alongside trial by ordeal and by combat, Henry's laws also introduced trial by jury. It had been a custom of the Frankish kings sometimes to bring together a number of old men in a given district, to give witness in disputes that concerned

the ancient customs of the region. The Normans brought this form of "inquest" to England. The Conqueror's officers used it in compiling Domesday Book; and the ignorance of the Norman rulers as to the customs of the land gave frequent occasion to employ it. So far, however, the sworn [1] body of witnesses had been used only to settle matters in which the *king* was interested. Henry extended the same method to questions of property ("civil" cases) between *private persons*.

The jury of inquest

Henry gave us likewise the beginning of our "grand jury." Many offenders were too powerful for any one person to dare accuse. Henry provided that in each county, at regular intervals, a jury should be called together to "present" suspected criminals to the king's circuit judges for trial.

Jury trial for criminal cases

For some time longer, suspects presented by such a grand jury were tried by ordeal or by combat. But in 1215 a great Church Council, representing all Western Christendom, condemned the ordeal as a method of trial; and then it became the custom *in England* to summon another smaller jury (*petit jury*) to try the man whom the larger jury (*grand jury*) had accused. That is, jury trial, which Henry II had introduced for civil cases, became the custom for criminal cases also.

The accused still had the right to claim trial by combat. The noble classes commonly did so, for some generations, and the right was not legally abolished until 1819. For a long time the trial jury were witnesses as well as judges of the testimony. They were allowed, however, to call in other witnesses; and gradually a line was drawn between them and these others, until finally it became the rule that the "jurymen" should come without any knowledge of their own regarding the case, so as to hear and judge impartially the evidence submitted by the witnesses.

Part of his work Henry saw undone. Thomas Becket, from his refuge abroad, did not cease to thunder against the king

[1] "Juror" means a man who has been "sworn."

Murder of Becket and Henry's surrender

and all his officers; and finally the pope took up Becket's cause in earnest. Henry was forced to receive Thomas back to his archbishopric, in a pretended reconciliation. But the quarrel soon broke out as bitter as ever; and, stirred by angry words of the king, four knights brutally murdered the archbishop.

This foul deed made Becket a holy martyr for the church in the eyes of the people. For a time Henry was deserted on all sides; and he was compelled to make his peace with the pope by surrendering the Constitutions of Clarendon.

Henry and his sons

These troubles only foreshadowed the deeper sorrows and humiliation of the king's closing days. Two sons, both rebels against him repeatedly, had died before him. But Philip II of France, who had stirred them to treason, now intrigued ceaselessly with the remaining sons, Richard and John. Broken in health, Henry was vainly seeking reconciliation, when Richard and the French king suddenly appeared in battle array, driving him in headlong flight from his favorite French capital, which they laid in ashes. Hunted from town to town, the dying king was driven to beg for mercy. As a condition of peace, a list of conspirators against him, whom he was required to pardon, was handed him. At the head stood the name of John, his favorite son. Indeed, it had been Henry's partiality for John that had driven Richard into arms against him. John's name in the list of traitors was the last blow. "Now," said Henry, turning his face to the wall, "I care no more for myself or the world." And he passed away, muttering to himself, "Shame! shame! on a conquered king."

Evolution of English law courts

To understand properly Henry's work in organizing courts of law (already touched upon above), one must glance backward and forward from his day. The feudal "court" of the Norman kings resembled that of any great lord except in size. Any vassal who held land directly of the king (any "tenant-in-chief") had the right to attend, but in practice, the smaller "tenants-in-chief" were not often present; and the composition of the court varied with the localities where it chanced to be

called. Under these conditions, there grew up a smaller, *more permanent* body, composed of officers of the king steadily in attendance upon his person. This inner body kept the name "the king's court" (*curia regis*), while the larger and less frequent gatherings came to be called "the *Great* Council."

By the time of Henry I, the "court" *began* to have considerable *judicial* business. It began also to have *different names* when meeting for different purposes. When it met to look after the king's revenues, it assembled in a treasury room, around a "chequered" table (marked off into small squares, for the convenient counting of the little piles of money which were laid upon it by the sheriffs). In such meetings, the court was called "*the Exchequer*," while at other times it was still called merely "*the king's court.*"

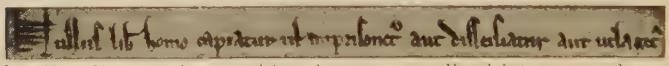
Henry I began to send out members of the court, now and then, to collect revenues and to oversee the administration of justice in the shire courts. Henry II, we have seen, renewed and extended this practice. The circuit judges had become a distinct body of men *within* the "court," but they might still, at times, meet with the larger body for its other work. Appeals from circuit judges might still be made to the king. To hear such appeals, Henry set off another distinct body of judges, called the *Court of Common Pleas*, because, like the circuit judges, it dealt mainly with questions of property (*civil* cases) between man and man. To decide important *criminal* cases, another body of judges was set aside, upon a particular "bench" in the room where the king's court gathered. This group came to be known as "*the Court of the King's Bench.*"

Completed by Edward I

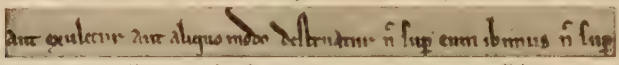
A century later, Edward I completed this growth. *He made the Exchequer, the King's Bench, and the Common Pleas into wholly separate bodies, sitting each in its own fixed place, each with its permanent body of judges devoted exclusively to its work.* In the time of Henry II, the lawyers, of whom mention is made so often, were still all great *churchmen* with some knowledge of the Roman law. But by the time of Edward, legal business had increased so much *that law had become a profession apart from*

the church, and large numbers of trained "lay" lawyers practiced in the courts much in the same way as at present.

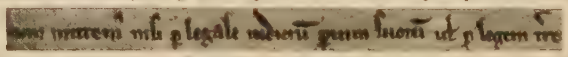
Between the great Henry and the great Edward came three weak, would-be tyrants, Richard (1189–1199), John (1199–1217), and John's son, Henry III (1217–1272). Richard "The Lion-Hearted" cared mainly for military glory, and spent only seven months of his eleven years' reign in England — mainly to raise money. The misrule of John resulted in Magna Carta; that of Henry, in the first true Parliament.



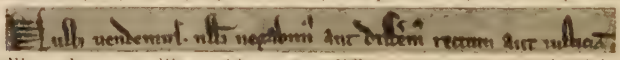
Nullus liber homo capiatur, vel imprisonetur, aut dissaisiatur, aut utlagetur,
No free man shall be taken, or imprisoned, or dispossessed, or outlawed,



aut exuletur, aut aliquo modo destruatur, nec super eum ibimus nec super
or banished, or in any way destroyed, nor will we go upon him nor upon



eum mittemus, nisi per legale judicium parium suorum vel per legem terrae.
him send, except by the legal judament of his peers or by the law of the land.



Nulli vendemus, nulli negabimus, aut differemus, rectum aut justiciam.
To no one will we sell, to no one will we deny, or delay, right or justice.

Sections 39 and 40 of Magna Carta. — The bars are facsimiles of the writing in the charter, with the curious abbreviations of the medieval Latin. Below each line is given the Latin in full with a translation.

Magna Carta, 1215

Toward the close of his reign, John's oppression brought all classes of Englishmen to unite against him. In 1213, while he was warring in France, a mass meeting of English barons and knights *and townsmen* gathered to discuss redress of grievances. Amid stern enthusiasm, Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, brought before the gathering the long-forgotten charter of Henry I. On this basis, Langton and the leaders of the nobles then drew up the demands of the meeting. John at first refused even to look at the document. But a mighty army of two thousand knights, supported by the townsmen of London

arrayed in their "train bands," marched against him ("the Army of God and Holy Church"). John was deserted by all but a few foreign mercenaries; and, *June 15, 1215,* at a meadow of the Thames called *Runnymede,* he was forced to sign the Great Charter, — the "first great document in the Bible of English Liberties."

The Charter claimed only to state the old liberties of Englishmen, but the closing provision expressly sanctioned rebellion against a king who should refuse to obey it. That is, *it set the law of the land above the king's will.* True, in some other countries during the Middle Ages, the great vassals extorted charters of liberties *for themselves* from their kings. But the peculiar features of this Charter are: (1) the barons promised to their dependents the same rights they demanded for themselves from the king; and (2) special provisions looked after the welfare of townsmen and even of villeins. The wording, necessarily, belongs to a feudal age; but, as a new society and new needs grew up, men read new meanings into the old language and made it fit the new age. In the next two centuries, English kings were obliged to "confirm" the Charter thirty-eight times; and its principles, and some of its wording, have passed into the constitution and laws of every American state.

The Charter defined precisely the "aids" to which suzerains were entitled, — and so put an end to extortion. It declared that the king could raise no scutage (p. 510) or other unusual "aid" without the consent of the Great Council, — and since all vassals of the king had a right to attend the Council, this established the principle, *No taxation without the consent of the taxed.* It declared an accused man entitled to speedy trial, — and so laid the foundation for later laws of "*habeas corpus.*" It affirmed that no villein, by any fine, should lose his oxen or plow, and so foreshadowed our modern laws providing that *legal suits shall not take from a man his home or his tools.* Two notable provisions are given in the cut on page 516.

Henry III was a pious, frivolous, extravagant tyrant. After many years the people found a champion in Simon, Earl of Mont-

The beginnings of Parliament

fort, most powerful of English nobles and brother-in-law of the king. The struggle finally became civil war, and Simon won at the Battle of Lewes (1264). For a year he was master of England. Then Prince Edward, once Simon's loved disciple, rallied the royal party, took the great Earl by surprise at *Evesham,* and defeated and slew him (1265). Soon after, the prince succeeded to the throne as Edward I, to extend and round out the work of Henry II in a long series of laws.

Henry II and Edward I were the two great "lawgivers" among the English kings. Henry carried his many reforms, not by royal decrees, but by a series of "assizes" (codes) drawn up by the Great Council; and Edward carried his in an even longer series of "statutes" enacted by a new national legislature which we call Parliament.

Some sort of "Assembly" has always made part of the English government. Under the Saxon kings, the *Witan* (or meeting of Wisemen) sanctioned codes of laws and even deposed and elected kings. It consisted of large landowners and officials and the higher clergy, with now and then some mingling of more democratic elements, and it was far more powerful than the Frankish Mayfield.

After the Conquest, the Witan gave way to the *Great Council* of the Norman kings. A king was supposed to rule "with the advice and consent" of his Council; but in ordinary times that body was merely the king's mouthpiece until Henry II raised it to real importance. Magna Carta gave it added weight by the provision that no new "tax" should be imposed without its consent and by prescribing just how it *should be called together.* All who held land directly of the king ("tenants-in-chief," or "barons") were entitled to be present, but only the "great barons" ever came. According to the Charter, thereafter the great barons were to be summoned *individually* by letter, and the numerous smaller barons *by a general notice* read by the sheriffs in the court of each county.

Still the smaller barons failed to assemble; and in the troubles of the reign of Henry III, on two or three occasions, the sheriffs

had been directed to see to it that each county *sent* knights to the gathering. *Thus a representative element was introduced into the National Assembly.* This was a thoroughly natural step for *Englishmen* to take. The principle of representative government had taken root long before in *local* institutions. The "four men" of each township present in court of hundred or shire (p. 505) spoke for all their township. The sworn "jurors" of a shire who gave testimony in compiling Domesday Book

A Fourteenth Century Bridge in Rural England, near Danby in Oxfordshire. — From Jusserand's *English Wayfaring Life.*

under William I, or who "presented" offenders for trial under Henry II, spoke for the whole shire. *England was familiar with the practice of selecting certain men from a community to speak for the community as a whole.* This principle was now applied in a central gathering, for all England.

Simon's Parliament of 1265

So far, indeed, only the land-holding aristocracy had any part in the Great Council, directly or indirectly. But now, after the Battle of Lewes, Simon of Montfort seized upon this system of representation for wider usefulness. The writs for

the famous Parliament of 1265, issued by Simon's direction while the king was in his power, called for the attendance of two knights from each shire *and also of two burgesses from each borough*, to sit with the lords and clergy. Simon wanted more than money. He wanted the moral support of the nation — which could be given only by a body representing the people of England.

Edward's "Model Parliament," 1295

Then, in the "Model Parliament" of 1295, *Edward I* adopted Simon's plan. Each shire and each borough was called upon to send its two representatives, — since, as Edward's writ read, "that which touches all should be approved by all." From that time, the regular representation of counties and boroughs became a fixed principle in the English national assembly. *For the first time in the world's history, representative government was put upon a working basis.*

Once more Edward had been the disciple of his old instructor, Simon of Montfort. When the great Earl, on the fatal morning of Evesham, beheld the sun glancing through the mists upon the glittering arms of Edward's advancing host, and recognized that the Prince had caught him in the toils and that defeat was certain, he exclaimed proudly, as he sought death in headlong charge upon the spears, "It was from me that he learned it." And so, thirty years later, as John Richard Green well says, Simon's spirit, looking down upon the Model Parliament, might cry, "It was from me that he learned it."

The two "Houses"

Half a century later, Parliament divided into *two* Houses. *Edward's Parliaments*, like Simon's, *contained the "three estates"* [1] — clergy, nobles, and burgesses. The greater nobles and the greater clergy had *personal* summons; the other classes were represented by delegates, — the smaller landholders by the elected "knights of the shire," the towns by their chosen burgesses, and the lower clergy by elected representatives, one for each district.

At first all sat together. Had this continued, the townsmen

[1] "Estate" means a class of people with distinct duties and privileges.

would never have secured much voice: they would have been frightened and overawed by the nobles. The result would have been about as bad if the three estates had come to sit separately, as they did in France and Spain. With so many distinct orders, an able king could easily have played off one against the other. But England followed a different course. The *inferior* clergy, very happily, soon refused to attend Parliament. The *great* spiritual lords (bishops and abbots), with personal summons, were not very numerous by themselves, and so they sat with the great lay lords. Thus, when the different orders began to sit apart, the great peers, lay and spiritual, *who were summoned by individual letters*, made a "House of Lords," while *the representative elements* — knights of the shire and burgesses, who had been accustomed to act together in shire courts — came together, in the national assembly, as the "House of Commons."

The "gentry" a link between "Lords" and "Commons"

The three estates faded into two; and even these two were not distinct. For in England, unlike the case upon the continent (p. 481), only the oldest son of a lord succeeded to his father's title and nobility and to the right to a personal summons to the House of Lords. The younger sons — and even the oldest son during his father's life — belonged in the gentry (gentleman) class, and at most were "knights of the shire." As such, oftentimes, the son or the brother of an earl sat for his county in the House of Commons beside the shopkeeper from the town. *The gentry in the Commons formed a link to bind Lords and Commons together.*

For Further Reading. — Magna Carta is given in all Source Books of English History. Mrs. Green's *Henry II* and Edward Jenks' *Edward Plantagenet* are excellent stories. Green's *English People* is the best one work.

CHAPTER LII

"THE CONTINENT" IN THE FEUDAL AGE

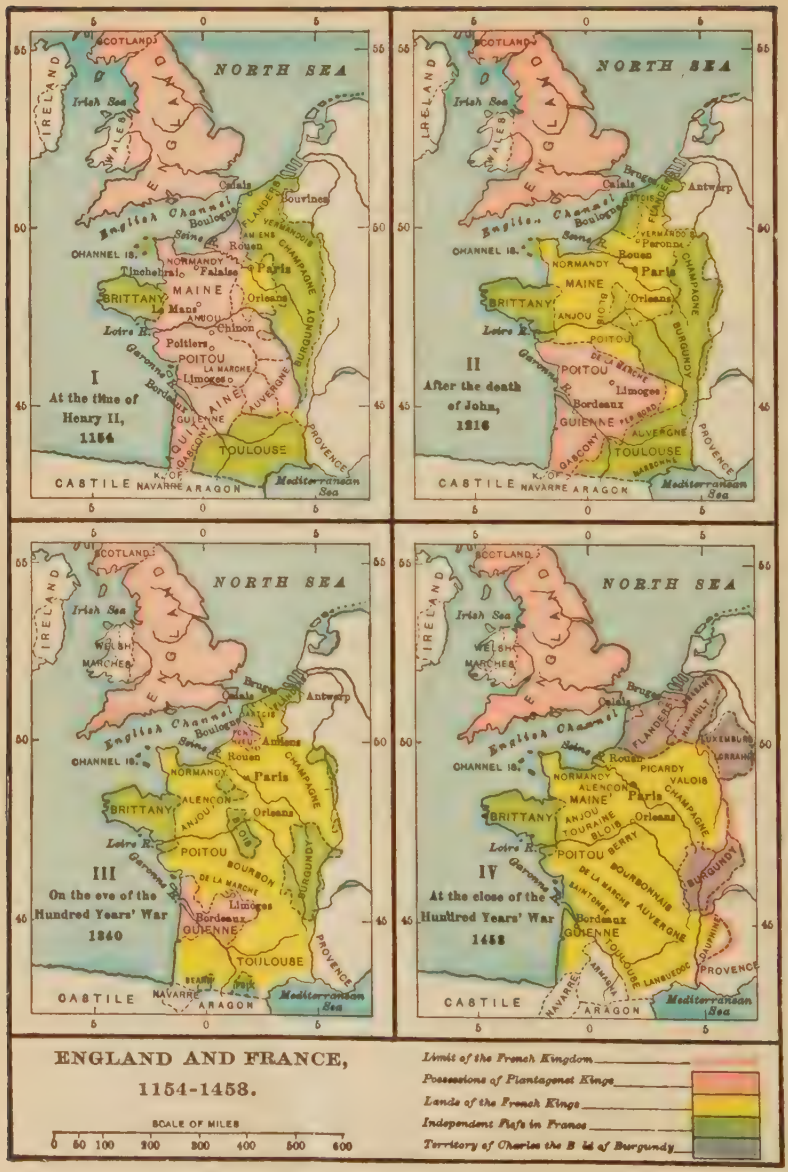
Hugh Capet, 987 A.D.

In 987 in "France" the degenerate Carolingian[1] line gave way to *Hugh Capet*, founder of the long line of Capetian kings. Hugh found France in feudal fragments with varying laws and tongues. Indeed he was crowned, not King of France, but "King of the Gauls, Bretons, Danes, Normans, Aquitanians, . . . and Gascons." In the next three centuries, by shrewd, tireless policy, a series of able rulers welded these unpromising fragments into a French nation — with a common language and a common patriotism. It was not the people here who fused themselves into a nation in a long struggle against royal despotism — as in England. It was the kings who made the French nation, in a long struggle against feudal anarchy within and foreign conquest from without.

Philip Augustus, 1180–1223

The most striking steps in this advance were taken by Philip II. When he came to the French throne, Henry II was still working wisely and zealously to strengthen national unity in England. But *in France Henry was the chief obstacle to national unity*. As a great vassal he held six times as much French territory as Philip did (p. 509), and to make that territory more completely his own, he upheld other vassals in their struggles against the French crown. Philip set Richard on to make war against his father (p. 514); and when Richard had become king, Philip intrigued with his brother John. Finally, when John succeeded to the English crown, and so to the French fiefs, his follies and crimes gave Philip his long-sought opportunity. Philip's "court" of great vassals summoned John to answer for his abuses; and, on his failure to appear, declared his fiefs for-

[1] From *Carolus*, Latin for Charles: the line of Charlemagne.



ENGLAND AND FRANCE, 1154-1458.

SCALE OF MILES

0 50 100 200 300 400 500 600

Limit of the French Kingdom

Possessions of Plantagenet Kings

Lands of the French Kings

Independent Fiefs in France

Territory of Charles the Bold of Burgundy

Growth of territory

feited to the crown. Philip enforced this judgment by arms, so far as concerned Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Poitou. The king of England, as Duke of Aquitaine, remained one of the greatest French vassals; but the *northwest quarter* of "France" had been added to the French crown, and the immediate territory of the French kings was quadrupled. At last, too, "France" reached the sea. In another series of wars, Philip acquired *southeastern* France, and won his way to the Mediterranean. At the opening of his reign, he had ruled directly only a twelfth of modern France. *At the close, he ruled more than two thirds of it.*

Louis IX and Philip the Fair

As the French kings added territory to territory, so too they added authority to authority, until by 1300 they became the most absolute sovereigns in Europe. Here, too, Philip II made a beginning. He divided the royal territory into great districts, and over these he set royal officers, usually of humble origin, so that they could not aspire to independent power. This work of organization was completed before the year 1300 by Philip's grandson, *Louis IX* (St. Louis), and by Louis' grandson, *Philip IV*, surnamed the "Fair" for his handsome face.

Growth of royal absolutism

The feudal lords lost all power in government, except over their serfs and villeins: the small vassals and the townsmen found escape from their rapacity and capricious tyranny. In England this escape had come through the courts, the itinerant justices, and the free principles of the common law; and Englishmen grew to have an instinctive reverence for courts and law as the protectors of liberty. In France the like security came (a little later than in England) through the despotic power intrusted to their officers by the absolute French kings; *and for centuries Frenchmen came to trust autocracy as Englishmen trusted law.*

The Estates General

This contrast is shown, in part, in the history of the French institution which most resembled the English Parliament. Philip the Fair had completed his reforms by adding representatives of the towns to the nobles and clergy in the Great Council of France. This brought together all three "estates";

and the gathering was called the *Estates General* (States General), to distinguish it from smaller gatherings of estates in the separate provinces. The first meeting in this form was held in *1302*, only a few years after the "Model Parliament" in England. But Philip and his successors used the Estates General only as a convenient taxing machine. It *never became a governing body*, as the English Parliament did. Nor did the French people know how to value it, as the English quickly learned to value Parliament. The kings assembled the Estates General only when they chose, and easily controlled it. When they no longer needed it, the meetings grew rarer, and finally ceased, without protest from the people.

Germany in the feudal age

In Germany the Carolingian line died out even sooner than in France, and then the princes chose a Saxon duke for King of the Germans. The second of these Saxon kings was Otto I. His first great work was to end forever the barbarian inroads. The nomad Hungarians (p. 469) once more broke across the eastern border in enormous numbers. Otto crushed them with horrible slaughter at the Battle of Lechfeld. The Hungarians never again attacked Christendom. Soon, indeed, they themselves adopted Christianity and settled down in modern Hungary as one of the family of European nations.

Expansion to the east

Otto followed up his success. Year by year, he forced further back the Slavs from his eastern borders, and established "marks" along that whole frontier. On the extreme southeast was the Eastmark (against the Hungarians), to grow into modern Austria, while the Mark of Brandenburg on the northeast (against the Slavs) was to grow into modern Prussia.[1] Otto's campaigns, too, compelled the heathen Slavs to receive missionaries and admit monasteries; and German nobles, hungry for land, began a new colonizing movement which soon *extended*

[1] The district inhabited by the original Prussians lay far east of Germany proper — far beyond even the mark of Brandenburg. The Prussians were a mixed people, Lithuanians, Slavs, and (some of their own historians have claimed) a portion of the Vandals who had been among the subjects of Attila the Hun.

GERMAN COLONIZATION
ON THE EAST AT THE
EXPENSE OF SLAVS, LETTS,
AND MAGYARS, 800-1400.
German
Slav
Lett
Monastery
Seat of a Bishop
Seat of an Archbishop
Boundary between Germans and Slavs, 800 A.D.
Conquests of the Teutonic Order after 1250.
Finns
Reval
Eastland
Livland
Riga
Uxküll
Kurland
Memel
Königsberg
Fischhausen
Elbing
Heilberg
Prussians
Marienwerder
Thorn
Danzig
Marienburg
Pomerania
Stargard
Stettin
Kolberg
Oliva
1186
Bergen
1193
Rostock
Stralsund
Eldena
1199
Wismar
1177
Lübeck
Ratzeburg
Hamburg
Brode
Bremen
Elbe
Weser
Stendal
Magdeburg
Brandenburg
Berlin
Landsberg
Frankfort
Gnesen
Posen
Kolbatz
Neumark
Vistula
Neubelle
Oder
Glogau
Lebus 1175
Trebnitz 1203
Breslau
Poles
Saale
Leipzig
Meissen
Spandau
Görlitz
Altzella
Altenburg
Dresden
Freiberg
Zittau
Leignitz
Neumarkt
Neisse
Brüx
Leitmeritz
Prague 1235
Ratibor
Krakow
Bamberg
Bohemians
Olmütz
Iglau
Brünn
Budweis
Znaim
Ratisbon
Danube
Passau
Melk
Vienna
Krems
Dniester
Salzburg
Lambach
St. Pölten
Admont
Seckau
Bruck
Raab
Ofen
Bistritz
Innichen
Friesach
Graz
Gurk
Lavant
Klausenburg
Brixen
Villach
Hungarians
Theiss
Hermannstadt
Burzenland
1211-25
Kronstadt
Italians
Agram
Slavs
Roumanians
Drave
Danube
R.

Germany from the Elbe to the Oder and carried swarms of German settlers among even the savage Prussians and the Slavs of the heathen Baltic coast.

False ambition of the German kings

It should have been the work of the German kings to foster this defensive colonization along their barbarous eastern borders, and to fuse the Germans themselves into a true nation. But Otto and his successors were drawn from this work, so well begun, by greedy dreams of wider empire.

Otto was a more powerful king than any other in Europe in his day. In France, the Capetians had not yet come to the throne; in England, the House of Alfred was still warring with the Danelaw. Otto gave Germany an early start toward union and power. In return, German song made him a popular hero, and loved to picture his long wavy beard and his "hawk eyes" restlessly moving "as if seeking prey."

Otto restores the Holy Roman Empire, 962

And in seeking prey, Otto now ruined his fair work. For half a century the Empire in the West had lapsed. Otto was tempted to restore it — as a mask for seizing upon Italy. That unhappy land had no shadow of union. Saracens from Africa contested the south with the Greek Empire and the Lombards, and the north was devastated by ferocious wars between petty states. Otto invaded Italy, and *in 962* had himself consecrated by the pope at Rome as "Emperor of the Romans." Says Herbert Fisher: "By a strange freak of fortune the title and traditions of the Caesars passed to the latest barbarian arrived within the circle of civilization." For the next three centuries every German king, as soon as he could march to Rome, was crowned Emperor.

Ruin to both Germany and Italy

The restored Empire was "the *Holy* Roman Empire *of the German people*." It did not include all "Western Europe," like Charlemagne's Empire in its day. France was outside, as were the new Christian kingdoms in England, Scandinavia, Poland, and Hungary. As a physical power it rested wholly on "German" military prowess.

. . .

And it was "Holy." It claimed to share the headship of Christendom with the papacy, but the relation between em-

Popes and Emperors

perors and popes was not defined. Soon they quarreled, and then followed three centuries of fatal strife.

The connection with Italy brought to Germany somewhat of the culture and art of the ancient world; but in government and industry it spelled ruin. Otto was merely the first of a long line of German kings who led splendid German armies across the Alps, to melt away in fever beneath the Italian sun. German strength was frittered away in foreign squabbles, and the chance to make a German nation was lost for nine hundred years.

No better were the results to Italy. A German king, however much a "Roman" Emperor, could enter Italy only with a German army at his back. The southern land was a conquered province, ruled by uncouth northern barbarians.

The dismal story of three hundred years' strife is brightened by the names of two great popes, — Gregory VII and Innocent III, — and of three striking figures among the emperors, — Henry IV, Frederick Barbarossa, and Frederick II.

Hildebrand becomes Gregory VII

The first emperors set up and deposed popes almost at will. The restoration of the papacy to a power that enabled it to set up and depose emperors was due mainly to *Hildebrand*. This remarkable man, the son of a Tuscan laborer, became a monk in his youth. He had a frail body but a fiery soul and great practical sagacity. In 1045, at the age of twenty-one, he became papal chaplain, and for eighteen years, under five successive popes, he directed the papal policy. More than once he might himself have been made pope, and at last, in 1073, the people of Rome forced the election upon him. The crowds gathered for the funeral of the late pope raised the shout, "Let Hildebrand be our bishop." The cardinals (p. 497) approved the choice. Hildebrand yielded, took the name Gregory VII, and, with fresh vigor, began to make real his dream of a universal papal monarchy. The Empire was to be subject to the papacy, as the body to the soul. The pope, he wrote, "may depose emperors. . . . He may absolve subjects from their allegiance. . . . He himself may be judged by no man."

The strife between emperor and pope came to a head at this

time upon "investitures." The emperor appointed all bishops and abbots in Germany, and "invested" them with the staff and ring (*the symbols of their spiritual office*) as well as with their lands. Gregory regarded this practice, naturally, as connected with the sin of simony — the selling of spiritual office. On the other hand, the emperor sorely needed to keep temporal control over spiritual lords who held also in their hands half the land and wealth of Germany.

Hildebrand and Henry IV

In 1075 Gregory threatened to excommunicate all bishops and abbots who should thereafter receive their investiture from a lay ruler, along with the rulers themselves. To the emperor, Henry IV, an able but headstrong ruler, this seemed a declaration of war. He declared Gregory guilty of infamous crimes and pronounced him deposed. "Hildebrand," ran the imperial defiance, "not pope, but false monk". . . . "descend and surrender the apostolic chair, which thou hast usurped. . . . I, Henry, king by the grace of God, together with all my bishops, do call to thee, 'Get thee down, get down to everlasting damnation.'"

Gregory's reply ran: "O St. Peter, chief of the apostles, . . . for the honor and security of thy church, . . . I withdraw, through thy power and authority, from Henry, the king, who has risen against thy church with unheard of insolence, the rule over the whole kingdom of the Germans and over Italy; and I forbid any one to serve him as king."

The Emperor's abject submission at Canossa

Henry's friends fell away, — unable to stand before the terrors of the papal bull, — and in a few months he was helpless. A council of German nobles was called, over which the pope was to preside, to act on Henry's deposition. By swift submission, Henry saved his crown. He hurried into Italy, and, at *Canossa*, met the pope, already on his way across the Alps. The stern Gregory refused to see the suppliant, who stood barefoot, in a penitent's garb, through three days of extreme cold, amid the snow and rocks before the castle gate. Admitted finally to the pope's presence, after promising abject submission to his will, whatever it might be, Henry threw himself in tears at the feet

of his conqueror, crying, "Spare me, Holy Father, spare me!" Gregory also was moved to tears, and gave Henry the kiss of peace.

Hildebrand's exile and death

But Gregory had pushed his victory too far, or else not far enough. The foes of Henry in Germany felt that the pope had deserted them, and the mass of the nation were angered by the humiliation of their king, and rallied round him. After some delay, since there was no change in the matter of investitures, Gregory issued another decree of deposition. But the opportunity was gone. The German bishops went through the form of electing another pope. There followed a distressing tangle of wars. Finally, Gregory was driven from Rome, and soon after he died in the south of Italy (1085), exclaiming sadly, "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity; therefore I die in exile."

Later phases of the strife

Henry had no happier fate. The quarrel was continued with the new pope. Henry's sons were stirred up to rebel against their father, and in his old age the emperor met many reverses. For years he was a prisoner; and he died in 1106, broken-hearted, in the midst of defeat and shame. For five years his body lay in unconsecrated ground, before the church would remove the curse from his ashes.

The Concordat of Worms, 1122

Not long afterward, at the city of Worms (1122), the long quarrel was settled by a reasonable compromise, known as the Concordat of Worms. Bishops were to be elected by the clergy and consecrated by the pope; but the emperor was to have a possible veto upon any election, inasmuch as the candidate was to receive from him the investiture of the episcopal lands.[1]

Frederick Barbarossa, 1152–1190

After a truce for a generation, the conflict between popes and emperors broke forth again. A new ruling family — *the Hohenstaufen* — had come to the imperial throne. The first important ruler of this line was Frederick I, surnamed *Barbarossa*, or Red Beard. Barbarossa was bent upon uniting all Italy into

[1] This compromise seems to have been modeled upon one which had been made just before in England between Henry I (p. 508) and Anselm, his great Archbishop of Canterbury.

one state *under German rule*. This policy brought him into conflict with the rising towns of North Italy; and the popes, fearing that his victory would end their own independence, threw their weight on the side of the towns.

Time after time, Frederick led German armies across the Alps. Milan, the greatest city in the Po valley, was razed to the ground, and its inhabitants were scattered in unwalled villages. Some years afterward, however, while Frederick was at Rome, a sudden pestilence of the Italian summer swept away his army. Twenty-five thousand men perished in a week, — "slain by the angel of the Lord," like the host of Sennacherib before Jerusalem, said the papal party. The cities seized their chance and flew to arms. Under the pope's lead, they bound themselves together in "the Lombard League," the first city-federation since Greek days; and at the *battle of Legnano, 1176*, the emperor was completely defeated, barely escaping with life after having been left for dead on the field. *The Peace of Constance*, signed soon after, gave the towns the right to fortify themselves, to raise their own troops, to wage war on their own account, to coin money, and to regulate all their internal concerns. *Practically, they had become free republics.*

Battle of Legnano and Peace of Constance

Despite the defeat of Legnano, Frederick remained the greatest and most honored monarch in Europe. His court was one of pomp and splendor. He looked upon France and England as fiefs of the Empire; and the sovereigns of those lands regarded the emperor with profound respect, if not quite as their overlord. Of all the old German kings, Barbarossa is the popular hero; and centuries after his death, imperialistic legends told how he was merely sleeping a magic sleep, upright upon a golden throne in the heart of the Kyffhäuser Mountain, crown on head and scepter in hand. At the appointed hour, in his country's need, when the ravens should cease circling about the mountain top, Barbarossa would awake, to restore German rule. The admiration of the people for this hero of conquest is one thread in the making of the evil side of the recent German Empire.

Barbarossa's son, Henry VI, married the heiress of the Norman kingdom in Sicily, *and so brought South Italy into union with the Empire.* But at Henry's death, his son (afterward Frederick II) was a child of three years; and for almost a generation rival claimants struggled for the crown. During this period of decadence for the Empire, more plainly than ever before, the sovereign power in Europe was the papacy, under the stern morality, tremendous energy, imperious character, and able administration of *Innocent III.*

Pope Innocent III

Innocent became feudal overlord and protector of the Tuscan towns, and he was guardian of Frederick, the child-king of Sicily. Thus he was safe from attack by Italy, north or south, while conditions in Germany enabled him to make and unmake emperors. The election of a certain Philip as emperor was disputed by a rival, Otto. Innocent claimed the right to decide. He rejected Philip as "an obstinate persecutor of the church," and gave his award to Otto, because that prince was declared to be "devoted to the church." "*Him, therefore, we . . . summon to take the imperial crown.*" Afterward, when Otto took up the imperial claims against the papacy, Innocent declared him deposed, and secured the election of the young Frederick, grandson of Barbarossa.

Frederick II, 1214–1250

The death of Innocent, in 1216, left the field clear, for the moment, for the young emperor, Frederick II, who was just coming to manhood. Frederick II has been called the last of the great medieval emperors and the first of the great modern kings — "*the most gifted of the sons of men, . . . a wonderful man in a wonderful age.*" Unlike his grandfather, Barbarossa, he was an Italian by birth and nature. In person, he was slight, bald, nearsighted. A Mohammedan historian wrote that as a slave he would not have brought a hundred drachmas. He was an enthusiastic patron of literature, a founder of one of the early universities, and himself a scholar and an author of no mean ability in prose and in verse. He wrote charming songs, not in Latin, but in the new Italian tongue of everyday life, and was truly called the father of Italian poetry. He was

GERMANY AND ITALY
During the Interregnum
1254-1278
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200
NORTH SEA
FRANCE
POLAND
BOHEMIA
HUNGARY
PRUSSIA
POMERANIA
BRANDENBURG
SAXONY
BAVARIA
SUABIA
FRANCONIA
LOWER LORRAINE
UPPER LORRAINE
FLANDERS
HESSE
THURINGIA
MORAVIA
AUSTRIA
CARINTHIA
CARNIOLA
TYROL
SAVOY
PROVENCE
DAUPHINY
FRANCHE COMTÉ
LITTLE BURGUNDY
BRESSE
TRENT
VERONA
MARCH OF ANCONA
TUSCANY
THE CHURCH
STATE OF ROME
CROATIA
BOSNIA
SERVIA
SLAVONIA
DALMATIA
ADRIATIC SEA
TYRRHENIAN SEA
Gulf of Lyons
Gulf of Genoa
Gulf of Tarento
CORSICA
SARDINIA
ELBA
KINGDOM OF SICILY
Rhine R.
Danube R.
Drave R.
Save R.
Rhone R.
Elbe R.
Oder R.
Vistula R.
Weser R.
Meuse
Moselle
Saone R.
Po R.
Tiber R.
Arno R.
Königsberg
Danzig
Teutonic Territory
Stettin
Hamburg
Bremen
Oldenburg
Brunswick
Brandenburg
Posen
Lusatia
Silesia
Breslau
Cracovia
Meissen
Prague
Bruun
Vienna
Buda
Pest
Munich
Augsburg
Ratisbon
Salzburg
Constance
Baden
Bouillon
Luxemburg
Metz
Besançon
Basle
Strasburg
Gremburg
Aix-la-Chapelle
Liege
Ghent
Utrecht
Zuyder Zee
Treviso
Trieste
Milan
Parma
Modena
Ferrara
Bologna
Ravenna
Florence
Pisa
Siena
Ancona
Aquila
Civita Vecchia
Rome
Naples
Tarento
Brindisi
Palermo
Syracuse
Ajaccio
Cagliari
Nice
Genoa
Aquileia
Gradisca
Goritz
Adelsberg
Tyrol
Trent
Verona
Mantua
Padua
Venice
Polesine
Ferrara
Modena
Parma
Milan
Treviso
Aquileia
Trieste
Gradisca
Goritz
Adelsberg
Carniola
Carinthia
Tyrol
Austria
Moravia
Bohemia
Silesia
Lusatia
Meissen
Thuringia
Hesse
Saxony
Brandenburg
Pomerania
Prussia
Poland
Cracovia
Hungary
Slavonia
Croatia
Bosnia
Servia
Dalmatia
Adriatic Sea
Tyrrhenian Sea
Kingdom of Sicily
State of Rome
The Church
Tuscany
March of Ancona
Verona
Trent
Savoy
Provence
Dauphiny
Franche Comté
Little Burgundy
Bresse
Lorraine
Upper Lorraine
Lower Lorraine
Flanders
Suabia
Bavaria
Franconia
Hesse
Thuringia
Saxony
Brandenburg
Pomerania
Prussia
Poland
Bohemia
Moravia
Austria

deeply interested in the science of the Arabs. He ridiculed trial by ordeal and other medieval superstitions, and his own codes of law were far in advance of the barbarous ideas of the age. He was a modern, rather than a medieval, — a many-sided man, warrior, statesman, lawgiver, scholar, poet.

Frederick and the popes

At the same time, with all his wonderful genius, he gave his life's energies to buttressing the hopelessly outgrown and tottering system of a universal empire. He left no positive result, but was only "the most dazzling of a long line of imperial failures." The popes feared lest their principality should be crushed between the Hohenstaufen, north and south; and the danger made them Frederick's relentless foes. During much of his reign, the emperor was under sentence of excommunication and deposition. He spent his last years like a lion at bay, amid the fierce onslaughts of open enemies and the cruel treacheries of trusted friends; and his death (1250) was followed by quick and final ruin for his plans and by the extinction of his family. The death of his son, Conrad IV (1254), ushered in *a long interregnum for the Empire*, and marked the separation of Germany from Italy.

The popes had excluded the Germans from Italy, but they had not saved Italy from foreign domination. Just at the last, to crush one of Frederick's sons in Sicily, the pope had "given" the Sicilian crown to Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis IX of France. For centuries to come, Italy was to remain disunited — the battle ground of France, Spain, and Germany.

"Fist-law" in Germany, 1254–1273

The emperors had failed utterly. The Empire was no longer either "Holy" or "Roman": it remained only "German." And even the German *kingdom* seemed extinct. For twenty years (1254–1273), Germany was ruled by "Fist-law." There was no emperor and not even a king. The old kingdom dissolved into petty fragments, some three hundred in number, — free cities, duchies, marks, counties, — each virtually an independent monarchy or city-republic.

And yet it is only fair to remember that the imperialistic ambitions of the Ottos and Hohenstaufens, fantastic and

absurd as they seem to us, had at least far more excuse than the like dreams of universal empire in a later age held by a Napoleon or a Hohenzollern. Says the historian Freeman, — "To men of that time, *living amid the perpetual strife of small principalities,* the vision of one universal Empire of law and right shone with an alluring brightness, which we . . . can hardly understand."

Fact Drills

1. *Dates:* 843, 962, 1066 (class fill in the events); 1075–1254 (struggle between Empire and papacy), 1215, 1265, 1295.
2. *Fix other events in connection with the dates given above;* such as *Lechfeld, Lombard League, Legnano, Estates General.*
3. *Extend list of terms* for explanation: *Hugh Capet, Canossa,* etc.

CHAPTER LIII

THE CRUSADES, 1100–1300

For the last two centuries of the feudal age, all Western Europe was deeply moved by one common impulse. To understand this, we must look at conditions outside Europe.

The Damascus Gate in the Walls of Jerusalem To-day. — As rebuilt by the Saracens.

Power and culture of the Mohammedan World

The Mohammedans (pp. 452–455) still ruled from the Pyrenees to the Ganges. They had utilized the old culture of Persia and of Greece. Their governments were as good as the Oriental world had ever known. Their roads and canals encouraged commerce and bound together distant regions. Their magnificent cities were built with a peculiar and beautiful archi-

tecture, characterized by the horseshoe arch, the dome, the turret, the graceful minaret, and a rich ornament of "arabesque." Their manufactures were the finest in the world, both for beautiful design and for delicate workmanship. Their glass and pottery and metal work, their dyestuffs, their paper, their cloth manufactures, their preparations of leather, all represented industries almost or wholly unknown to the West. We still speak of "Toledo" blades, and "Morocco" leather, while "muslins" and "damasks" recall the superior manufacturing processes at Mosul and Damascus. Saracenic farming was scientific, with the use of irrigation and fertilizers; and the Moors in Spain delighted in lovely gardens adorned with many new varieties of fruit and flowers which they produced by grafting. Europe was soon to owe to them many of these products and processes, with many other things long forgotten or new — spices, oranges, lemons, rice, sugar cane, dates, asparagus, sesame, buckwheat, apricots, watermelons, perfumes, calicoes, satins, the crossbow, the windmill.

A Detail from the Mosque of Cordova. See also p. 456.

Learning of the Saracens

In intellectual lines their superiority was no less marked. While Europe had only a few monastic schools to light its "Dark Ages," the Arabs had great universities, with libraries containing hundreds of thousands of manuscripts. In Persia and in Spain they had created a noble literature, both prose and poetry. Philosophy, theology, law, rhetoric, were subjects

for special study. The old Chaldean astrology (p. 59) was becoming true astronomy in the hands of the Arabs in Spain. The heavens still keep proof of their studies in its thick sprinkling of Arabic names, like *Aldebaran*, while many terms in our texts on astronomy (*azimuth, zenith, nadir*) bear like testimony. From India they brought the "Arabic" notation, while Europe was still struggling with clumsy Roman numerals. Algebra and alchemy (chemistry) are Arabic in origin as in name, and spherical trigonometry was their creation. And while Europe still treated disease from the viewpoint of an Indian "medicine man," the Saracens had established, on Greek foundations, a real science of medicine. On the other hand, Mohammedanism expressly sanctioned slavery and polygamy, and so gave no chance for the rise of woman or of the working classes.

The Byzantine Empire

Midway in character, as in geography, between Latin Europe and Mohammedan Asia, lay the Greek Empire, living on for centuries a quiet, orderly life. In material prosperity it was unexcelled anywhere in the world, and in intellectual activity it was surpassed only by the Saracens. It was a civilized state, standing on the defensive against barbarian attack, and waging its wars mainly with Norse mercenaries. The emperors were often devoted scholars and able authors, as well as great rulers. Constantinople in magnificence and extent and comfort was unapproached by the rude towns of France and Germany; and its wealth, splendor, and comforts, — its paved and lighted streets, its schools and theaters, its orderly police system, its hospitals and parks, — were amazing to the few visitors from the West. Its million keen-

A Byzant (Bezant). — A gold coin issued by the emperors at Constantinople in the Middle Ages, which had a wide circulation, especially from the eighth to the thirteenth centuries, in the countries of Western Europe when, with the exception of Spain, these lands had no gold currency of their own.

witted people looked with contempt, and with some dread, upon the "barbarian" Franks. Such little trade as Western Europe possessed was mainly in Greek hands, and the "Byzant," the coin of Constantinople, was its money standard.

Rise of the Turks

In the eleventh century, the *civilization of the Saracens*[1] received a fatal blow, and the *existence of the Greek Empire* was endangered. Political supremacy in the Mohammedan world fell to the Turks, a new Tartar people from beyond the Jaxartes. The Turks were to play somewhat the same part in the Saracenic world that the Teutons had played in the old Roman world, — with this tremendous difference, that even to the present day they have not assimilated civilization. The Arab culture survived long enough to be transplanted into Europe during the Crusades, but in its own home it was doomed thereafter to swift decay.

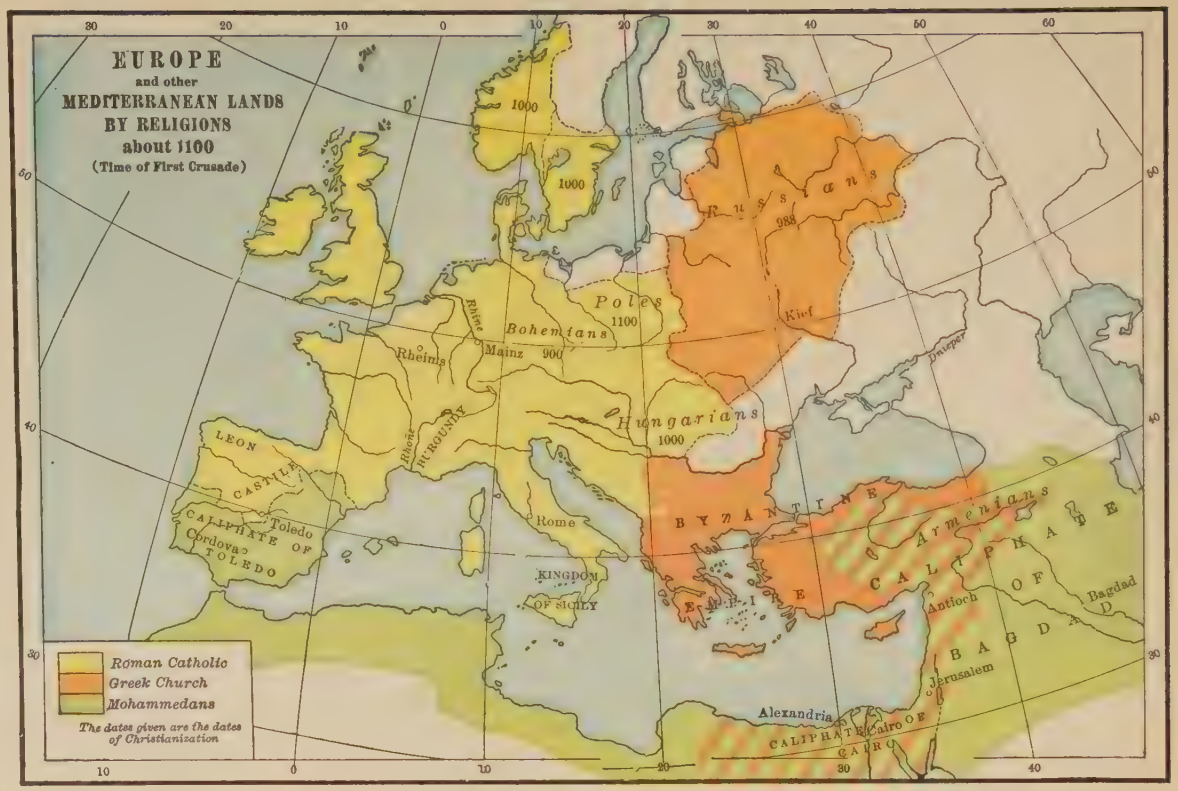
The Turks were at least mighty soldiers, and they *began a new era of Mohammedan conquest.* Almost at once the greater part of the Greek Empire fell into their hands. They overran Asia Minor, and established a number of principalities there. One of them, called the Empire of "Roum" (Rome), placed its capital at Nicaea, only seventy miles from Constantinople. In terror, the Greek emperor turned to Western Christendom for aid; and his appeal was the signal for two centuries of war, "Cross" against "Crescent."

The abuse of Christian pilgrims by the Turk

The Greek call for aid would have produced little effect, however, if Western Europe had not had deep grievances of its own against the Turk. Pilgrimages to holy shrines were a *leading feature* of medieval life.[2] Good men made them to satisfy religious enthusiasm; evil men, to secure forgiveness for crime; sick men, to heal bodily ills. *A pilgrimage was an act of worship.* Chief of all pilgrimages, of course, was that to the land where Christ had lived and to the tomb where His body had been laid. The Saracens had permitted Christian

[1] *Saracen* is used sometimes for any Mohammedan power, but strictly it belongs only to the Arabs.

[2] Read Jusserand's *English Wayfaring Life*, 338–403.


EUROPE
and other
MEDITERRANEAN LANDS
BY RELIGIONS
about 1100
(Time of First Crusade)
1000
1000
Russians
988
Kief
Poles
1100
Bohemians
Rheims
Mainz
900
Rhine
Rhone
Hungarians
1000
LEON
CASTILE
CALIPHATE OF
TOLEDO
Toledo
Cordova
Rome
KINGDOM
OF SICILY
BYZANTINE
EMPIRE
Armenians
CALIPHATE
OF
BAGDAD
Antioch
Bagdad
Jerusalem
Alexandria
CALIPHATE OF
CAIRO
Cairo
Roman Catholic
Greek Church
Mohammedans
The dates given are the dates
of Christianization

pilgrimages; but the Turks, when they captured Jerusalem from the Arabs, began at once to persecute all Christians there, until tales of suffering and wrongs filled Europe with shame and wrath.

"God wills it!"

The messengers from Constantinople came to *Pope Urban*, as the head of Christendom, in 1095. Urban at once assumed the leadership, and at a great gathering of French nobles at *Clermont* preached a war of the Cross to recover the Holy Sepulcher from the infidel. His eloquence thrilled the multitude to a frenzy of enthusiasm, and they caught up his cry, "God wills it! God wills it!" A great expedition was arranged for the following spring, and all over Europe men were called upon to "take the cross": that is, to pledge themselves to the expedition by fastening a red cross on the breast.

A CRUSADER taking the vow. From a thirteenth century manuscript.

The Crusades, 1100–1300

Thus began those movements we call the Crusades. Each Crusader marched in part to save Eastern Christians, partly to avenge Western pilgrims, and partly to make his own (armed) pilgrimage to the holiest of shrines. Mingled with these motives was the spirit of adventure and greed for land and gold.

Peter the Hermit's crusade

The Crusades opened with a pathetic movement. Hordes of peasantry, impatient of delay, without waiting for the army of nobles, set off to rescue the Holy Land, under a preaching monk and a beggar knight, Peter the Hermit and Walter the Penniless. These multitudes — ignorant, unorganized, almost unarmed — confidently expected divine aid. Most of them perished miserably in the terrible journey through the Danube

valley, by starvation and disease, and by the attacks of the Christian natives whose lands they were pillaging for food. The remnants, as soon as they reached Asia, were annihilated by the Turks.

The "First Crusade," 1096 A.D.

In the spring of 1096 swarms of the real Crusaders began to make their way through Europe to Constantinople, the appointed place of meeting. There they gathered, some three hundred thousand strong, according to the chroniclers, — one hundred thousand of them mailed horsemen, — the most formidable army Europe had ever sent against Asia. This was the "First Crusade." The Greek emperor, fearful lest these fierce allies might turn upon his own realm, hastened their departure into Asia. There they endured terrible suffering and loss, in march, skirmish, battle, and siege. The leaders quarreled savagely among themselves, but the Mohammedans at this time were even more broken up into hostile camps; and in July, 1099, the Christians stormed Jerusalem, amid hideous butchery and wild transports of religious enthusiasm.

Letters from the Crusaders give curious and interesting side lights on their motives and feelings. One of the leaders was Stephen, Count of Blois, who had married a daughter of William the Conqueror and was the father of the young prince afterward known as King Stephen of England (p. 508). In 1098, from before Antioch, Count Stephen sent to his "sweetest and most amiable wife," the following letter:

"You may be sure, dearest, that my messenger leaves me before Antioch safe and unharmed, through God's grace. . . . We have been advancing continuously for twenty-three weeks toward the home of our Lord Jesus [since leaving Constantinople]. You may know for certain, my beloved, that I have now twice as much of gold and silver and of many other kinds of riches as when I left you. . . . You must have heard that, after the capture of Nicea, we fought a great battle with the perfidious Turks, and by God's aid, conquered them. . . . Thence, continually pursuing the wicked Turks, we drove them as far as the great river Euphrates. . . . Hastening with great joy to Antioch, we besieged it, and very often had many conflicts with the Turks, and seven times with the citizens of Antioch, and with the innumerable

troops coming to its aid. In all these seven battles, by the aid of the Lord God, we conquered, and most assuredly killed a vast host of them. Many of our brethren and followers were killed also, and their souls were born to the joys of Paradise. . . . These five emirs, with 12,000 picked Turkish horsemen, suddenly came to aid the inhabitants of Antioch. God fought for us, His faithful. On that day we conquered them and killed an innumerable multitude; and we carried back to the army more than two hundred of their heads, in order that the people might rejoice on that account.

"These which I write you are only a few things, dearest, of the many which we have done. And because I am not able to tell you, dearest, what is in my mind, I charge you to do right, to watch over your land carefully, to do your duty as you ought to your children and your vassals. . . ."

EFFIGIES OF KNIGHTS TEMPLAR, from funeral slabs in the Temple Church, London. The *crossing* of the legs in a funeral sculpture indicated a *crusader*.

"Latin states" in Syria

The greater nobles among the Crusaders set up four "Latin states" in Syria — of which the chief was the "Kingdom of Jerusalem." The Crusaders knew of no system of government except feudalism, and so each ruler divided his realm in feudal fashion among his retainers. On the soil of Asia, a complete feudal society sprang up, to continue the war against the Crescent.

And "fighting monks"

These Latin states found the core of their fighting force in a new institution, which combined the two opposite ideals of the age, — that of the monk and that of the knight. Three orders of *fighting monks* arose. The *Knights of St. John*, or *of the Hospital*, grew out of an organization to care for the wounded.

Soon the nurses became themselves warriors and knights. They took the monk's threefold vow of poverty, chastity, and obedience, and added a fourth, binding themselves to perpetual warfare against the infidel. The *Templars* arose in like manner out of a society to succor distressed pilgrims, and the name came from the fact that the eight or nine knights who originally composed the organization dwelt in a house near Solomon's Temple. The *Teutonic Order* grew out of the hospitality of a German merchant toward his needy countrymen in Jerusalem.

The Crusades a continuous movement for 200 years

The Crusades were a continuous movement. From about 1100 to about 1300 there was constant fighting between Christian and Mohammedan in the East. Europe, which in the ninth century had been helpless against plundering heathen bands, had now grown strong enough to pour into Asia a ceaseless stream of mailed knights, with countless followers. At eight particular times there were especially important movements of mighty armies into Asia, known as *the Eight Crusades*. The most romantic was the one known as the Third. For nearly a hundred years after the First Crusade the Christians kept possession of Jerusalem; but during the last half of that time the Mohammedans had been slowly gaining ground in Palestine. Then suddenly Saladin, a new Mohammedan ruler, recaptured the Holy City and reduced the Latin states to a mere strip of coast. This called Europe again to arms. Frederick Barbarossa of Germany, Philip II of France, and Richard of England, the greatest sovereigns of Europe, joined in a mighty effort. But Barbarossa was drowned while bathing in a little stream in Asia Minor, and the jealousies between Philip and Richard broke up the movement before Jerusalem was recovered.

The "Third Crusade"

The "Fourth Crusade" and the "Latin Empire" at Constantinople

Venice furnished the ships for a Fourth Crusade (1204), and managed to divert the movement into an attack upon her commercial rival Constantinople. For a time a "Latin Empire" replaced much of the old Greek Empire, and various petty fragments became Frankish principalities — like the brilliant

"Duchy of Athens." [1] Fifty years later, the Greek Empire at Constantinople was restored, but it never recovered its earlier vigor. The Fourth Crusade, in its greedy attack upon the ancient champion of Christendom, was a crime against the cause of the Crusades.

The later Crusades were of little moment. Before 1300, the last territory of the Latins in Syria had fallen finally to the Turks, and thereafter men who still wished to fight for the Cross went to aid the Christian princes in Spain against the Moors, or warred against the heathen on the northeast of Europe. The Teutonic Order took up the conquest and settlement of heathen Prussia (map after page 550). The Knights of St. John withdrew to Rhodes, and afterward to Malta, and in constant warfare, for two hundred years more, formed the outpost of Christendom against Mohammedanism.

Why the Crusades ceased

The Crusades ceased because they themselves had helped to create a new age. The Europe of 1300 was a different world from the Europe of 1100. Trade had grown vastly, and society was no longer made up so exclusively of fighters. Men had begun to believe less in the saving value of pilgrimages to distant shrines; and they had learned to think more of their duties to the world about them.

Joinville (p. 483), for instance, came of a family of famous Crusaders. As a young man he himself accompanied Louis IX on the Seventh Crusade, and persisted in continuing it after all the other counselors of the king had advised return. But many years later, when Louis made a second expedition, Joinville stoutly refused to go at all. Louis urged him to join, — "Whereto I replied that while I was serving God and the king beyond sea before, the officers of the king [Louis] had ruined myself and impoverished my people; and that if I wished now to please God I should remain here to defend my people; *for if I risked myself for the Cross, when I saw clearly that it would be*

[1] It was the famous court of these *medieval* "Dukes of Athens" that Chaucer and Shakspere had in mind in their references to *ancient* Athenian history. Cf. "*Duke* Theseus," in *A Midsummer Night's Dream.*

for the damage of my people, I should bring down upon me the wrath of God, who gave his life to save His people. . . . And I considered that those committed a deadly sin who advised him to that voyage."

Indirect results of the Crusades upon European peoples

The *indirect* results of the Crusades upon Europe were vastly more important than the recovery of Palestine could have been. New energies awakened; new worlds of thought opened. The intellectual horizon widened. Even among the Arabs, to their surprise, as the Crusaders' letters show, they had found men brave, just, honorable, and religious. They brought back, too, new gains in science, art, architecture, and medical skill; and *Europe had learned that there was still more to learn.*

Growth of commerce

Many long-forgotten Oriental products (p. 534) became again necessaries of life. Some of them were soon grown or manufactured in Europe. Others, like spices, could not be produced there, and, in consequence, commerce with distant parts of Asia grew enormously. In the absence of fresh meat in winter and of our modern root-foods, spices became of immense importance for the table. For a time, Venice and Genoa, assisted by their favorable positions, monopolized much of the new carrying trade; but all the ports of Western Europe were more or less affected. This commercial activity called for quicker methods of reckoning; and so Europe adopted the Arabic numerals. *Money replaced barter,* and bankers appeared, alongside the old Jew money-lenders.

Money and banking

Feudalism weakened

All this undermined both the economic and the military basis of feudalism. Money made it unnecessary for the tenant to pay rent in *service,* and enabled the kings to collect "taxes" and maintain standing armies. Moreover the Crusades swept away the old feudal nobles *directly.* Hundreds of thousands of barons and knights squandered their possessions to prepare for the expedition and then left their bones in Palestine. The ground was cleared for the rising city democracies and the new monarchies (p. 544 ff.).

And at first these new forces were allies. The "third estate" wanted order, and the kings could help secure it. The kings

wanted money, and the third estate could supply it. Kings and towns joined hands to keep down feudal forces. True, a new nobility grew up — but with only the honors of the old, not with its power.

For Further Reading. — Three contemporary accounts are printed in the *Chronicles of the Crusades*. Joinville's account in his *St. Louis* is especially excellent. Further source material will be found in Archer's *Crusade of Richard I*.

Modern accounts: Archer and Kingsford, *The Crusades* (probably the best account in English); Cox, *The Crusades;* Gray, *The Children's Crusade;* Gilman, *The Saracens;* Adams, *Civilization*, ch. xi; Pears, *Fall of Constantinople;* Cutts, *Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages*, 157–194; Lane-Poole, *Saladin;* Perry, *St. Louis*.

In fiction: Scott's *Talisman*.

Siege of a Medieval Town: the summons to surrender. — From a sixteenth century copper engraving.

CHAPTER LIV

THE RISE OF TOWNS, 1100–1300

Townsman vs. noble

From 500 to 1100 A.D. the three figures in European life had been the tonsured priest, the mailed horseman, and the field laborer, stunted and bent. *In the twelfth century*, alongside priest, noble, and peasant, *there stood out* a fourth figure — the sturdy, resolute, self-confident townsman, or burgher.

Feudalism and the towns were foes by nature. Feudalism had grown out of war, and lived to fight. The noble tried to confound the townsman with the serf, treated him always with haughty contempt, and usually robbed him when the chance offered. The new towns could fight stubbornly, when forced to fight; but they grew out of trade and lived for industry, and they shut out the robber-knights by walls and guards.

In England, noble and townsman were far less hostile than on the Continent; but an event in England, as late as the time of Edward I (1300), shows this class war even there. The

town of Boston was holding a great fair.[1] Citizens guarded its gates zealously against any hostile intruders, but an armed band of country gentlemen (of the "noble" class) got through in the disguise of play actors. When darkness fell, they began their horrible work of murder and plunder. They fired every booth, slaughtered the merchants, and hurried the booty to

Ruins of a Rhine Castle above a modern town.

ships ready at the quay. The horror-stricken people of other towns told how streams of molten gold mingled with rivers of blood in the gutters.

True, King Edward, under whose license the fair had been promised protection, proved strong enough to hang the leaders of these "gentlemen." But in Germany, at the same period, like events followed one another in a horrible panorama, with-

[1] Large cities, at fixed times, held great fairs, lasting many days, for all the small places in the neighboring regions. Merchants from all the kingdom — and, indeed, sometimes from all Europe, — journeyed to such fairs with their goods, to reap a harvest from the country folk who crowded about their booths.

out attempt at punishment. The towns could shut out the "robber knights" by walls and guards. But from their castle crags the knights swooped down upon any unwary townsman who ventured too near, and even on armed caravans of traders on the highway, to rob and murder, or to carry off for ransom. Such unhappy captives were loaded with rusty chains that ate into the flesh, and were left in damp and filthy dungeons until sometimes their limbs rotted away — so that to "rot a peasant" became a German by-word.

Yet it was the "peasant" townsmen, not the knightly fighter, who was to make our modern world what it has become.

The beginnings of towns

In Italy and southern France, the old Roman towns had lived along, with shrunken population, subject to neighboring lords. Under the new impulse to trade, by 1200, these regions were once more dotted with self-governing cities, which modeled their institutions, in part at least, on those they had brought down from Roman times. Elsewhere, the towns were mainly new growths — from peasant villages. Most were small. Very few had more than 4000 people. Until the year 1500, England had only two towns with more than 12,000 — London and Bristol.

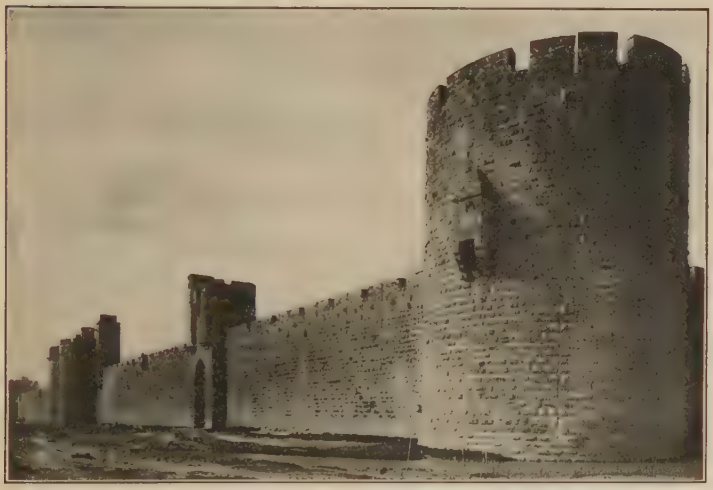
The struggle for collective bargaining

At first each inhabitant of a town remained *directly* dependent upon the feudal lord on whose domain the town was. *The first advance toward freedom was to change individual bargaining to collective bargaining.* The town demanded that its chosen officers bargain with the lord regarding dues and services to be paid by the town, instead of each helpless citizen being left to settle for himself at the lord's mercy. In "two centuries of revolt," by stubborn heroism and wise use of their wealth, the towns won charters guaranteeing such privileges. In the long conflict, cities were burned and ravaged; and countless heroic leaders of the townsmen swung in chains from the nobles' gallows, or dragged out a more lingering death in dungeons. Nor did one victory for a town end the matter. The first charter was usually brief and vague — and so became the occasion for later struggles to obtain more precise and extensive grants.

Many a medieval town guarded carefully several successive charters in its ironbound town chest.

Town life showed new wants, new comforts, new occupations. Thatched hovels, with dirt floors, gave way to comfortable and even stately burghers' homes. Misery and squalor among the working classes were replaced, for a large part of them, by happy comfort; and there followed a lavish expenditure for town halls and cathedrals and for civic feasts and shows.

Life in the town



Wall of Aigues Mortes, — a French town which won a liberal charter in 1246.

Still, the medieval European city fell far behind the ancient Greek or Roman city or the contemporary Arabian city. There were no street lights at night, no city water supply, no sewerage, no street-cleaning, no paving. The necessity of inclosing the town within lofty stone walls crowded it into small space, so that streets were always narrow and dark. Dead animals rotted in these streets, and on one occasion in the fifteenth century a German emperor, warmly welcomed in a loyal city, was almost swallowed up, horse and rider, in the bottomless filth.

The citizen, too, however safe from feudal tyranny, lived in bondage to countless minute and annoying, but necessary, town regulations. When the great bell in the town belfry or watchtower rang the "curfew" at night, he must "cover his fire" and put out all lights, — a precaution against conflagration which was particularly necessary because of the closely crowded, narrow streets, and the absence of fire companies and police. His clothing, and his wife's, must be no richer than those prescribed for their particular station. He must serve his turn as "watch" in the belfry tower, on the walls, or in the streets at night. In his daily labor he must buy and sell and work only according to the minute regulation of his gild. At night, no well-to-do citizen stirred abroad without his armor and his guard of stout apprentice lads; and he was always compelled to fortify and guard his house.

Craft and merchant gilds

The people of a town, except the unskilled laborers, were grouped in *gilds*, as in old Roman times. The idea of the gild was that all men in the same kind of work in a given district ought to unite, to help one another and to arrange matters in which they were all interested. Each medieval town had its *merchant gild* and its many *craft gilds*. These latter were unions of artisans, — weavers, shoemakers, glovers, bow-makers, drapers, tanners, and so on. York, a small English city of some two or three thousand people, had fifty such gilds. Cologne had eighty. Even the homes of a gild were grouped together. One street was the street of the armorers; another, of the goldsmiths; and so on.

Each craft gild contained three classes of members, — masters, journeymen, and apprentices. *The master* owned a shop, — probably part of the house where his family lived, — and employed one or more journeymen, besides a band of apprentices. *Apprentices* were boys or youths bound out by their parents for a term of years to learn the trade. They lived in the master's house, ate at his table, and he furnished their clothing and taught them "all he knew." After six or seven years, when his term of service was up, the apprentice became

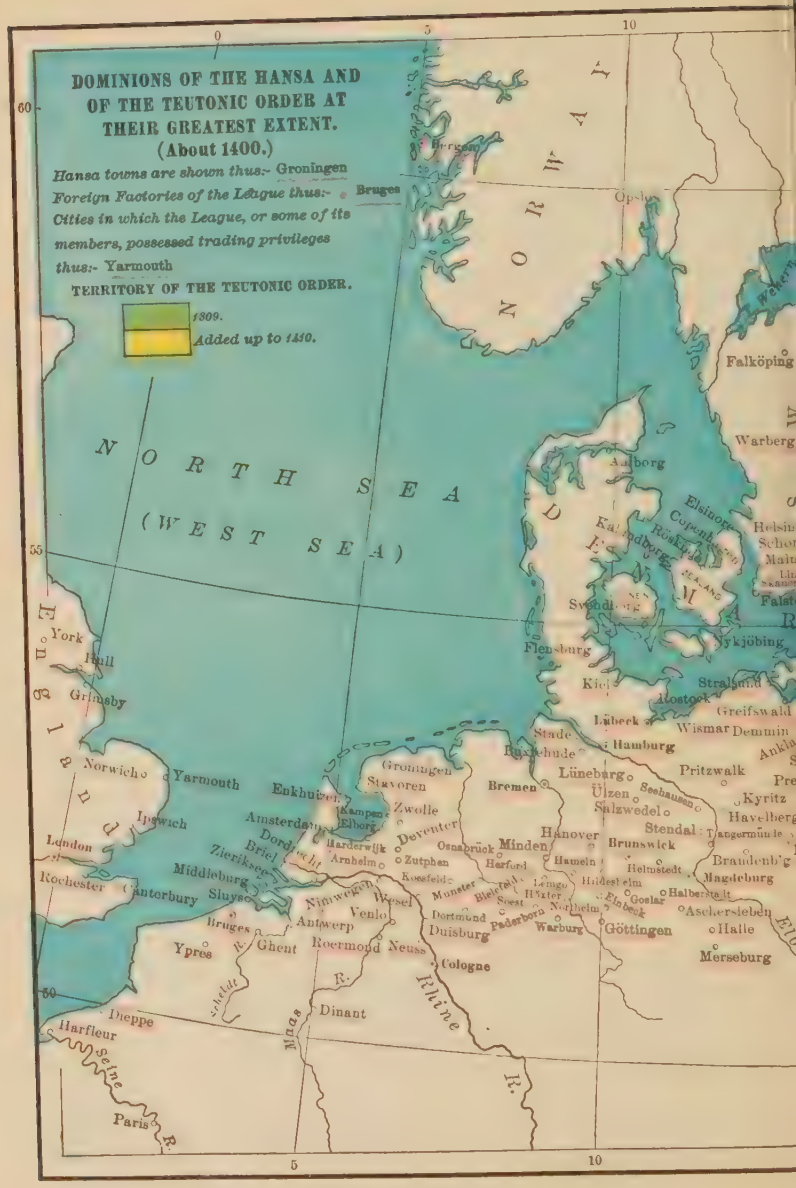
OLD STREET IN ROUEN, present condition. The Cathedral is visible at the opening of the street into the square. Probably the appearance of the street has changed little since the fourteenth century.

a free journeyman, working for wages. For the next few years he traveled from place to place, practicing his trade in various cities, to see the world and to perfect himself in his "mystery," as the secrets of the trade were called. If he could save the small amount of money needed, he finally set up a shop of his own and became *a master*. As a master, he continued to work with his own hands, living among his dependents with a more or less paternal care over them.

The gild was not organized, as the modern trade-union is, to regulate the relations of workmen to employers. It was a *brotherhood*, containing both workmen and employers. Its purposes were (1) to prevent competition (and so all who practiced the trade were forced to enter the gild and abide by its rules); (2) to prevent monopoly of materials or of opportunity by any of its members (and so each "brother" had a right to share in any purchase by another, and no one could sell except at appointed times and places); (3) to keep up the price (which was fixed by the gild); and (4) *to maintain a high standard of goods* (and so the gild punished severely all adulterations, the mixing of poor wool with good, and the giving short weight). *Thus the gild aimed to protect both producer and consumer.*

Medieval Town Hall, Oudenarde, Belgium, still in use.

The gild was also a fraternal insurance society. Moreover, it had social features, and indeed it often originated as a social club for men engaged in the same trade. Through-


DOMINIONS OF THE HANSA AND OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER AT THEIR GREATEST EXTENT.
(About 1400.)
Hansa towns are shown thus:- Groningen
Foreign Factories of the League thus:- Bruges
Cities in which the League, or some of its members, possessed trading privileges thus:- Yarmouth
TERRITORY OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER.
1309.
Added up to 1410.
NORWAY
NORTH SEA
(WEST SEA)
England
Bergen
Opslo
Falköping
Warberg
Aalborg
Elsinore
Copenhagen
Kalundborg
Röskilde
Svendborg
Flensburg
Kiel
Nykjöbing
Stralsund
Rostock
Greifswald
Lübeck
Wismar
Demmin
Stade
Hamburg
Buxtehude
Lüneburg
Pritzwalk
Bremen
Ülzen
Seehausen
Kyritz
Salzwedel
Havelberg
Stendal
Tangermünde
Hanover
Brunswick
Brandenb'g
Minden
Hameln
Helmstedt
Magdeburg
Hildesheim
Lemgo
Halberstadt
Goslar
Hexter
Elbeck
Aschersleben
Northeim
Paderborn
Warburg
Göttingen
Halle
Merseburg
Dortmund
Duisburg
Cologne
Groningen
Stavoren
Zwolle
Deventer
Osnabrück
Herford
Zutphen
Koesfeld
Münster
Bielefeld
Soest
Wesel
Venlo
Neuss
Roermond
Antwerp
Nimwegen
Kampen
Elborg
Harderwijk
Arnheim
Enkhuizen
Amsterdam
Dordrecht
Briel
Zierikzee
Middleburg
Sluys
Bruges
Ghent
Ypres
Dinant
Maas R.
Rhine R.
Dieppe
Harfleur
Seine R.
Paris
York
Hull
Grimsby
Norwich
Yarmouth
Ipswich
London
Rochester
Canterbury
0
5
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55
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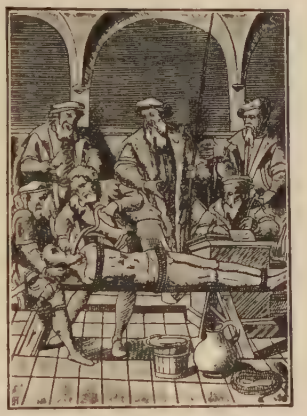
Abo
Gulf of Finland
Neva R.
Reval
Esthland
1346
Novgorod
Stockholm
DAGO
Dorpat
Pernau
Pskof
Livland
Wettern
Wenden
Wisby
Riga
Kurland
Mitau
Dvina
Dünaburg
R.
Polotsk
Vitebsk
Kalmar
EAST SEA (BALTIC)
1384
Memel
Niemen
Kovno
BORNHOLM
Konigsberg
Rudau
Oliva
Braunsberg
Stolp
Danzig
Elbing
Marienburg
Kolberg
Pomerania
1310
Dirschau
Prussia
Grodno
Kammin
Gollnow
Kulm
Kulmerland
Löbau
Stargard
Thorn
1328-43
Bug
R.
Pripet
R.
Vistula
R.
Kalisz
Oder
R.
Breslau
Krakow
L.L. POATES, ENGR., N.Y.

out the Middle Ages the gild feasts were the chief social event in the lives of the gild members.

A new "third estate"

The townsmen — from rich merchant down through skilled artisan — became a "third estate" in government. They were not yet "the people." They were only one more "class" risen from the unreckoned mass; and they looked down upon unskilled workmen and farm peasants with contempt as bigoted and cruel as that felt for burghers by the classes above them.



TORTURE BY WATER, a method used in medieval towns, on the continent, in their bitter class strife. This particular form of torture to compel confession survived to recent times in the Spanish Philippines, and was adopted by American soldiers there in the barbarous warfare with the natives.

Moreover, the two ruling elements, the merchants and the artisans, were mutually jealous; and for two centuries (1200–1400), in city after city, the aristocratic merchant gild struggled in ferocious civil war to shut out the more democratic craft gilds from the city government. At Magdeburg in Germany, in 1302, the democratic party, gaining control for a moment, burned ten aristocratic aldermen at the stake at one time.

For a time it seemed that Europe might be dominated by city leagues, like ancient Greece. The Hanseatic League (eighty North German towns, with "factories" in foreign cities over all North Europe) fought at times with the mightiest kings, and won. Similar unions of free towns appeared in every land. But in Italy, by 1350, nearly every city had fallen under the rule of a tyrant; in France they came completely under the despotic power of the king; in Germany they became only one more element in the political chaos; in England they never secured the extreme independence which they possessed

in other countries. The more advanced parts of Europe moved on toward *a national life* — in which this city life was soon absorbed.

The Friar reform

It remains to note a religious reform called forth by town life. The growing towns did not at first fit into the organization of the church. Neither monks nor rural priests took care of the religious needs of the crowded populations. The poorer inhabitants were miserable in body, too, beyond all words, — fever and plague stricken, perishing of want and filth and wretchedness such as no modern city knows.[1] Early in the thirteenth century, these conditions, together with the spread of heretical movements, called forth a general religious revival, with the rise of two new orders of religious workers, — the Franciscan and the Dominican brotherhoods.

St. Francis of Assisi

The Franciscans (1209) took their name from their founder *Francis of Assisi*, known later as *Saint Francis*. He was moved by a passionate pity for the ignorant, dying, despairing dregs of the population in the medieval Italian towns about him. A little group of eleven youths caught the inspiration of his lofty enthusiasm and self-renunciation. Francis walked to Rome and secured sanction for his plans from Innocent III, and at once the little band of "brothers" (*friars*) began their mission.

The Franciscans

They went forth, two and two, to the poor and the outcasts, living from day to day in the midst of noisome wretchedness, to act as healers and preachers. They nursed lepers, ministered to the poor, and, with short, homely, fervent speech, preached to all the love of Christ and the call to turn from sin They gave themselves utterly to serve their suffering fellows. Money they would not touch. Literally, they were barefooted beggars, with one garment, living from day to day upon chance alms.

The Dominicans

The Dominicans (1215) grew out of the zeal of *St. Dominic* to convert the Albigenses from their heresy. Dominic was a powerful and fiery preacher, learned in all the theology of the age. Thus, while the Franciscans in origin were missionaries

[1] The best brief account is given in Jessopp's *Coming of the Friars*, 1–52.

to lighten the sufferings of the poor, the Dominicans were preachers to the more intellectual classes. The Franciscans (Grey Friars) were the gentler, the Dominicans (Black Friars) the sterner, in character.

The "begging friars" spread swiftly over all Europe. In 1221, only six years after the founding of the order, Dominicans reached England. The friars were more than monks. The monk lived in a quiet cloister; and his first care was for his own soul. The friar went wherever he could find most suffering and sin, to save the souls and heal the bodies of others. He was a *missionary monk*.

For Further Reading. — Adams, *Civilization*, 290–310; Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History of England*, 57–95; Green, *English People*, I, 206–225.

CHAPTER LV

LEARNING AND ART IN THE FEUDAL AGE

Ignorance in the Dark Ages

The "Dark Ages" saw a brief gleam of promise in the time of Charlemagne, and some remarkable Irish and English schools flourished in Alfred's day. But these were points of light in a vast gloom. On the whole, for six hundred years, the only schools were those connected with monasteries or cathedrals; and these were unspeakably poor, — and aimed only to fit for the duties of the clergy.

The few Cathedral schools

The best Cathedral schools claimed to teach the "seven liberal arts" of the ancient education (p. 382). They did teach students to talk a barbarous medieval sort of Latin, and gave some practice in *writing it* and in *reasoning*. This instruction was a shrunken survival of the Roman *trivium*, language, rhetoric, and logic. Even slimmer was the pretense to teach the Roman *quadrivium* of sciences. As Dr. Munro has summed it up in his *Middle Ages*, — "In *arithmetic* the students were taught to keep simple accounts; in *music*, what was necessary for the church services; in *geometry*, a few of the simplest problems; in *astronomy*, enough to calculate the date of Easter." There was *no study of nature*, and there were almost no textbooks. There was no inquiry and no criticism or discussion. The teacher dictated (in Latin) dry summaries, word by word. Students wrote these down and committed them to memory for recitation.

About 1100, Europe began to stir from this intellectual torpor. *Some of the new towns set up trades schools*, with instruction in the language of the people instead of in Latin, to fit for everyday life. And in the *church schools*, the teachers began to draw some real scholarship from Arabian universities

and from the Greek learning that still lingered at Constantinople; *and here and there they ventured to add lectures on theology, medicine, law,* — until suddenly in Paris the Cathedral School of Notre Dame began to grow into the first medieval university when *Peter Abelard* taught there, *about 1115.*

Abelard and the University of Paris

Abelard was from a noble family in Brittany, but he chose the life of a churchman rather than that of a knight. He was an attractive youth, with a brilliant and restless mind, and with the gift of simple and graceful speech. He came to the Paris school as a student; but his teachers soon declared him their master in learning and in eloquence, and at twenty-two he began to lecture to eager crowds on theology and philosophy and the principles of right living. A cruel disappointment in love, and the jealous hatred of rival teachers, drove him from Paris. Thousands of students followed him, however, from place to place; and when he sought solitude for a time, as a hermit, they covered the desert about him with their reed huts, and heaped their offerings before his retreat.

The Latin Quarter

Such an experience proved that Europe was hungry for knowledge, if only it knew where to seek for it. The impulse Abelard had given to the school at Paris was not lost. Other teachers flocked thither, to satisfy the remaining students whom his fame had drawn together; and soon a new body of teachers in theology and philosophy, as well as in the seven "arts," grew up about the Cathedral school, *but wholly separate from it.* Before 1150, several hundred "masters" were offering instruction in the "Latin Quarter" of Paris. At first each taught students who came to him in his *own dwelling,* collecting his fees from them as best he could; but about 1150, the masters organized, so as to confer degrees and to establish common rules. *This marks the beginning of a definite "University of Paris,"* with a recognized "faculty." Before long, the university began to have buildings and lecture halls.

Students organized in "nations"

The students ranged from boys of fourteen to gray-bearded men, and they came from all parts of Europe. Those from one country grouped themselves together for mutual protection

and companionship; and each such group became known as a "nation." A "nation," however, sometimes included students from several adjoining countries, — like the "English nation," which contained men from all the north of Europe. The government of the university was in the hands of the faculty; but there was some self-government by the students. The nations and subdivisions elected "deans" and "proctors" to look after discipline. The university was a "Republic of Letters."

A "Republic of Letters"

The universities follow gild forms

When the teachers organized, *they copied the form of the gilds* (p. 550). The professors, or "doctors," were "masters." They licensed the more advanced students, after the completion of the course in "arts," as "bachelors in arts," authorized to teach the younger students in those courses from which they themselves had graduated. These bachelors corresponded to the journeymen of the trade gilds, while the more elementary students corresponded to apprentices. The forms of public examination, and of graduation from one of these three stages to another, were copied, too, from gild customs.

The course in arts, and graduate professional courses

A university always had a course in "arts," based on the old *trivium* and *quadrivium*, and the majority of students went no further than this. But graduates of this course were offered one or more professional courses, — law, medicine, or theology. *Paris*, we have seen, specialized in theology (which included philosophy). The *University of Salerno*, in southern Italy, grew out of a monastery school, through the prominence that *Constantine the African* gave there to the study of medicine about 1100. Constantine was an African Greek, who had studied in Arabian universities; and his school received a charter from Robert Guiscard.[1] About the same time, at Bologna, Irnerius, a teacher of Roman law, drew students from all Europe, and the *University of Bologna* was soon known as "the Mother of Laws." Thus it has been said that the needs of the body gave rise to Salerno, the needs of men in society created Bologna, and the eternal needs of the soul originated Paris.

Other leading medieval universities

[1] Robert "the Crafty" was a famous Norman adventurer who by conquest had build a powerful state in South Italy.

All these early universities had *grown up* out of voluntary associations of students and teachers, establishing certain rights and privileges for themselves by custom, and *afterward* getting these rights confirmed by charters from some ruler. The next great step was taken in 1224, when the Hohenstaufen Frederick II, as King of Sicily, *created* by charter the *University of Naples, to combine all branches of instruction*, "in order that those who hunger for knowledge may find *within the kingdom* the food for which they yearn, and not be forced to go into exile to beg the bread of learning in strange lands." *The University of Naples was the first university created by a government.* It was also distinctly a "state university." The government appointed the professors, endowed chairs, and issued degrees in the different professions. Before 1400, some *fifty universities dotted Western Europe*. Some single institutions claimed to have twelve, or even twenty, thousand students. For a long time, a university had little in the way of buildings. Thus it could move easily; and, by threats of doing so, it compelled its town to put up with much student turbulence. The great University of Padua did grow out of a secession from Bologna; and a like secession from Paris to Oxford in England first made that place a real university town.

A "state university"

Fifty universities in 1400

When the university did not move, the individual students very commonly did. All medieval life — except that of the agricultural village — was *fluid*. Merchants, soldiers of fortune, friars, journeymen, were always on the move; but *the poor scholar was the typical wanderer* of them all, often begging his bread on his travels. Young men thought nothing of passing from Oxford to Paris or Bologna, to sit at the feet of some new famous teacher — and to see the world by the way; and often they traveled in considerable bands, with much jollity and song and sometimes with much disorder. The fact that Latin was the language of all universities encouraged this freedom of movement. Public stage coaches grew up to meet the needs of student travel.

Student life

Thus, before 1300, another figure had come into European

life. Alongside peasant, knight, priest, and townsman (p. 544), there moved now the student (or learned "doctor") in cap and gown. The lay lawyers in England (p. 516) in Edward the First's day came from this new class, the forerunner of the modern "professional man."

Lack of free inquiry

The universities failed, however, to make good their best promise. Abelard, the founder, was a fearless seeker for truth, and appealed to "reason" as man's guide. But the church condemned this heresy, so far as church doctrines at least were concerned, and drove the universities to live by "authority," instead of by "reason." Inquiry was stifled. Some garbled fragments of Greek science had been recovered, through Arabian translations from Aristotle (p. 231), and soon came to be looked upon with superstitious reverence. For two centuries, "Thus saith Aristotle" was final in all scientific discussion. Some little astronomy and chemistry crept into Europe by 1200 from the Arabs. But the astronomy was mostly astrology (p. 535). And chemistry (alchemy) was little more than a search for the "philosopher's stone" which should change common metals into gold, or for the elixir of life, a drink to make a man immortal. Both astrologers and alchemists, whether honest or quacks, were generally believed to have sold their souls to the devil in return for forbidden knowledge. When the intellectual rebirth of Europe came, a century later still, it came from outside university walls.

The Schoolmen

The method of reasoning used in the universities is called *scholasticism.* It was like the reasoning we use in geometry, — *deducing* a truth from given premises or axioms. This method ignores observation and experiment and investigation, and has no value, by itself, except in mathematics. It has never discovered a truth in nature or in man. The men of the universities (*Schoolmen*) did not use it in mathematics. They tried to use it by turning in upon their own minds, and their arguments were mainly quibbles upon verbal distinctions. Much time they spent in playing with such questions as, How many spirits can dance at one time upon the point of a needle. About

the year 1600, Francis Bacon (an English thinker) referred to the "degenerate learning" that "did reign among the Schoolmen. . . ." "For if the wit of men . . . work upon itself, as the spider worketh his web, then it is endless and bringeth forth indeed cobwebs of learning, admirable for the fineness of thread and work, but of no substance or profit."

Duns and dunce

The last of the famous Schoolmen was Duns the Scot, who died in 1308. In that day there was no higher praise for a young scholar than to call him "a Duns." Some centuries later, when a true scientific method came in (p. 636), that term became our "dunce."

A forerunner of true science

No doubt there were many men, whose names we have never heard, who were trying through those weary centuries really to study into the secrets of nature in a scientific way, by experiment. The greatest man of this kind before 1300 was *Roger Bacon*,[1] an English Franciscan. While the useless Duns Scotus was admired and courted by all the world, Roger Bacon was living in loneliness and poverty, noticed only to be persecuted or reviled. He gave his life to point out the lacks of the Schoolmen's method and to teach true scientific principles. Fourteen years he spent in dungeons, for his opinions. When at liberty, he worked devotedly, but under heavy handicaps. More than once he sought all over Europe for a copy of some book he needed — when a modern scholar in like case would need only to send a note to the nearest bookseller. He wrote upon the possibility of reaching Asia by sailing west into the Atlantic (p. 601). He learned much about explosives, and is said to have invented gunpowder. It is believed, too, that he used lenses as a telescope. Apparently he foresaw the possibility of using steam as a motive power. Certainly he prophesied that in time wagons and ships would move "with incredible speed" without horses or sails, and also that man would learn to sail the air. His "Great Work" was a cyclopedia of the knowledge of his time in geography, mathematics, music, and physics.

[1] *Roger* Bacon must not be confused with *Francis* Bacon, his more famous but no more deserving countryman, of three centuries later.

But Bacon lived at least a century too soon, and found no successful disciples. In 1258 Brunetto Latini, the tutor of Dante, visited Bacon and wrote as follows to a friend in Italy:

"Among other things he showed me a black, ugly stone called a magnet, which has the surprising quality of drawing iron to it; and if a needle be rubbed upon it and afterward fastened to a straw, so that it will swim upon water, it will instantly turn to the pole star. . . . Therefore, be the night never so dark, neither moon nor stars visible, yet shall the sailor by help of this needle be able to steer his vessel aright. *This discovery, so useful to all who travel by sea, must remain concealed until other times, because no master mariner dare use it, lest he fall under imputation of being a magician; nor would sailors put to sea with one who carried an instrument so evidently constructed by the devil.* A time may come when these prejudices, such hindrances to researches into the secrets of nature, will be overcome; and then mankind will reap benefits from the labor of such men as Friar Bacon, *who now meet only with obloquy and reproach.*"

Medieval Latin the sole language of literature

Latin, a mongrel Latin, too, was the sole language of the university and of learning; and, until 1200, except for the songs of wandering minstrels, it was the only language of any kind of literature. About that time, however, in various lands

Until the rise of vernacular poetry after 1200

popular poetry of a high order began to appear in the tongues of everyday speech: the Song of the Cid in Spanish; the love songs of the Troubadours in French and of the Minnesingers in German; the Divine Comedy of Dante in Italian; and, toward 1400, the Canterbury Tales of Chaucer and Wyclif's translation of the Bible in the New English (fused of Saxon and Norman French).

Later medieval literature

Medieval painting

Classical art was lost, through the Dark Ages, as completely as classical learning. *Medieval painting* existed only in rude altar pieces, representing stiff Madonnas and saints; and even the free use of flowing draperies could not hide the artist's ignorance of how to draw the human body. On a minute scale, to be sure, there was some better work. Monks "illuminated" missals with tiny brushes in brilliant colors, sometimes with beauty and delicacy. (See Plate facing p. 448.)

Architecture, too, was rude until after 1100. The style

Rheims Cathedral.—This supremely beautiful example of Gothic architecture was wantonly injured by German shells in the World War.

Gothic architecture

was the *Romanesque*, based upon old Roman remains, and characterized by the *round arch*. But in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Romanesque gave way to a new French style, called *Gothic;* and architecture, especially in churches and cathedrals, reached one of its greatest periods.

A question of scientific engineering

At bottom, *the change lay in a better way of carrying the weight of the huge stone roof*. The early architects had done this by massive walls; but they dared not weaken these by cutting out large windows, and the buildings were dark and gloomy. The architect of the twelfth century was a better engineer, and he invented two new devices to carry the roof. (1) He *gathered its weight at certain points* — by using *converging* arches — instead of leaving the weight, as before, distributed equally along the whole length of the wall. And he rested these arches, at the points of convergence, on *groups of mighty pillars*. (2) To help these pillars bear the immense burden, he added *arched props* (flying buttresses) *against the outside of the wall* at the critical points. These met the *side thrust* of the roof's weight, and left only the direct vertical burden for the pillars.

Salisbury Cathedral. — A fine example of English Gothic, 1200-1250. The spire rises 404 feet from the ground. During the World War the magnificent elms of the close, always before a feature in pictures of the cathedral, were cut for lumber.

As a consequence of these changes in engineering, Gothic architecture changed the old round arch into a lighter, more varied, and more graceful *pointed arch*. It used the old Greek *columns* with greater freedom and variety, — since the columns now did the work of walls to so great a degree. Rounded

ceilings gave way to *loftier and curiously vaulted ceilings*, where the ribs of converging arches intersected one another in ingenious ways. The *tower* replaced the Roman dome; and heaven-pointing *spires* were added, borrowed perhaps from the Saracens. The weight of the roof was so well cared for that it was safe now to pierce the walls with row on row and group after group of *tall windows*, giving the building an effect of lightness and complexity. New chances for ornament, too, were found in the *tracery* (openings in the stonework about doors and windows to reduce the weight), in the *moldings* of the many window frames, and in the use of *stained glass* — since there could now be windows enough to admit the necessary light even through darkened glass. Externally, the *flying buttresses* themselves were made into a strikingly beautiful architectural feature; and the niches about the portals were filled with *countless sculptured forms of saints*. A close inspection shows these rough cathedral sculptures vastly inferior to the marble-sculptured forms of athletes in which ancient art had delighted; but their general effect is imposing, especially at a little distance. The medieval workman carved only in limestone or sandstone. Still he made up, in a measure, for his lack of skill

Characteristic features of the Gothic

FLYING BUTTRESSES from the upper wall of Norwich Cathedral.

CLOISTERS OF SALISBURY CATHEDRAL.

and for his poorer material by expressing a greater range of feeling and more of human life. Especially did he give full play to a rude humor — as when perhaps he carved a monkey on a monk's back, clinging to his ears, or when he formed the quaint gargoyles through which the gutters of cathedral roofs discharged rain water.

The total result was a new architecture, so different from the older styles as to permit no comparison. Gothic architecture is the most perfect product of the Middle Ages, and a Gothic cathedral is one of the world's treasures. Such buildings were the finest expression of the life of their time. They were "religious aspirations in stone."

THE CATHEDRAL AT METZ. — A beautiful example of Gothic architecture, begun in the thirteenth century. (The piles of chairs are interesting as showing the method of seating, even to-day, in European cathedrals, where pews are practially unknown. The cathedrals are open all day, but the chairs are used only during special services.)

The weight of the roof is carried by *gathering* it at certain points, by using *converging* arches, which rested on *groups* of mighty pillars. The *side thrust* upon the walls was met, too, by placing *buttresses* at critical points. Thus the Gothic architect could use a lighter, more varied, more graceful *pointed* arch, with tall windows ornamented curiously with *tracery* (openings in the stonework) and with moldings. He could also use stained glass, since now he had light enough; and the old round ceilings gave way to *vaulted ceilings*, where the ribs of converging arches intersected one another.

PART VIII

FROM THE CRUSADES TO THE REFORMATION

CHAPTER LVI

ENGLAND AND FRANCE, 1300–1520

The Hundred Years' War, 1338–1453

We left the story of England with the great Edward who had had the wisdom to adopt and perfect the Parliament of the glorious rebel Simon. In 1327 Parliament deposed the weak second Edward. Then Edward III began the Hundred Years' War with France. On the surface, the war was a struggle between kings for prestige and territory; but at bottom it was a commercial struggle. Every country in that day shackled foreign merchants with absurd restrictions and ruinous tariffs. English merchants wanted to sell their wool freely in Flemish towns and to buy the Bordeaux wines freely in the south of France; and the easiest way to get access to French markets seemed to be to conquer France.

France devastated

The war was waged on French soil. The English won brilliant victories, overran France repeatedly, ravaging peasant crops and burning peasant homes in the usual fashion of "chivalrous" warfare, and bringing home much plunder. "No woman," boasts an English chronicler, "but had robes, furs, *featherbeds*, and utensils, from French cities." The whole century of meaningless slaughter had just one gleam of promise for the future world — in the Battle of Crécy. An English army was trapped by five times its number. But the English yeomen — men of the six-foot-bow and yard-long shaft feathered with gray-goose wing — coolly faced the ponderous mass of

Battle of Crécy, 1346

French knights, repulsed charge after charge of the gallantest chivalry of Europe, and won back for the world the long-lost equality of footman with horseman in war.

The "Black Death" in England, 1347

For a time toward 1400 the war languished because pestilence was slaying men faster than steel could. The "Black Death," most famous of famous plagues, had been devastating the Continent for years, moving west from Asia. In the year

English Family Dinner. — From a fourteenth century manuscript. Note the dogs, the musicians, and the barefooted monk, at whom the jester is directing some witticism.

after Crécy, the victors brought it to England, and almost at a blow it swept away half the nation.

The loss fell most heavily, of course, on the working classes; *but it helped those left alive to rise out of serfdom*, — a movement already under way in England. *The lack of labor, too, doubled wages, and brought in a higher standard of living.*

Serfdom weakened

True, Parliament tried, in the interest of the landlords, to keep down the laborers by foolish and tyrannical laws, — for-

bidding them to leave the parish where they lived or to take more wages than had been customary in the past, and ordering them under cruel penalties to serve any one who offered them such wages. But when a landlord was anxious to harvest a standing crop, he did not dare try to take advantage of such laws. Instead, to keep his old serfs from running away to other landlords, he made more and more favorable terms with them, and *gradually allowed them to exchange all their personal services for a fixed rent in money.*

A Bombard. — From a sixteenth-century German woodcut. An old chronicler tells us that at Crécy the English had some small "bombards," "which, with fire and noise like God's thunder, threw little iron balls *to frighten the horses.*" These first cannon were made by fastening bars of iron together with hoops; and the powder was very weak. A century later they began to be used to batter down castles and city walls. It was longer still before firearms replaced the bow for infantry.

Smoldering discontent of the peasants

In the latter part of Edward's long reign, however, the peasants were stirred by bitter discontent. The change from serfdom to freedom had begun even before the Black Death. That event hastened it; but still it was spread over a century. This seems swift, to a student ages later; but to the suffering laborers of that century — father, son, grandson, great-grandson — it was terribly slow. Each gain made them doubly impatient with the burdens that remained. They felt, too, many cases of bitter hardship and tyranny, — where a lord, by legal trickery or by downright violence, forced half-freed villeins back again to serfdom.

John Wyclif and John Ball

Another set of causes added to this smoldering discontent. The growing wealth of the church in England, and the worldliness of the great churchmen, were becoming a common scandal.

The famous and gentle Chaucer, a court poet, indulged in keen raillery toward these faults.[1] More serious men could not dismiss them with a jest. *John Wyclif,* a famous lecturer at the University of Oxford, preached vigorously against such abuses, and finally attacked some of the church doctrines. He denied the doctrine of transubstantiation (p. 495), and he insisted that even ignorant men might know the will of God, through the Bible, without the aid of a priest. Accordingly, with his companions, he made the first complete translation of the Bible into English; and his disciples wrote out many copies and distributed them throughout the land.

John Wyclif.

The Lollards

These disciples called themselves "poor preachers." Their enemies called them "Lollards" (babblers). Some of them exaggerated their master's teachings against wealth, and called for the abolition of all rank and property. *John Ball,* one of the "mad preachers," attacked the privileges of the gentry in rude rhymes that rang through England from shore to shore, —

"When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman?"

"This priest," says Froissart, a contemporary chronicler, "used oftentimes to go and preach when the people in the villages were coming out from mass; and he would make them gather about him, and would say thus: 'Good people, things go not well in England, nor will, till everything be in common and there no more be villeins and gentlemen. By what right are they whom we call lords greater folk than we?

[1] Illustrations may be found in the descriptions of the monk, the prioress, the friar, and the pardoner, in the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales.*

We be all come from one father and one mother, Adam and Eve, . . . but they are clothed in velvet and are warm in their furs, while we shiver in rags; they have wine, and spices, and fair bread; and we, oat cake and straw, and water to drink; they dwell in fine houses, and we have the pain and travail, the rain and the wind in the fields. From our labor they keep their state. Yet we are their bondmen; and unless we serve them readily, we are beaten.' And so the people would murmur one with the other in the fields, and in the ways as they met together, affirming that John Ball spoke truth."

An English Carriage of the Fourteenth Century. — After Jusserand's *English Wayfaring Life;* from a fourteenth-century psalter. This carriage is represented as drawn by five horses tandem, driven by two postilions. Such a carriage was a princely luxury, equaling in value a herd of from four hundred to sixteen hundred oxen.

The Peasant Rising of 1381

In 1377 Edward's grandson,[1] Richard II, came to the throne as a mere boy; and while the government was in confusion, and England in this seething discontent, Parliament passed a heavy poll tax, bearing unfairly upon the poor. This match set the realm ablaze — in the Peasant Rising of 1381. With amazing suddenness the peasants, rudely armed, marched upon London; and in a few days king and kingdom were in their hands.

Demands of the peasants

The special demand of the peasantry was that all labor-rents should be changed into *fixed* money rents. They sacked some

[1] The following table will show the succession of English kings for the rest of this chapter; also the conflicting claims that will call for attention on p. 575:—

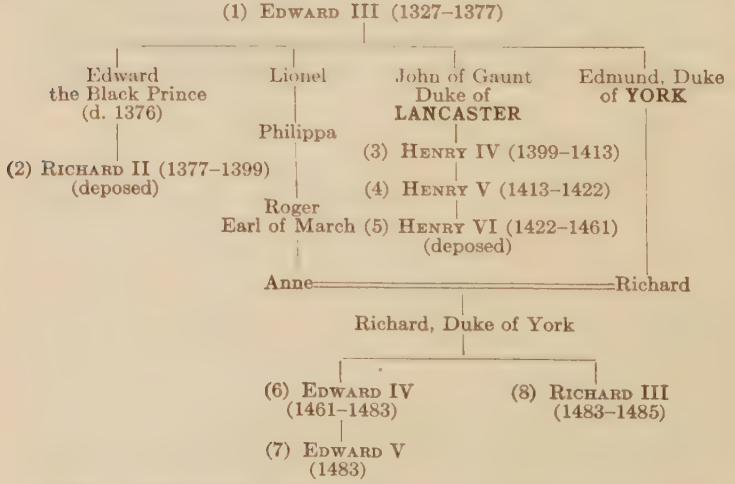
castles and manor houses, destroying the "manor rolls," the written evidence of *services* due on the estate; and they put to death a few nobles and their lawyer tools. Women and children were nowhere injured, and there was no attempt at general pillage and massacre, such as usually go with servile insurrections in other lands.[1] *The revolt was marked by the moderation of men who had a reasonable program of reform.*

Treacherous murder of Wat the Tyler

Unhappily the peasants lacked organization. Their chief leader, *Wat the Tyler*, was murdered treacherously, in a conference — "under a flag of truce," as we would say. "Kill!" shouted Wat's followers; "they have murdered our captain!" But the young Richard rode forward fearlessly to their front.

Royal promises — and perfidy

"What need ye, my masters!" he called; "I am your king and captain." "We will that you free us forever," shouted the peasant army, "us and our lands; and that we be never more named serfs." "I grant it," replied the boy; and by such pledges and by promise of free pardon he persuaded them to go home. For days a force of thirty clerks was kept busy writing out brief charters containing the king's promises.



[1] Conan Doyle's *White Company* gives a vivid picture of a French Jacquerie.

The upper-class treachery and revenge

But when the peasants had scattered to their villages, bearing to each one a copy of the king's treacherous charter, the property classes rallied and took a bloody vengeance. Parliament declared, indeed, that Richard's promise was void, because he *could not* give away the gentry's property — the services due them — without their consent. Richard caught gladly at this excuse. Quite willing to dishonor his word to mere villeins, he marched triumphantly through England at the head of forty thousand men, stamping out all hope of another rising by ruthless execution of old leaders. Seven thousand men were put to death in cold blood. The men of Essex met him with copies of his charters, declaring that they were free Englishmen. "Villeins you were," answered Richard, "and villeins you are. In bondage you shall abide; and not your old bondage, but a worse."

Grindecobbe, hero and martyr

History has preserved a splendid story of one of the martyred heroes. Early in the rising, the peasants of St. Albans (in Essex) had wrung charters from the monastery which had previously owned their town — in so legal a way that now even the royal courts could not ignore them. The leader of the St. Albans' villagers, *Grindecobbe,* was now condemned to death, for his part in the rising, and was then offered his life if he would persuade his townsmen to give up the charters. Grindecobbe turned to his fellows only to bid them take no thought for him but to hold firm their rights. "I shall die for the freedom we have won, counting myself happy to end my life by such a martyrdom. Do then as if I had been killed in battle yesterday."

The peasant cause wins

Such steadfastness was not in vain. Soon the movement toward the emancipation of villeins began again with fresh force; and, *by 1450, villeinage had passed away from England forever.*

Growth of Parliament's power

The growth of Parliament during the Hundred Years' War was almost as important as the rise of the peasants out of bondage. Constant war made it necessary for Edward III and his successors to ask for many grants of money. Parliament

supplied the king generously; but it took advantage of his needs to secure new powers.

(1) It established the principle that "redress of grievances" must *precede* a "grant of supply," and at last transformed its "petitions" for such redress into "bills." (2) In the closing years of Edward III the *Good Parliament* (1376) "impeached" and removed his ministers, using the forms that have been common in impeachments ever since in English-speaking countries.

The Parliament of 1399, which deposed Richard II. — From a contemporary manuscript. Some of the faces are probably portraits.

(3) *When Richard II tried to overawe Parliament with his soldiery,* England rose against him, and the Parliament of 1399 deposed him, electing a cousin (Henry of Lancaster) in his place. (4) In the first quarter of the fifteenth century, under the Lancastrian Henrys (IV, V, VI), the House of Commons made good its claims that all money bills must originate with it (not in the upper House), and (5) secured the right to judge of the election of its own members. (6) Parliament repeatedly compelled the king to dismiss his ministers and appoint new ones satisfactory to it, and (7) several times fixed the succession to the

throne. (8) Freedom of speech in Parliament and freedom from arrest, except by the order of Parliament itself, became recognized privileges of all members.

The "liberties of Englishmen"

Thus under the Lancastrians there was established in the breasts of the English middle classes a proud consciousness of "the liberties of Englishmen" as a precious inheritance. With right they believed their freedom superior to that possessed by any other people of the time. Wrote Sir John Fortescue, Chief Justice under Henry VI, in his *In Praise of the Laws of England*, for the instruction of Henry's son:

> "A king of England at his pleasure cannot make any alteration in the laws of the land without the consent of his subjects, nor burden them against their wills with strange impositions. . . . Rejoice, therefore, my good Prince, that such is the law of the kingdom you are to inherit, because it will afford both to you and to your subjects the greatest security and satisfaction. . . . [The king] is appointed to protect his subjects in their lives, properties, and laws. For this end *he has the delegation of power from the people*, and he has no just claims to any other power."

Henry V renews the war, 1415

After twenty-five years of peace, Henry V of England, the second Lancastrian king (p. 572), renewed the war with France. That land was in confusion, under the rule of a crazy king, and Henry won swift successes. An English victory at Agincourt recalled the day of Crécy; and Henry's infant son (afterward Henry VI of England) was crowned King of France at Paris with the assent of a vast assembly of French nobles.

Agincourt

Joan of Arc

But the English triumph was brief. The long struggle was forcing the peoples of France into a feeling of nationality; and an unschooled peasant girl, *Joan of Arc*, inspired by this new patriotism, freed her country. Joan saw "visions," and thought that divine voices called her to her task. With great difficulty she secured a small body of troops with which she promised to relieve Orleans. The English had nearly reduced that place to surrender, and it was the last French stronghold in the northern half of the kingdom. Joan's victory was marvelous — and, her followers believed, miraculous. The

French people then rose in one mass to follow the "Holy Maid of Orleans," and swept away the invaders. Victory followed victory, until the English lost all France except Calais. Then the war died out, because England became involved in civil wars at home.

JOAN OF ARC AT ORLEANS. — a modern painting.

Meantime, however, Joan fell into English hands, and was tried and burned as a witch, — one of the darkest stains in all the bloody pages of mediæval history. Joan's gentle firmness and purity, and her steadfast endurance even in the flames, confounded her persecutors. "We are lost," exclaimed one of them; "we have burned a saint!" The superstitious cruelty of the English deserves no more reproach than the baseness with which the French king and court deserted Joan, jealous of her popularity, without an effort to save her. History has placed her foremost among all French heroes; and at last, in May of 1920, she has been canonized by Pope Benedict XV. Says a famous French historian, — French patriotism "blossomed in Joan of Arc, and sanctified itself with the perfume of a miracle."

France after the war

France came out of the war, after unspeakable suffering among the poor and vast destruction of property, with territory consolidated, and her kings stronger than ever. Not for the last time, her industrious peasantry amazed Europe by their rapid restoration of prosperity in a wasted land. Louis XI

(1461–1483) kept a small but efficient standing army, with a train of artillery that could easily batter down the castle of any feudal rebel. After long and disgraceful intrigue, he added to his realms Provence and Burgundy,[1] and he left France the richest, most orderly, most united country in Europe, — so that with the long reign of *Francis I* (1515–1547) she stepped into political leadership.

We said that England withdrew from the French war because of war within her own realm. In 1422 Henry VI became king, while less than a year old. His long minority gave time for factions to grow among the nobles; and when he was old enough to assume the government, he proved too weak and gentle to restore order. The misrule of the great lords caused wide discontent, especially among the rising towns, whose industries called for settled government; and, encouraged by this discontent, the Duke of York (table, p. 570) came forward to claim the crown. Thus began the Wars of the Roses,[2] to last from 1454 to 1471.

Guy's Tower, — the Keep of Warwick Castle. The Earl of Warwick (the Kingmaker) was a prominent leader in the Wars of the Roses.

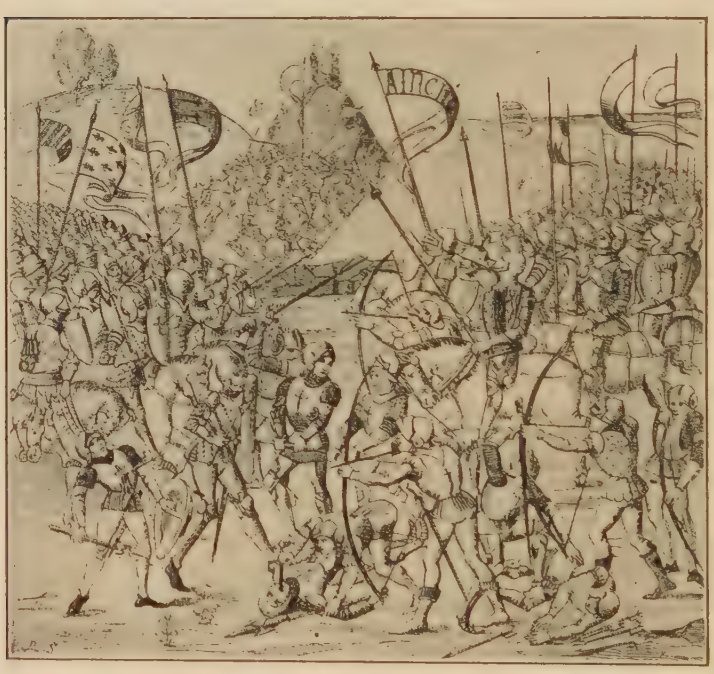
The Wars of the Roses, 1454–1471

This civil war was not, despite Shakspere's pictures of it, merely a struggle for power between rival lords: in large measure it was the final battle between the old feudal spirit, strong in the north of England, and the towns, strong in the south. The towns won. The remnants of the old nobility were swept away

[1] Read this story in Scott's *Anne of Geierstein*.

[2] The Yorkists assumed a white rose as their badge; the Lancastrians, a red rose. Students may be asked to find the scene in Shakspere's *Henry VI* regarding the choice of these symbols. Stevenson's *Black Arrow* is an admirable story for a boy, and Bulwer's *Last of the Barons* is the most famous novel dealing with the age.

in battle or by the headsman's ax. But the middle classes were not yet ready to grasp the government, and *the fruits of victory fell for a time to the new Tudor monarchs,* Henry VII[1] and Henry VIII. These rulers were more absolute than any preceding



A Medieval Battle, — from a sixteenth century woodcut reproduced by Parmentier.

The "New Monarchy" of the Tudors

English kings. England entered the modern period under a "New Monarchy."

Still these Tudors were not "divine-right" monarchs; and they were shrewd enough to cloak their power under the old constitutional forms — and so did not challenge popular opposition. True, they called Parliament rarely — and only to use it as a

[1] Henry VII, a distant relative of the Lancastrians, overthrew the tyrant Richard III (table, 570).

tool. But the occasional meetings, and the way in which the kings *seemed* to rule through it, saved the forms of constitutional government. At a later time, we shall see, life was again breathed into those forms. Then it became plain that, in crushing the feudal forces, the New Monarchy had paved the way for a parliamentary government more complete than men had dreamed of in earlier times.

The *forms* of free government saved

For Further Reading. — Green's *History of the English People* and his *Short History* continue to be the most desirable of all general narratives for England, and Adams' *Growth of the French Nation* for France. On the *Hundred Years' War*, the student will enjoy the contemporary story of Froissart, especially in Lanier's *Boy's Froissart*. On the *Black Death*, see Jessopp's *Coming of the Friars*, ch. iv. *Fiction* has been mentioned in footnotes, but Samuel Clemens' ("Mark Twain") *Joan of Arc* is more than ordinary fiction, and should be read by all students.

CHAPTER LVII

OTHER EUROPEAN STATES, 1300–1520

The Papacy

The thirteenth century conflict between popes and emperors (ch. lii) left the popes victorious. But at once in France and England the new national patriotism had begun to rebel against papal authority in temporal matters. Neither people nor kings questioned the spiritual authority of the pope; but they did demand that he should not interfere with their government.

The conflict was hastened by the Hundred Years' War. The kings needed money, and were trying to introduce systems of national taxation in the place of the unsatisfactory feudal revenues. The clergy had been exempt from feudal services; but they owned so much of the wealth of the two countries that the kings insisted upon their paying their share of the new taxes. *Pope Boniface VIII* (1296) issued a bull forbidding any prince to impose taxes on the clergy without papal consent, and threatening excommunication against all clergy who paid.

The struggle in England

But when the English clergy, trusting in this papal decree, refused to pay taxes, Edward I outlawed them. To outlaw a man was to put him outside the protection of the law: he could not bring suit to recover property or damages, and offenses against him were not "crimes." In comparison with this practical "excommunication" by the state, the old clerical excommunication was stage thunder. The clergy paid.

The struggle in France

France was the scene of a still sharper contest. As it progressed, Boniface set forth the old claims of papal supremacy over princes. "Whoever resists this power," said one of his bulls, "resists the ordination of God. . . . Indeed we declare . . . that it is altogether necessary to salvation for every

human creature to be subject to the Roman pontiff." King Philip IV treated these claims with contempt; and the Estates General (1302), *even the clerical Estate*, pledged their lives to defend the "ancient liberties of the French nation." Philip forbade the payment of *any* revenues from his realm to the pope, and arrested the papal legate. Boniface threatened to depose the king. A few days later, a company of French soldiers made Boniface prisoner; and the chagrin of the old man at the insult probably hastened his death (1303).

The pope at Avignon, 1309–1377

Philip then secured the election of a French pope, who *removed the papal capital from Rome to Avignon*, in southern France. Here the popes remained for seventy years, in "the Babylonian Captivity of the church." Politically they sank into mere tools of the French kings, and the enemies of France could not be expected to show them reverence. In Italy, too, the Papal States fell into anarchy, in the absence of their ruler, and there was danger that the popes might lose that principality.

Rival "popes" at Rome and Avignon

In 1377, to save the papal territory, Gregory XI visited Rome. This act brought on a greater disaster even than the exile itself. Gregory died while at Rome. The cardinals were obliged at once to choose a successor. They were Frenchmen (as all high church offices had been given to Frenchmen during the scandal of the Captivity); but even French cardinals did not dare disregard the savage demands of the people of Rome for an Italian pope, and so they chose Urban VI. Urban established himself in the old papal seat at Rome; but, a few months later, the cardinals assembled again, declared that the choice of Urban was void because made under compulsion, and elected a French pope, Clement VII, who promptly returned to Avignon.

Urban and Clement excommunicated each other, each devoting to the devil all the supporters of the other. Which pope should good Christians obey? The answer was determined mainly by political considerations. France obeyed Clement; England and Germany obeyed Urban. Two such heads for Christendom were worse than no head at all.

The Lollard heresy

This sad condition of the papacy brought with it danger to the church itself. *The Wyclif movement* in England (p. 568) took place toward the close of the exile at Avignon. The church declared Wyclif a heretic; but he was protected during his life by one of King Edward's sons. Soon after Wyclif's death, however, the Lancastrian monarchs began to persecute his followers. In 1401, for the first time, an Englishman was burned for heresy, and the Lollards finally disappeared. But meantime, the seeds of the heresy had been scattered in a distant part of Europe. Richard II of England married a princess of Bohemia, and some of her attendants *carried the teachings of Wyclif to the Bohemian University of Prague.* About 1400, *John Hus,* a professor at Prague, became a leader in a radical "reform" much after Wyclif's example, and the movement spread rapidly over much of Bohemia.

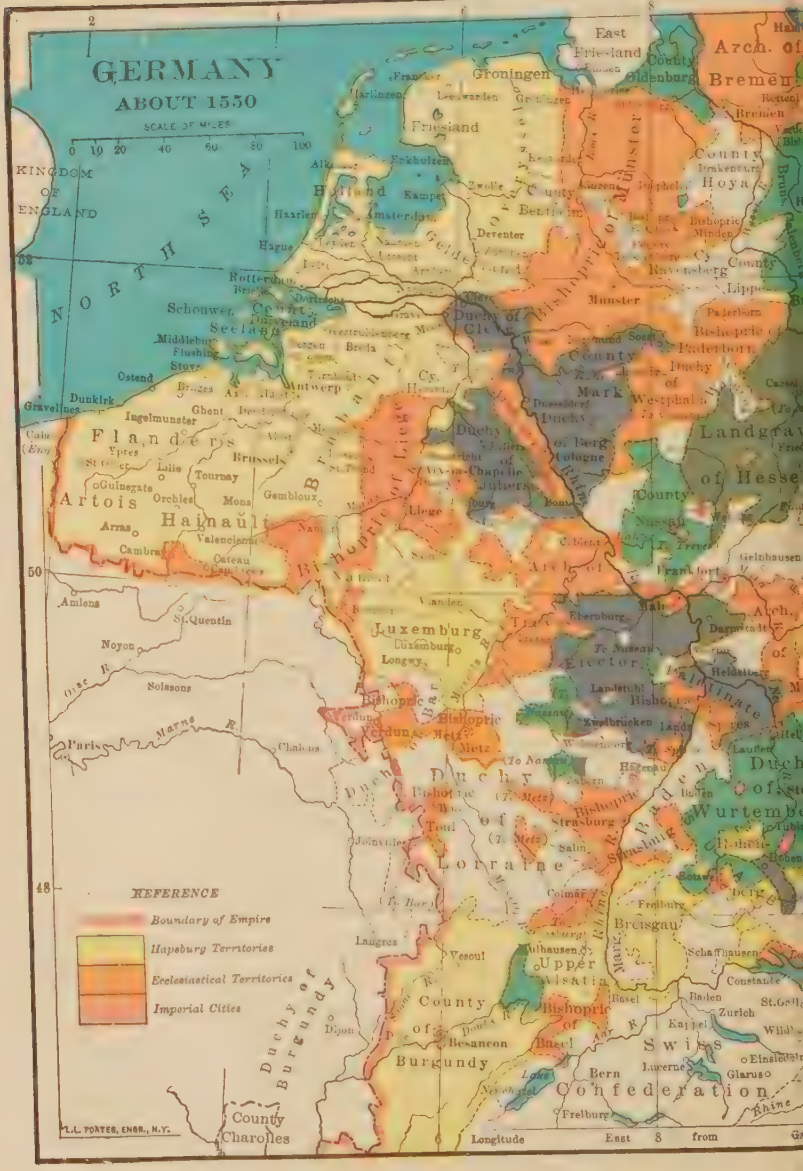
The Hussite heresy

The Council of Constance, 1414

Great and good men everywhere, especially in the powerful universities, began now to call for a General Council as the only means to restore unity of church government and doctrine; and finally one of the popes called the Council of Constance (1414). Five thousand delegates were present, representing all Christendom. With recesses, the Council sat for four years. It induced one pope to resign his office, and it deposed the other claimants. Then it restored unity by electing a new pope, Martin V, to rule from Rome.

Next the Council turned its attention to restoring church doctrine. John Hus was present, under a "safe conduct" from the emperor. His teachings were declared heresy; but neither persuasion nor threats could move him to recant. "It is better for me to die," he said, "than to fall into the hands of the Lord by deserting the truth." Despite the emperor's solemn pledge for his safety, Hus was burned at the stake, and his ashes were scattered in the Rhine (1415). Then Wyclif's doctrines, too, were condemned; and, to make thorough work, his ashes were disinterred from their resting place and scattered on the river Swift.

The Council was made up of earnest reformers, — good men


GERMANY
ABOUT 1550
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 40 60 80 100
KINGDOM OF ENGLAND
NORTH SEA
Groningen
Friesland
East Friesland
County Oldenburg
Arch. of Bremen
Bremen
County Hoya
Bishopric Minden
Bishopric of Münster
Holland
Amsterdam
Hague
Haarlem
Rotterdam
Schouwen
Duiveland
Seeland
Middleburg
Flushing
Stuys
Ostend
Dunkirk
Gravelines
Ingelmunster
Ghent
Flanders
Ypres
Lille
Tournay
Brussels
Guinegate
Orchies
Mons
Gembloux
Artois
Hainault
Arras
Cambray
Valenciennes
Cateau Cambresis
Amiens
St. Quentin
Noyon
Soissons
Paris
Marne R.
Oise R.
Chalons
Bishopric of Liege
Brabant
Duchy of Cleve
Duchy of Berg
Cologne
Munster
Paderborn
Bishopric of Paderborn
County Mark
Duchy of Westphalia
Landgrave of Hesse
County Nassau
Frankfort
Gelnhausen
Luxemburg
Longwy
Bishopric Verdun
Bishopric Metz
Duchy of Lorraine
Bishopric Toul
Strasburg
Baden
Wurtemberg
Hohenberg
Colmar
Freiburg
Breisgau
Langres
Vesoul
Upper Alsatia
Schaffhausen
Constance
Basel
Baden
Zurich
Kappel
Swiss Confederation
Lucerne
Glarus
Bern
Frelburg
County of Burgundy
Besancon
Bishopric of Basel
Duchy of Burgundy
Dijon
County Charolles
Longitude East 8 from
REFERENCE
Boundary of Empire
Hapsburg Territories
Ecclesiastical Territories
Imperial Cities
L.L. PORTES, ENGR., N.Y.

12
14
16
52
50
48
Duchy of Mecklenburg
Stettin
Pomerania
Uckermark
Stendal
Priegnitz
County Ruppin
Margraviate of Brandenburg
Neumark
KINGDOM OF POLAND
Netze R.
Wartha R.
Obornik
Posen
Altmark
Elbe R.
Oder R.
Kustrin
Frankfort
Schwiebus
Berlin
Spree R.
Brandenburg
Mittlemark
Arch. of Magdeburg
Magdeburg
Halberstadt
Zerbst
Wittenberg
Lower Lusatia
Kottbus
Frankfort
Glogau
Duchy of Sagan
Duchy of Silesia
Prin. of Liegnitz
Prin. of Brieg
Dessau
Torgau
Mühlberg
Upper Lusatia
Lobau
Görlitz
Zittau
Elbe R.
Mulde R.
Anhalt
Mansfeld
Halle
Merseburg
Leipzig
Frankenhausen
Mülhausen
Nauenburg
Elector of Saxony
Dresden
Chemnitz
Zwickau
Zeitz
Erfurt
Weimar
Jena
Gotha
Duchy of Saxony
Saxony
Cy. Reuss
Plauen
Adorf
Eger R.
KINGDOM OF BOHEMIA
Prague
Kulmbach
Bayreuth
Bayreuth
Bamberg
Upper Palatinate
Nuremburg
Altdorf
Schwabach
Bishopric of Bamberg
Bishopric of Passau
Peraun
Pilsen
Moldau
Sazawa R.
Tabor
Margraviate of Moravia
Brünn
Budweis
Ratisbon
Bishopric of Passau
Landau
Passau
Danube R.
Arch. of Austria
Linz
Mölk
Vienna
Pressburg
Enns R.
Steyer
Neustadt
Duchy of Bavaria
Altdorf
Landshut
Augsburg
Burgau
Munich
Lech R.
Isar R.
Inn R.
Salzburg
Berechtesgaden
Arch. of Salzburg
Enns R.
Leoben
Bruck
Duchy of Styria
Graz
Rajab R.
Kingdom of Hungary
Kempten
Ehrenbergen Pass
Hall
Innsbruck
Pinzgau R.
Gastein
Duchy of Carinthia
(To Salzburg)
(To Bamberg)
Klagenfurt
Mur R.
Radkersburg
Bleiburg
County of Tyrol
Brenner R.
Tyrol
Brixen (Bishopric)
(To Gorz)
Etsch R.
VENICE

for their age, — who believed that in this work they were serving God and saving the souls of future generations of men from eternal torment. But their vigorous measures did not wholly succeed. Hus became a national hero to Bohemia. That country rose in arms against the church. A crusade was preached against the heretics, and years of cruel war followed; but some survivals of Hussite teachings lasted on into the period of the Reformation a century later.

The papacy never regained its earlier authority over kings. Nicholas V (1447) showed himself a learned scholar, eager to advance learning, as well as a pure and gentle man. Pius II (1455) strove to arouse a new crusade against the Turks, who had at last captured Constantinople; but his complete failure proved (in his own words) that Europe "looked on pope and emperor alike as names in a story." Some of the succeeding popes, like the notorious Borgia (Alexander VI, 1492–1503), were busied mainly as Italian princes, building up their temporal principality by intrigue and craft such as was common at that day in Italian politics.

Germany and the Hapsburgs

The "Holy Roman Empire" had come to mean merely *Germany* (p. 531); but the anarchy of the "Fist-law" period was checked in 1273 by the election of *Rudolph of Hapsburg* as emperor. Rudolph was a petty count of a rude district in the Alps ("Hawk's nest"), and the princes had chosen him because they thought him too weak to rule them. The king of Bohemia, indeed, refused to recognize his overlordship at all. Rudolph attacked Bohemia, and seized from it the duchy of Austria, which, until just now, has remained the chief seat of the Hapsburgs. In other ways he showed the now-familiar Hapsburg zeal to widen his personal domain. "Sit firm on Thy throne, O Lord," prayed an angry bishop, "or the Count of Hapsburg will shove Thee off." At the same time Rudolph gave earnest attention to restoring order, so far as his power permitted. Along the Rhine alone he demolished 140 robber castles, and he once hung 29 robber knights at one execution.

After Rudolph's death, the princes of the Empire (the Electoral College) passed the throne from family to family — until, in 1438, after a long line of Bohemian rulers, the imperial dignity came back to the Hapsburgs by the election of Albert, Duke of Austria. From this time, so long as the title endured, *the "Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire" was of the House of Austria*, and election became a form only.

The last medieval emperor was Maximilian I (1493-1519), the one romantic hero of the Hapsburg race. He made a noble effort to bring Germany abreast of England and France, but failed utterly, because of the selfishness of the German nobles; and *Germany entered the Modern Age a loose confederacy of many petty sovereign states grouped about Austria.*

Spain at the close of the Middle Ages

The Mohammedan invasion of 711 (p. 455) separated the development of *Spain* from that of the rest of Europe. For centuries, "Africa began at the Pyrenees." The wave of Moorish invasion, however, left unconquered a few resolute Christian chiefs in the remote fastnesses of the northwestern mountains, and in these districts several little Christian principalities began the long task of winning back their land, crag by crag and stream by stream. This they accomplished in eight hundred years of war, — a war at once patriotic and religious, Spaniard against African, and Christian against Infidel. The long struggle left the Spanish race proud, brave, warlike, unfitted for industrial civilization, intensely patriotic, and blindly devoted to the church.

During the eight centuries of conflict, the Christian states spread gradually to the south and east, — waxing, fusing, splitting up into new states, uniting in kaleidoscopic combinations by marriage and war, — until, before 1400, they had formed the three countries, Portugal, Aragon, and Castile. Nearly a century later, the marriage of Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon united the two larger states, and in 1492 their combined power captured Granada, the last Moorish stronghold. In the year that Columbus discovered America

SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE
AT THE ENTRANCE OF
THE OTTOMANS
(about 1850)
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300
EXPLANATION
Greek
Turkish
Servian
Bulgarian
Hungarian
Venetian
Other Latin Powers
HUNGARY
GERMANY
CROATIA
BOSNIA
DALMATIA
ALBANIA
TRANSYLVANIA
MOLDAVIA
WALLACHIA
K. BULGARIA
EMPIRE OF SERVIA
EMPIRE OF CONSTANTINOPLE
Tartars
PEREKOP
CRIM
CIRCASSIA
LAZICA
BLACK SEA
ANATOLIA
ARMENIA
KINGDOM OF CYPRUS
CRETE
Pressburg
Komorn
Raab
Buda
Pest
Stuhlweissenburg
Zagrab
Zara
Sebenico
Spalato
Ragusa
Trebinje
Kossova
Scodra
Durazzo
Ochrida
Otranto
Kastoria
Berea
Thessalonica
Larissa
Arta
Lepanto
Patras
Corinth
Athens
Argos
Nauplia
Maina
Belgrade
Widdin
Nissa
Triaditza
Sofia
Philippopolis
Krajova
Tergovist
Nicopolis
Tirnova
Rustchuk
Silistria
Varna
Jassy
Kherson
Sinope
Tripoli
Trebizond
Heracleia
Nicomedeia
Nicea
Brusa
Adrianople
Demotika
Seres
Callipolis
Phocæa
Magnesia
Smyrna
Philadelphia
Rhodes
Tarsus
Seleucia
Antioch
Famagusta
Nicosia
Candia
Chalcis
Thebes
Corfu
Leucas
Cephalonia
Zakynthos
Hydra
Nio
Naxos
Lemnos
Tenedos
Mitylene
Psara
Chios
Samos
Anonos
Danube
R. Drave
R. Save
R. Danube
R. Morava
R. Struma
R. Pruth
R. Dniester
R. Danube
Thebes
Dniester R.
Pasos
Dardanelles
Chalcedon
Constantinople
Gulf of Athens
Gulf of Aegina
Gulf of Nauplia
Gulf of Cephalonia
Duchy of Cephalonia
Duchy of Naxos
Knights of St. John
15
20
25
30
35
40
45

under Spanish auspices, Spain at home achieved national union and national independence.

The feudal lords of the many Spanish kingdoms had been notably independent of the monarchs. In each petty state they elected the king — and took an oath to obey him in forms like this: "We, who are each of us as good as thou, swear to obey thee if thou dost obey our laws, and if not, not." The towns, too, had won remarkable charters, and in the various kingdoms they sent representatives to the assembly of Estates, or the "Cortes," a century before a like practice began in England. But Ferdinand of Aragon began to abridge all these privileges, and during the next two reigns, *the Spanish monarchy*, financed by the treasures of Mexico and Peru, *became the most absolute in Europe.*

The Turks and southeastern Europe

While the civilized Mohammedan Moors were losing Spain, barbarous *Mohammedan Turks were gaining southeastern Europe.* They established themselves on the European side of the Hellespont first in 1346. Constantinople held out for a century more, a Christian island encompassed by seas of Mohammedanism. But at *Kossova* (1389), the Turks completed the overthrow of the Serbs, and a few years later a crushing defeat was inflicted upon the Hungarians and Poles. In 1453, *Mahomet the Conqueror* entered Constantinople through the breach where the heroic Constantine Palaeologus, last of the Greek emperors, died sword in hand.

The Turks, incapable of civilization, always remained a hostile army encamped among subject Christian populations, whom their rule blighted. From 1453 Constantinople has remained the capital of their empire. That empire continued to expand for a century more (until about 1550), and for a time it seemed as though nothing could save Western Europe. *Venice on sea, and Hungary by land, were long the two chief outposts of Christendom,* and, almost unaided, they kept up ceaseless warfare to check the Mohammedan invaders. For a time, Hungary was conquered, and then Austria became the bulwark

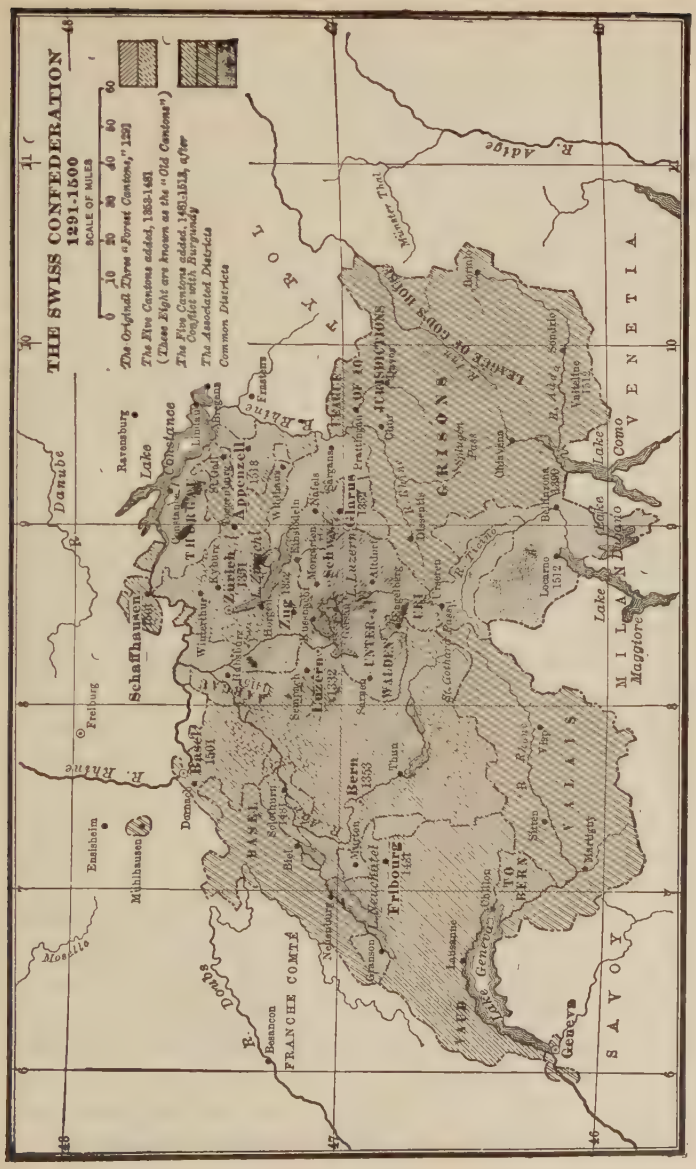
for Western Europe. Even as late as 1683 Vienna itself was besieged, and was saved from the Mohammedans only by the hurried march of John Sobieski, the hero-king of Poland.

A chief factor in the early success of the Turk was the horrible "tribute of children" — a device more ingeniously fiendish than even the German deportations from Belgium and France during the recent World War. A fixed proportion of the strongest and most promising boys among the conquered Christian nations were carried off each year and brought up in the Mohammedan faith. Out of them were formed the famous Janissaries, who for centuries made the core of the Ottoman armies. *The strength of the conquered peoples was turned against themselves.*

Switzerland in the Middle Ages

Switzerland began to grow into a political state just before the year 1300. The brave and sturdy peasantry, in their mountain fastnesses, had preserved much of the old Teutonic independence. Some small districts (cantons) in the German Alps had belonged to the Hapsburg counts. When Rudolph of Hapsburg became duke of distant Austria (p. 581), he left these possessions to subordinate officers. These agents oppressed the Swiss by extortion and tyranny; and, *in 1294*, the three "Forest Cantons" — *Uri*, *Schwyz*, and *Unterwalden* — formed a "perpetual league" for mutual defense against tyranny. For two centuries, from time to time, the Hapsburgs invaded Switzerland with powerful armies, in order to reduce the mountaineers to subjection; and very soon the league against oppression by the lord's agents became a league for independence, against the lord himself. Freedom was established by two great victories, — *Morgarten* (1315) and *Sempach* (1386), — struggles to which belong the myths of William Tell and of Arnold of Winkelried. Between these two battles, other cantons rebelled against their lords and joined the alliance. The new members — among them Bern, Zurich, and Luzern — were small city-states, wealthier and more aristocratic than the original cantons. The union remained a loose confederacy, to manage foreign wars, until the French Revolution.

Morgarten and Sempach


THE SWISS CONFEDERATION
1291-1500
SCALE OF MILES
The Original Three "Forest Cantons," 1291
The Five Cantons added, 1353-1481
(These Eight are known as the "Old Cantons")
The Five Cantons added, 1481-1513, after Conflict with Burgundy
The Associated Districts
Common Districts
Danube
Ravensburg
Lake Constance
Schaffhausen
Freiburg
Ensisheim
Mühlhausen
Mosello
Besancon
FRANCHE COMTÉ
Dornach
Basel 1501
BASEL
Solothurn
Biel
Nuenburg
Granson
Bern 1353
Thun
Fribourg 1481
L. Neuchâtel
Lausanne
Lake Geneva
Geneva
VAUD
TO BERN
Sitten
Martigny
VALAIS
Visp
Lake Maggiore
Lake Lugano
Lake Como
Locarno 1512
Bellinzona 1390
Chiavenna
Chur
Davos
Prattingen
Sargans
Glarus 1352
Schwyz
Zug 1352
Zürich 1351
Zürich
Appenzell 1518
Winterthur
Kyburg
Hohenburg
Frauenfeld
Wildhaus
Kinsiedeln
Morgarten
Altdorf
Lucerne 1332
Sarnen
Sarnach
Hasenburg
Sempach
Lucerne
Engelberg
Uri
Dissentis
Bormio
Sondrio
Valtellina 1512
Bruneck
Brixen
Trento
Mürster Thal
R. Adige
R. Rhine
R. Doubs
R. Ticino
R. Adda
R. Inn
R. Rhone
R. Aar
R. Tiefen
R. Rhine
TYROL
GRISONS
LEAGUE OF GOD'S HOUSE
JURISDICTIONS
UNTER-WALDEN
UNTER-WALDEN
Lake Geneva
Lake Lugano
Lake Como
Lake Maggiore
MILAN
VENETIA
SAVOY

Scandinavia

Except for the ninth century invasions and for the brief empire of Knut (p. 501), Scandinavia hardly touched the life of the rest of Europe during the Middle Ages; but the northern lands themselves had a romantic history. The very names of the Norse kings make a portrait gallery — Eric Broadax, Hakon the Good, Hakon the Old, Olaf the Thickset, Olaf the Saint.

The Union of Kalmar

In 1397 the three kingdoms, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, were united under Queen Margaret of Denmark by the Treaty of Kalmar. Each country was to keep its own laws and government; but for foreign affairs, the three joined in "perpetual union." In practice this "Union" made the northern states dependencies of Denmark. Sweden soon established her independence again under her hero king, Gustavus Vasa. Norway remained dependent but restless until modern times.

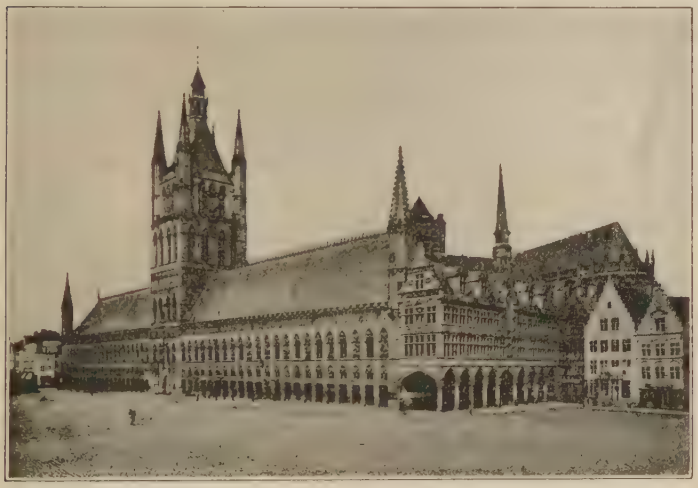
The Netherlands

The Netherlands (Low Countries) did not form an independent state in the Middle Ages. They were made up of a group of provinces, part of them fiefs of the Empire, part of them French fiefs. The southern portion has become modern Belgium; the northern part, modern Holland. The land is a low level tract, and in the Middle Ages it was more densely packed with teeming cities than any other part of Europe.

The inhabitants were a sturdy, independent, slow, industrious, persistent people. Ghent claimed eighty thousand citizens able to bear arms, while Ypres is said to have employed two hundred thousand people in the weaving of cloth. Wealth so abounded that the "counts" of this little district excelled most of the kings of Europe in magnificence. Many of the cities, like Rotter*dam* and Amster*dam*, were built on land wrested from the sea by dikes, and they took naturally to commerce. In their markets, the merchants from Italy and the south of Europe exchanged wares with the Hansa merchants of the Baltic. And the Netherland towns were workshops even more than they were trading rooms. "Nothing reached their shores," says one historian, "but received a more perfect finish: what was coarse and almost worthless, became transmuted into

something beautiful and good." Matthew of Paris,[1] a thirteenth century English chronicler, exclaimed that "the whole world was clothed in English wool *manufactured in Flanders.*"

The need of English wool for the Flemish looms made Flanders the ally of England in the Hundred Years' War. During this period the dukes of Burgundy became masters of Flanders. When Louis XI of France (p. 575) seized the rest of Burgundy



HALL OF THE CLOTHMAKERS' GILD AT YPRES. — Begun, 1200; finished, 1364; destroyed by the Germans in the World War.

from its last duke, Charles the Bold, the Flemish towns wisely chose to remain faithful to Mary, the daughter of Charles. In return for their fidelity, an Estates General of the provinces secured from Princess Mary a grant of *The Great Privilege*, the "Magna Carta of the Netherlands" (1478). This document promised: (1) that the provinces might hold Diets at will — composed, as before, of nobles and elected burgesses; (2) that no new tax should be imposed but by the central Diet, the "Estates General"; (3) that no war should be declared but

[1] The name, Matthew of Paris, signifies that this English monk had studied at the University of Paris.

by the consent of that body; (4) that offices should be filled by natives only; and (5) that Dutch should be the official language. Mary married the young Maximilian of Hapsburg (p. 582), and *the Netherlands passed to the House of Austria.* Ere long they were to wage one of the most famous of wars, to save these liberties.

The "New Monarchies" at the end of the Middle Ages, and the threat of a universal empire

The rise of "monarchic states" is the political change that marks the close of the Middle Ages. At the moment it seemed a disaster to many great and good men, like the Italian Dante, who had their minds fixed on the old ideal of a united Christendom. But, since the days of the old Roman Empire, Europe had never known a true union. "Latin Christendom," in its best period, had contained several *layers* of society, — nobles, burgesses, artisans, priests, peasants. These *horizontal* lines of cleavage between classes had been far more disastrous to union than the new cleavage into nations was to be. One class had been more foreign to another in the same land than France to England. French noble and German noble were always ready to make common cause against peasants or townsfolk of *either* country. *The real mission of each of the new monarchies,* whether the monarchs saw it yet or not, *was to weld all the classes within its land into one people with a common patriotism.* While this was being done, some old liberties were lost. But, unconsciously, the monarchs were paving the way for a new freedom, a few centuries later, broader and safer than the world had ever known.

We have noted the rise of new powerful monarchies in England, France, Spain, and Austria. Like governments had appeared in Hungary, Bohemia, Sweden, Denmark, and Poland. Two small lands, Switzerland and the Netherlands, were loosely connected with the Austrian Hapsburg monarchy. Two great lands had no part in the movement: until 1250, Germany and Italy had been the center of interest; but their claim for universal rule had left them broken in fragments. Not for centuries were they to reach a united government. *Leadership,*

ILLUSTRATION FROM A FIFTEENTH CENTURY MANUSCRIPT, showing in the foreground Maximilian of Austria, Mary of Burgundy, and their son Philip. The original is in colors.

therefore, passed from them to France, Spain, and England, — the three countries in which the new movement was most advanced.

Ca d'Oro, a Venetian palace built in the thirteenth century. Venetian architecture was based upon the old Romanesque, modified by the Saracenic from the south and the Gothic from the north. Cf. cuts on pp. 594, 595.

France and Spain in Italy

In Italy, by 1450 the many petty divisions had been brought under one or another of "Five Great States," — the Kingdom of Sicily in the south, the Papal States in the center, and Milan, Florence, and Venice, in the north. This movement toward

unity, however, had not gone far enough to make Italy safe. *In 1494*, as heir of the House of Anjou (p. 531), Charles VIII of France claimed the crown of Sicily. He crossed the Alps with a mighty army, and marched victoriously from end to end of the peninsula, regulating at will not only the southern kingdom but the northern states as well. But behind him gathered insulted Italian foes; Ferdinand of Aragon advanced a claim to Sicily; and Venice joined the anti-French party. Charles secured his retreat into France by a desperate battle; but *Spain was left mistress of Sicily and Naples.*

The danger of a world-monarch

Now swift steps brought the Hapsburg power within sight of a world-monarchy. Ferdinand of Aragon had married one daughter to the young English prince soon to become Henry VIII, and another to Philip of Hapsburg, son of the Emperor Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy (p. 588). From this last marriage, in 1500, was born a child, Charles.

Charles' father had been ruler of the rich provinces of the Netherlands; and Charles, while yet a boy, acquired those districts. In 1516 Charles also succeeded his grandfather, Ferdinand, as king of Sicily and Naples and as king of Spain, with the gold-producing realms in America that had just become Spain's. Three years later he succeeded his other grandfather, Maximilian, as the hereditary ruler of Austria, with its many dependent provinces. Then, still a boy of nineteen, Charles became a candidate for the title of Emperor, which Maximilian's death had left vacant; and his wealth (or that of his Flemish merchants) enabled him to win against his rivals, Francis of France and Henry VIII of England.

Thus Charles I of Spain, at twenty, became also Charles V, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. This election gave him a claim of lordship over Germany and the rest of Italy. His hereditary possessions made it seem possible for a while that he might make his claim good — and so more than restore the empire of the first great Charles (Charlemagne).

Compact France, at first, was his only obstacle (p. 575);

and no time was lost by Charles and the French Francis in joining battle. The battle of Pavia left Francis a captive, and France apparently at the Hapsburgs' feet. *But just then* (1520) *Martin Luther, an obscure monk in Germany,* burned a papal bull and started the Protestant Reformation, which split Germany and Europe at once into opposing camps and *rendered forever vain the dream of restoring the old imperial unity of Christendom.* When a world-union comes — perhaps soon, in our day — it will come as a federation of *free peoples.*

Review Exercises

1. Fact drills.

(*a*) *Dates.* Add to previous lists the following: 1381, 1414, 1453, 1492. (*b*) *Fix other events in connection with the above.* (*c*) *Extend list of terms for brief explanation:* "take the cross," Dukes of Athens, Teutonic Order, Janissaries, etc.

2. Review questions presented by class.

3. Map reviews and comparisons.

4. General topics: (*a*) parliamentary assemblies of Europe, — Diets, Estates, Cortes, etc.; (*b*) movements for religious reforms within the church; (*c*) movements for religious reforms that threatened, at least, to act outside the church.

EUROPE
UNDER
CHARLES THE FIFTH
Possessions of the Venetians
House of Austria
Swedish Possessions
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
NORWAY
SWEDEN
Finns
BALTIC SEA
LIVONIA
RUSSIA
Moscow
DENMARK
Elbe R.
Vistula R.
PRUSSIA
POLAND
Warsaw
Krakow
Kief
Dnieper R.
KHANATE OF CRIM (CRIMEA)
KHANATE OF ASTRAKAN
Volga R.
Tartars
THE EMPIRE (GERMANY)
NETHERLANDS
FRANCE
FRANCHE COMTE
SWITZERLAND
SAVOY
MILAN
GENOA
TUSCANY
PAPAL STATES
NAPLES
Vienna
HUNGARY
TRANSYLVANIA
Danube R.
TURKISH EMPIRE
BLACK SEA
Circassians
GEORGIA
PERSIAN EMPIRE
NAVARRE
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
SARDINIA
SICILY
TUNIS
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
L.L. POATES, ENGR., N.Y.

CHAPTER LVIII

THE RENAISSANCE

The Transition to Modern Times

The Age of Feudalism (pp. 468 ff.) covered five hundred years — from 800 to 1300. The first three centuries (800–1100) were a continuation of the "Dark Ages" of the barbarian invasions, after the brief interruption by Charlemagne. In those gloomy three hundred years we noted the grim feudal system at its height, the medieval church, serf labor, the destructive strife between empire and papacy, and, at the close, the Norman Conquest of England.

The periods within the feudal age

(1) The Dark Ages

The year 1100 was the threshold over which we passed from those centuries of gloom *to two centuries of fruitful progress.* That Age of the Crusades saw also the rise of towns, of universities, of popular literatures, of Gothic architecture in cathedrals and town halls, of the growth of France out of feudal fragments into one kingdom, and of the rise of courts and of Parliament in England.

(2) The Crusades

The year 1300 is another milestone of progress, introducing three centuries of still more rapid advance. *The period 1300–1600 we call the Age of the Renaissance, because those centuries are marked by a "rebirth" of a long-forgotten way of looking at life.* That old way had expressed itself in the art and literature of the ancient Greeks. Accordingly, the men of the new age were passionately enthusiastic over all remains of the old classical period. The fundamental characteristic of the Renaissance, however, was not its devotion to the past, but its joyous self-trust in the present. The men of the Renaissance cared for the ancient culture because they found there what they themselves thought and felt.

The Age of the Renaissance

Relation to "Ancient" culture

The Renaissance and the feudal age

Between those classical times and the fourteenth century there had intervened centuries of very different life. Those "Middle Ages" had *three marks* on the intellectual side. (1) Ignorance was the general rule; and even the learned followed slavishly in the footsteps of some intellectual master. (2) Man *as an individual* counted for little. In all his activities he was part of some gild or order or corporation. (3) Interest in the

THE DUCAL PALACE, VENICE.

future life was so intense that many good men neglected the present life. Beauty in nature was little regarded, or regarded as a temptation of the devil.

The Renaissance changed all this. (1) For blind obedience to authority, it substituted the free inquiring way in which the ancients had looked at things. (2) Men developed new self-reliance and self-confidence, and a fresh and lively originality. And (3) they awoke to delight in flower and sky and mountain, in the beauty of the human body, in all the pleasures of the natural world.

This transformation — one of the two or three most wonderful changes in all history — began first in Italy. It had done its work in that land by 1550; while it hardly began in England until 1500, and there it lasted through Shakspere's age, to about 1600. It showed itself, too, at different times in different

The Renaissance begins in Italy

St. Mark's, Venice. — View from the side toward the Ducal Palace.

ways: first in art, then in a revival of learning, and finally in religious reform.

Italy was the natural home for a revival in literature and art. Vergil had been read by a few Italian scholars all down the Middle Ages. The Italian language was nearer the Latin than any other European language was, and more manuscripts of the ancient Roman writers survived in Italy than elsewhere in Western Europe. Thus the Florentine *Petrarch* stands as the first great champion of the new age. His graceful sonnets are a famous part of Italian literature, but his chief influence upon the world lay in his work as a tireless critic of the medieval

Petrarch (1304–1374) the champion

system. He attacked vehemently the superstitions and the false science of the day, and he ridiculed the universities, with their blind reverence for "authority," as "nests of gloomy ignorance." He began an enthusiastic search for classical manuscripts and other remains, to recover what the ancients had possessed of art and knowledge. One of his disciples, *Boccaccio*, wrote the first dictionaries of classical geography and of Greek mythology, and brought back into Italy the study of Greek.

"Humanism"

This new enthusiasm for the classics became known as *Humanism* (Latin, *humanitas*, culture). Before 1450, the Humanists had recovered practically all the literary remains we now have of the Latin authors, and a large part of the surviving Greek manuscripts. Oftentimes neglected manuscripts were found decaying in moldy vaults. Many had been mutilated, or had been erased in order that the parchment might receive some monastic legend. In some cases this later writing has since been carefully removed, and the original writing restored faintly, through chemical processes. Much had been wholly lost; and if the humanistic revival had been a little longer delayed, a great deal that we now possess could never have been recovered.

Revival of Greek in Italy: aided by the fall of Constantinople

With all their zeal for Greek manuscripts, and Latin translations of them, most of the early Humanists were ignorant of the Greek language; but after the year 1400, the knowledge of that tongue grew rapidly. Greek scholars were invited to the Italian cities and were given professorships in the universities. The increasing danger in the Greek Empire from the Turk (p. 583) made such invitations welcome, and the high prices paid by princely Italian collectors drew more and more of the literary treasures of Constantinople to the Italian cities. Many a fugitive scholar from the East found the possession of some precious manuscript the key to fortune and favor in Italy.[1] This movement received a sudden brief acceleration when Con-

[1] The value of such a manuscript furnishes an essential element in the plot of George Eliot's *Romola*.

St. Mark's, Venice.

stantinople fell, in 1453. "Greece did not perish," said an Italian scholar; "it emigrated to Italy."

Humanism wins the universities

At first, Humanism had been stoutly resisted by the universities, but it finally captured them and established a "new education." The earlier "liberal education" had contained no Greek and had given little acquaintance with the Latin authors. The courses in "arts" were now broadened so as to furnish a true classical training. Medieval Latin was replaced by the refined style of Cicero, and Greek thought and knowledge and the grand and beautiful conceptions of Greek and Latin literature were gradually absorbed into our modern thought — which they still color.

Painting the art of the Renaissance

With the rebirth of delight in beauty, painting and sculpture were reborn into the world; and painting, at least, reached a perfection never before known. Italian painting culminated in the years from 1470 to 1550. To these eighty years belongs the work of *Leonardo da Vinci, Michael Angelo, Fra Angelico, Perugino, Raphael, Andrea del Sarto, Giorgione, Titian, Tintoretto,* and *Correggio. Each town had its able artists,* but nearly all the greatest masters, like most of those just named, belonged to Florence or to Venice. Many of these men practiced more than one art. Thus, Michael Angelo was great as architect, engineer, and sculptor, as well as painter, and he was not without fame as a poet.

Great painters

A little later came the great periods of Dutch and Spanish painting. The new development in all these lands was made possible, of course, by new methods of preparing oil paints (invented by the Van Eycks in Holland), so that it became possible to paint upon canvas, instead of only on walls and ceilings. About the same time engraving of copper plates and "woodcuts" came into use.

The pagan side of the Renaissance

There was an evil, pagan side to the Italian Renaissance. The men of the new movement, having cast off old restraints and beliefs, fell often into gross and shallow unbelief and into

shameless self-indulgence. Delight in beauty sometimes sank into gross sensuality. Morals declined, and for a time Italian society sank lower than the old pagan world. The "Men of the Renaissance" were always polished and elegant and full of robust vitality; but many of them went to their goal recklessly by any means, and some of them were perfidious monsters.

This side of the Renaissance was typified by the Italian *Condottieri*, — roving captains of bands of soldiers of fortune. These chieftains sold their services to any city with a price to pay, — and then betrayed it, on occasion, or seized it for themselves, if convenient. Such was the source of most of the Italian "tyrants" (p. 551) of the time. Many of them were generous patrons of art and learning; but their marked characteristics were indomitable will, reckless scorn of danger, powerful minds, and absolute freedom from moral scruple — which led them to extremes of cruelty and treachery whenever such measures seemed useful to them. Like traits show a few years later, in the Spanish conquerors of the New World, — Cortez, Pizarro, Balboa, and their fellows. The scores of English sea-kings of the next century — Raleigh, Drake, Hawkins, Gilbert, Grenville (who fought "the fight of the one and the fifty-three" [1]) — belong to the same order of men *except* that in them cruelty is refined into sternness, and perfidy is replaced by lofty honor, through the greater moral earnestness of the Renaissance in the North.

The Northern Renaissance

For the Renaissance was *mainly* artistic and literary in the south of Europe, and mainly scientific and religious in the north. In Italy, Petrarch and his followers had begun a careful study of old and corrupted documents to restore their original form. A little before 1500 this "New Learning" from Italy was welcomed in England by an eager group of young scholars known as the "Oxford Reformers," who saw in the new "historical criticism" a means of correcting errors that had crept

The "Oxford Reformers"

[1] Read Tennyson's poem of that name.

into religion. Most important among this group were Erasmus (a Hollander living in England) and Sir Thomas More.

Erasmus

The influence of Erasmus extended throughout Europe; and his name was probably the most widely respected one in that age. In 1516 he published the New Testament *in the original Greek*, with a careful Latin translation. His Greek text was prepared more carefully, and undoubtedly was much nearer the original gospels, than any the Middle Ages had known, and it was accompanied by critical notes. Now, for the first time, ordinary scholars could test satisfactorily the accuracy of the common Latin translation (the Vulgate) in use in the church. Afterward Erasmus edited the writings of many of the early Christian Fathers — to show the character of early Christianity.

ERASMUS. — After a portrait by Holbein.

In another sort of works — as in his famous *Praise of Folly* — with keen and graceful ridicule, Erasmus lashed the false learning and foolish methods of the monks and Schoolmen. He has been called "the Scholar of the Reformation." His writings did furnish Luther (p. 604) with much material ready for use against the old religious system; but Erasmus was not himself a revolutionist. Instead, he worked, with beautiful charity and patience and largeness of view, for reform *within* the great mother church.

Sir Thomas More

Sir Thomas More was one of the noblest Englishmen of any age. He was a distinguished scholar — his learning

More's Utopia

brightened by a gentle and pervading humor — and a man of great personal charm. It was at his house that Erasmus wrote his *Praise of Folly*. More's own influence was given to reform in society rather than in religion. In the year that Erasmus published his Greek Testament, More issued his *Description of the Republic of Utopia* ("Nowhere"). He portrays, with burning sympathy, the miseries of the English peasantry, and points accusingly to the barbarous, social, and political conditions of his time by contrasting with them the conditions in "Nowhere" — where the people elect their government (which accordingly is devoted solely to their welfare), possess good homes, work short hours, enjoy absolute freedom of speech, high intellectual culture, and universal happiness, with all property in common. *Utopia* was the first of the many modern attempts to picture, in the guise of fiction, an ideal state of society.

Inventions help bring a new age

The new intellectual movement was marked by a number of new inventions or by the first practical use of them. *The telescope* revealed other worlds in the heavens. *The mariner's compass* enabled Columbus to discover a New World on the old earth. *Gunpowder* (p. 567), which found its first serious use in the wars between Charles V and Francis I, gave the final blow to dying feudalism. And *printing* did more to create a new society than gunpowder could to destroy the old. Two of these new movements call for special notice.

1. Early medieval manuscripts were all written on *parchments*. These were costly and hard to obtain in any desirable quantity. About 1300, to be sure, a cheaper *paper* was introduced by the Saracens; but all books had still to be *written* by the pen. Soon after 1400, engravers began to make the reproduction of books cheaper by engraving each page on a block of wood (as the Chinese seem to have done centuries earlier). This was still costly. But now, about 1450, John Gutenberg, at Mainz, found how to "cast" *separate* metal type in molds.

This invention of *movable* type reduced the price of books at once to a twentieth their old cost. It came, too, at a happy

moment. It preserved the precious works recovered by the Humanists; and soon it was to spread broadcast the new thought of the Reformation.

New geographical discoveries

2. The ancients had *played* with the notion of sailing around the earth. Aristotle speaks of "persons" who held that it might be possible; and Strabo, a Roman geographer, suggested that one or more continents might lie in the Atlantic between Europe and Asia. But during the Middle Ages men had come to believe that the known habitable earth was bounded on all sides by an uninhabitable and untraversable world, — on the north by snow and ice, on the south by a fiery zone, on the west by watery wastes stretching down an inclined plane, up which men might not return, and on the east by a dim land of fog and fen, the abode of strange and terrible monsters. The Indian Ocean, too, was thought to be a *lake*, encompassed by the shores of Asia and Africa.

Illustration in a Thirteenth Century Manuscript; showing a Monk teaching the Globe.

These false views had been partly corrected by a better geographical knowledge of Asia, gained in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Louis IX of France sent Friar Rubruk as ambassador to the court of the Tartar Khan in central Asia; and the friar on his return reported that he had heard of a *navigable ocean east of Cathay* (China), with a marvelously wealthy island, Zipango (Japan).

This rumor made a leap in men's thought. Friar Bacon in England (p. 559) at once raised the question whether this eastern ocean might not be the same as the one that washed Europe on the west and whether men might not reach Asia by sailing

west into the Atlantic. Indeed, Bacon wrote a book to support these conjectures, adding many opinions of the Ancients; and extensive extracts from this volume were copied into a later book, which was to become a favorite of Columbus. Such speculation implies that *scholars* understood the sphericity of the earth. Saracenic schools had preserved the old Greek knowledge in this matter, and some European thinkers had been familiar with it, even in the "Dark Ages."

Moreover, the Mongol emperors (p. 681) opened China to western strangers to a degree altogether new for that land; and, while Mongol dominion lasted, many strangers and merchants visited the East. Among these were three Venetians, the *Polos*, who on their return sailed from Peking through the straits into the Indian Ocean and up the Persian Gulf. *This proved true the rumor of Rubruk regarding an eastern ocean, and proved also that the Indian Ocean was* not *landlocked.* From this time it was possible to think seriously of reaching India by sailing west. Soon afterward *commercial conditions changed so as to impel men earnestly to try it.*

The Crusades, we have seen, had given a new impulse to trade with the Orient, but in the fifteenth century, the progress of the Turks threatened the old trade routes. Constantinople, the emporium for the route by the Black Sea, fell into their hands, and each year their power crept farther south in Asia, endangering the remaining route by the Red Sea. Under these circumstances the *question was forced home to Europe whether or not a new route could be found.* The speculations of Bacon and the discoveries of the Polos pointed to an answer.

Discoveries of Henry the Navigator

The Portuguese, under Prince Henry the Navigator, had already been engaged in building up a Portuguese empire in Africa and in the islands of the Atlantic (Azores, Canary, and Verde [1]); *and about 1470 they began to attempt to reach India by sailing around Africa.* In 1486 a Portuguese captain, *Bartholomew Diaz*, while engaged in this attempt, was carried far

[1] The name "Cape Verde" indicates the surprise of the discoverers (1450) at verdure so far south.

to the south in a storm, and on his return to the coast he found it *on his left hand* as he moved toward the north. He followed it several hundred miles, well into the Indian Ocean. Then his sailors compelled him to turn back to Portugal. India was not actually reached until the expedition of Vasco da Gama in 1498, after more memorable voyages in another direction.

COLUMBUS AT THE COUNCIL TABLE OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA. — From the painting by Brozik in the Metropolitan Museum, New York.

Columbus and America

One of the sailors with Diaz in 1486, when in this way he rounded the Cape of "Good Hope," was a Bartholomew Columbus, whose brother *Christopher* also had sailed on several Portuguese voyages. Now, however, for some years, Christopher Columbus had devoted himself to the more daring theory that India could be reached by sailing west into the open Atlantic. Portugal, well content with her monopoly of African exploration, refused to assist him to try his plan. Henry VII of England also declined to furnish him ships. But finally, the high-minded Isabella of Castile, while the siege of Granada was in progress, fitted out his small fleet, and *in 1492 Columbus* revealed to Europe the continent of America.

PART IX

THE AGE OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION, 1520–1648

The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
And God fulfills himself in many ways
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world.

— TENNYSON.

CHAPTER LIX

THE REFORMATION UPON THE CONTINENT

LUTHERANISM

The need for religious reform

All the later references to the church have involved some mention of abuses growing up within it. Good Christians lamented those abuses. A few broad-minded, genial men, like Erasmus, strove earnestly to *reform* them. Less patient, more impetuous men broke away in a revolt which divided Western Christendom into hostile camps for centuries and which is called the Protestant "Reformation."

Special abuses in Germany

The revolt began in Germany. That land had a special grievance. It was a poor country; but, since it lacked a strong government to protect it, its little, hard-won wealth was drained away to richer Italy by extortionate papal taxes of many sorts. A like abuse existed in other countries, but nowhere else in so serious a degree. From peasant to prince, the German people had long grumbled as they paid; and they needed only a leader to rise against papal control.

Martin Luther

Martin Luther (1483–1546), son of a Thuringian peasant-miner, became that needed leader. Luther was a born fighter, — a straightforward, forceful man, with a blunt homely way that sometimes degenerated into coarseness. Erasmus addressed

polite society: Luther spoke to the people. His father had meant him to be a lawyer, and, with great difficulty, had managed to send him to a university; but, seized by terror of hell and fear for his soul, the young Martin suddenly joined the Augustinian friars — an order somewhat like the Franciscans. His scholarship and his effective preaching soon attracted attention, and Duke Frederick the Wise of Saxony made him a professor of theology in the new University of Wittenberg. There, at thirty-four, he entered upon his struggle with Rome.

St. Peter's, Rome.

Luther and the sale of indulgences

Luther's revolt *began* in his opposition to the sale of indulgences. To get money to rebuild St. Peter's Cathedral at Rome, a German archbishop had licensed John Tetzel, a Dominican, to sell indulgences. The practice was an old one, arising easily out of the doctrine of "penance." The authorized teaching of the church was, that, in reward for some pious act — or for the gift of money for a pious purpose — a sinner *who had truly repented and who had, so far as possible, atoned for his sins,* might have the punishment due *in purgatory* remitted

by the church. "Letters of indulgence" from the pope, — the immediate representative of St. Peter, — were especially valued, and it had become customary to *sell* them in great quantities as one source of the papal revenues. The ignorant masses, unable to read the Latin documents, often thought that an "indulgence" was an *unconditional* pardon, — contrary to the doctrine of the church, — or even that it was a license to sin in future; and some professional "pardoners," who peddled such "letters," encouraged these gross errors. Tetzel was a special offender in this way. A rude German rhyme, ascribed to him, runs, "The money rattles in the box; the soul from purgatory flies." More than a hundred years before, the bright-souled Chaucer had given the only bitter lines in his *Canterbury Tales* to the Pardoner with his wallet "bret-full of pardons, come from Rome all hot." Since then, the evil had grown hugely. The gentle Erasmus wrote scathing words against it. Luther had criticized it on more than one occasion. Now a visit of Tetzel to Wittenberg, with a batch of these papal letters, aroused him to more vehement protest.

Luther's theses arouse Germany

On a Sunday in October, 1517, Luther nailed to the door of the Wittenberg church ninety-five "theses" (statements) upon which he challenged all comers to debate. That door was the usual university bulletin board where it was customary for one scholar to challenge others to debate. But Luther's act had consequences far beyond the university. The theses were *in Latin*, the regular university language. They accepted the church doctrine about indulgences, but criticized savagely the abuses connected with *the practice of selling them*. Is there not danger, they hinted, that poor men may wonder why, if the pope releases souls from purgatory for money, he does not do so for charity's sake? It was these *criticisms* that drew popular attention. The printing press scattered copies of the theses broadcast *in German*, and in a few days they were being discussed hotly over all Germany.

Luther and the pope

At first Luther seems to have had no thought of denying the authority of the pope. Indeed, he asserted that the pope

would be the first to condemn Tetzel's practices. And he was honestly amazed, too, at the public attention his theses received. He dedicated a pamphlet in defense of them to Pope Leo (X), and in his letter to the pope he says: "Save or slay, call or recall, approve or disapprove, as it shall best please you, *I shall acknowledge your voice as the voice of Christ.*"

The matter of indulgences soon dropped out of sight. The papal legate in Germany reprimanded Tetzel sternly for his gross mispractice; and now that the church had its attention called forcefully to the abuses, they were soon corrected. But, meanwhile, in the heat of argument, Luther passed quickly to a more radical position. He startled all parties by expressing approval of the heretic Hussites; and in 1519 he *denied the authority of the pope and of church councils, appealing instead to the Bible as the sole rule of conduct and belief.*

> Luther *tried* to substitute one authority for another. He had no intention of advancing freedom of thought. But the Bible is capable of many interpretations. His appeal to the Bible as the sole authority meant Luther's understanding of the Bible. In the mouth of another man, however, the same appeal meant that other's understanding of the book. So, *unintentionally*, the Protestant revolt came to stand for *the right of individual judgment.*

Luther burns the papal bull

The gentle Pope Leo tried to bring the rebel back into the church by persuasion and argument, but when this failed, he issued a bull of excommunication. The document condemned a number of the new teachings, ordered Luther to burn his books, and threatened him and his followers with punishment as heretics unless they recanted within two months. Instead of burning his own books, *Luther burned the papal bull* in a bonfire of other writings of the church, before the town gate *in December, 1520*, while a crowd of students and townsfolk brought fuel. The German friar had declared war upon the church.

Luther at Worms

The pope appealed to the young emperor, Charles V (p. 591), to punish the heretic. Germany was in uproar. A papal

legate wrote, "Nine tenths of Germany shouts for Luther." The Emperor, coming to Germany for the first time, called an imperial Diet[1] at Worms (1521) and summoned Luther to be present, pledging safe conduct. Friends tried to dissuade Luther from going, pointing to the fate of Hus a century before; but said he, "I would go on if there were as many devils in Worms as there are tiles on the housetops." At Worms he was confronted with scornful contempt by the great dignitaries of the church and of the empire; but to the haughty command that he recant he answered firmly, — "Unless I am proven wrong by Scripture or plain reason . . . my conscience is caught in the word of God. . . . Here I stand. As God is my help, I can no otherwise."

A German Bible

Charles kept his pledge, and Luther departed in safety. A month later the Diet pronounced against him the "ban of the empire," ordering that he be put to death, and his writings burned. But the friendly Frederick of Saxony had had him seized, on his way homeward, and carried into hiding in the castle of Wartburg. Most of his followers mourned him as dead; but in this refuge Luther translated the New Testament into strong and simple German. While he was still in hiding, his teachings were accepted by whole communities. Priests married; nuns and monks left their convents; powerful princes joined the new communion, sometimes from honest conviction, sometimes as an excuse for seizing church lands.

Lutheranism wins the North German princes

In 1522, Luther left his safe retreat to guide the movement again in person and to restrain it from going to extremes that he disliked. Changes in religion, he urged, should be made only *by the governments*, not by the people. He preserved all that he could of the old church services and organization, establishing them on essentially the basis on which they still stand

[1] The German *Diet* in early times contained only nobles. In the fourteenth century, representatives of the "free cities" were admitted. Then the Diet sat usually in three Houses, Electors (the seven great princes), Princes (of second rank), and City Representatives. It never gained any real place in the government of the Empire.

in the Lutheran church. By 1530 that church had won North Germany.

Foreign wars keep Charles V from acting

Charles V, the young emperor, was a zealous churchman, and if his hands had been free, he would have enforced the ban of the empire promptly and crushed Lutheranism at its birth. But even while the Diet of Worms was condemning Luther, the Spanish towns were rising in revolt and Francis I of France was seizing Italian territory (p. 591). These events called Charles hastily from Germany. He put down the rebellion promptly and crushed the ancient liberties of the Spanish towns; but the wars against France, and against the Turk, with only brief truces, filled the next twenty-three years (1521–1544).

The "Protestants" and the Augsburg Confession

The first pause in the French wars came in 1529. Charles at once summoned a German Diet, which reaffirmed the decree of Worms. Against this decision, however, the Lutheran princes presented a protest. This act gave the name *Protestant* to their party. The following year, in a Diet at Augsburg, the Lutherans put forward a written statement of their beliefs, "the Augsburg Confession," which is still the platform of the Lutheran church. Charles prepared to enforce by arms the decree of Worms; but an open clash was once more postponed, because Solyman the Magnificent, the Turkish Sultan, invaded Germany.

Before Charles was again at liberty to give his attention to his Protestant subjects, Lutheranism had become the religion not only of most of Germany but also of all Scandinavia, while the English church had cut itself off from Rome as an independent Episcopal church (p. 617), and a new Presbyterian heresy had begun to spread rapidly in France. Try as he might, Charles did not find himself free to strike in Germany until 1546, the year of Luther's death. Then two brief struggles settled the contest for the time. In the first, Charles seemed completely victorious; but almost at once the defeated princes rallied again, drove Charles in hurried flight from their domains, and forced him to accept the Peace of Augsburg (1555).

Peace of Augsburg

According to this treaty, each ruling prince of the Empire

was free to choose between Lutheranism and Catholicism for himself and for all his subjects; but if an *ecclesiastical* ruler became a Protestant, he was to surrender his lands to the church, from whom they came. *This peace secured toleration for princes only,* not for their subjects. The people were expected to follow the religion of the ruler.

Abdication of Charles

The Protestants in their last rising had sought aid from Henry II, the new French king; and France for her reward had seized some German districts, including the city of Metz. Chagrined at the loss, and disheartened by the split within the Empire, Charles abdicated his many crowns in 1556. His brother *Ferdinand* became ruler of Austria, and soon after was chosen Emperor, while by marriage he added Hungary to the Hapsburg hereditary dominions. Charles' son, *Philip II,* received the Netherlands, Spain, Naples, and Spanish America. There were now *two* Hapsburg Houses, one in Spain, one in Austria. *France feared that she might be crushed between them,* and became more eager to take advantage of any chance to weaken them.

CALVINISM — IN SWITZERLAND AND FRANCE

While Lutheranism was winning North Germany and Scandinavia, another form of Protestantism, *Calvinism,* was growing up in Switzerland and, for a time, in France and even in the west of Germany.

Zwingli and Luther

This movement was started in 1519 (the year before Luther burned the papal bull), by *Zwingli,* a priest at Zürich in German Switzerland. Zwingli, like Luther, was of peasant birth, but he too had enjoyed a good education. He was far more radical than Luther, *refusing to keep anything* of the old religion *that he did not think absolutely commanded* by the Bible. He also organized a strict system of church discipline which severely punished gaming, swearing, drunkenness, and some innocent sports.

Zwingli's teachings were accepted rapidly by the rich "city

cantons" of Switzerland, both German and French, like Zürich and Berne. But the peasant "forest cantons," the core of the original confederation (p. 584), remained Catholic. In a battle between the two parties, in 1531, Zwingli was killed; but his work was soon taken up — and carried further — by the man whose name has come to stand for the whole movement.

Calvin at Geneva

John Calvin was a young French scholar of sternly logical mind. He is the father of Puritan theology and of the Presbyterian church, with its system of synods and presbyteries. This church government and doctrine he built up at Geneva.

A Village Maypole of the sixteenth century, such as Calvin condemned. Compare the earlier merry-making pictured on page 488.

Geneva was a French town in the Swiss Alps. It was not yet a member of the Swiss confederation, but it had recently become a free city-republic by rebellion against its overlord. That overlord had been a Catholic ecclesiastic; and so Geneva was now ready to accept Protestant teachings. In 1536, Calvin, a fugitive from France because of his heresy, found refuge there and soon became an absolute dictator over both the church and the civil government. Geneva became a Puritan "theocracy," "with Calvin for its pope."

Calvin took the law of Moses rather than the spirit of Christ for the basis of his legislation. Blasphemy he counted a capital crime, and he once *had a child beheaded* because it had struck its father. The government repressed harshly amusements like dancing, and it tyrannized over men's private life,

punishing sternly for absence from church and for luxury in dress. But it made turbulent and unruly Geneva into a sober, industrious commonwealth, and it furnished many hints for the Puritan colony of Massachusetts a century later.

Calvin and Servetus

One terrible case of persecution, in particular, stains Calvin's fame. *Servetus* was a learned Spanish physician, with intense religious convictions somewhat like those of modern Unitarians. He had had some literary controversies with Calvin; but, to escape from Catholic persecution as a heretic at home, he fled to Geneva. Calvin's government there seized him, tried him in its own way for heresy, and burned him at the stake.

Incidentally, *this crime put back medical progress for at least fifty years*. The foundation of true medical science lies in a knowledge of the circulation of the blood, as taught in any elementary physiology to-day. But in the time of Servetus, it had been believed for centuries that the bright blood of the arteries and the dark blood of the veins were two distinct systems, one from the heart, the other from the liver. Servetus first discovered that the two were one system. He found out how the dark blood is purified in the lungs, and understood fully the work of the heart. He had just published his medical discovery in the same book that contained his theological opinions. His persecutors sought out and burned this volume so zealously that only two copies survived, and these were long overlooked. The great discovery in physiology — which would have shown how to save hundreds of thousands of lives — was lost for half a century, until made again, independently, in England in the age of Elizabeth (p. 626) by William Harvey.

Catholic Spain early erected a statue in honor of Servetus; and, in 1903, Calvinists all over the world subscribed a fund for the erection of the noble "expiatory statue," which now marks the spot where he suffered martyrdom.

Calvinism in Scotland, England, and America

Calvin's writings influenced profoundly his own and future times. Ardent reformers from all Europe flocked to Geneva to imbibe his teachings, and then returned *to spread Calvinism*

in their own lands. From Geneva came the seeds of *Scotch Presbyterianism*, of *the great Puritan movement within the English church* (soon to be treated), of *the leading Protestant movement among the Dutch*, and of the *Huguenot church in France*. John Winthrop, the founder of Massachusetts, took his ideas both in religion and in politics from Calvin. It is from the French Calvin, not the German Luther, that modern liberal Protestantism has sprung.

In its original form, the Calvinistic doctrine seems to nearly all men of the present time too somber and merciless. It was, however, sternly logical. It made strong men, and it appealed to strong spirits. Calvin did not believe in democracy, and he taught that for "subjects" to resist even a wicked ruler was "to resist God"; but, in spite of this teaching, in the course of historical movements, *Calvinism became the ally of political freedom in Holland, England, and America.*

CATHOLICISM KEEPS THE SOUTH OF EUROPE

The "Counter-reformation"

For a time, Protestantism promised to win also the south of Europe; but *Spain, Italy, France, Belgium, Bohemia, and South Germany were finally saved to Catholicism.* This was *mainly* because the church quickly purged itself of old abuses, and woke to new moral energy. Especially did the great *Council of Trent* (1545–1563) prune away evil practices of long standing.

The Jesuits

The new enthusiasm within the Catholic world gave birth, also, to several new religious orders. The most important of these was the "Order of Jesus," founded in 1534 by *Ignatius Loyola*, a gallant and religious Spanish gentleman. The Jesuits stood to the friars somewhat as the friars stood to the older monks (p. 553). Holding fast like the friars to an intensely religious private life, *they represented a further advance into the world of public affairs.* Their members mingled with men in all capacities. Especially did they distinguish themselves as statesmen and as teachers. Their schools were the best in Europe, and many a Protestant youth was won back by them

to Catholicism. In like manner, as individual counselors, they converted many a Protestant prince — especially in Germany, where the religion of the prince determined that of his people; and their many devoted missionaries among the heathen in the New Worlds won vast regions to Christianity and Catholicism.

The Inquisition

Unhappily less praiseworthy forces played a part in the victory of Catholicism, — religious wars (p. 627 ff.) and the Inquisition.

The Inquisition dated back to the twelfth century, some three hundred years earlier. At that time the church had suffered one of its periods of decline; and discontent with its corruption had given rise to several small heresies. The most important of these twelfth century heretical sects were *the Albigenses* in southeastern France. They rejected some doctrines of the church, and they rebelled especially against its government by pope and priesthood — so that an old by-word, "I had rather be a Jew," became, for them, "I had rather be a priest"!

The church made many vain attempts to reclaim these heretics by gentle persuasion, and finally, the great reforming pope, Innocent III, proclaimed a "holy war" against them, declaring them "more wicked than Saracens." The feudal nobles of northern France rallied gladly to this war. Aside from religious motives, they hated the democracy which was beginning to appear in the rising towns of the south, and they hungered greedily for the rich plunder of that more civilized region. A twenty years' struggle, marked by ferocious massacres, crushed the heretics, along with the prosperity — for a century — of what had been the richest province of France.[1]

Origin three centuries earlier

When *open* resistance ceased in desolated Languedoc, the pope set up a special court to exterminate any *secret* heretics remaining there. Soon afterward, *this court*, enlarged and reorganized, *became a regular part of the government of the church for suppressing heresy.* In this final form it is commonly known as the *Spanish* Inquisition. It held sway also in Portugal and Italy, as well as in the wide-lying possessions of Spain; but

[1] It was this struggle that gave Philip II his chance to seize this district of Provence (p. 523).

England and the Scandinavian lands never admitted it, and France only in very slight degree.

The Spanish Inquisition and Protestantism

In the south of Europe, now, the Inquisition became one means of stifling the new Protestant heresies. Its methods were atrocious. Children were encouraged to betray their parents, and parents their children. Often upon secret accusation by spies, a victim disappeared, without warning, to underground dungeons. The trial that followed was usually a farce. The court seldom confronted the accused with his accuser, or allowed him witnesses of his choosing; and it extorted confession by cruel tortures, carried to a point where human courage could not endure. Acquittals were rare. The property of the convicted went to enrich the church, and the heretic himself was handed over to the government for death by fire. *Persecution of unbelievers was characteristic of the age. It disgraced every sect, Protestant as well as Catholic.* But no Protestant land possessed a device so fiendishly calculated to accomplish its purpose as the Inquisition.

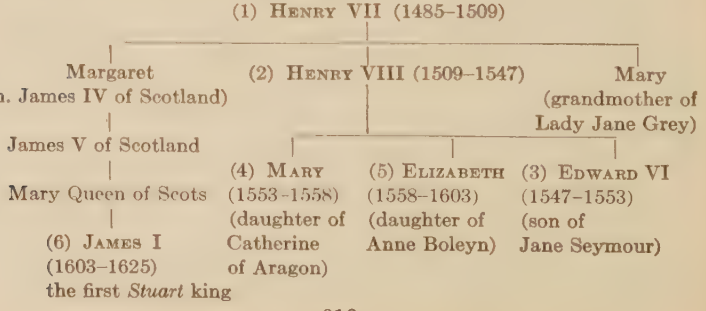
CHAPTER LX

ENGLAND AND THE PROTESTANT MOVEMENT

Henry VIII and his quarrel with the pope

In England, separation from Rome was at first the act of the monarchs, and the motives were personal and political. Henry VIII (the second Tudor[1]) had shown himself zealous against Luther, and had even written a book to controvert Luther's teaching. In return, the pope conferred upon him the title, "Defender of the Faith." A little later, however, Henry desired a divorce from his wife, the unfortunate Catherine of Aragon, aunt of Charles V (p. 591), with whom he had lived for nineteen years. Catherine's only child was a girl (Mary), and Henry was anxious for a son, in order to secure a peaceful succession at his death. More to the point, he wished sinfully to marry Anne Boleyn, a lady of the court. After long negotiation, the pope refused to grant the divorce. Thereupon Henry put himself in the place of the pope so far as his island was concerned, and secured the divorce from his own courts.

[1] Cf. p. 575. The following table of Tudor rulers shows also the claim of the first ruler of the next royal family (p. 645).


(1) Henry VII (1485–1509)
Margaret
(m. James IV of Scotland)
(2) Henry VIII (1509–1547)
Mary
(grandmother of Lady Jane Grey)
James V of Scotland
Mary Queen of Scots
(4) Mary (1553–1558) (daughter of Catherine of Aragon)
(5) Elizabeth (1558–1603) (daughter of Anne Boleyn)
(3) Edward VI (1547–1553) (son of Jane Seymour)
(6) James I (1603–1625) the first *Stuart* king

A Church of England

The secession of the English church was accomplished in the years 1532–1534 by two simple but far-reaching measures of Henry's servile Parliament. (1) The clergy and people were forbidden to make any further payments to "the Bishop of Rome"; and (2) the "Act of Supremacy" declared Henry the "only supreme head on earth of the Church of England." When Parliament passed these laws, Luther's movement was some twelve years old, and the Augsburg Confession had just been put into form. Zwingli had just been slain in Switzerland, and Calvin was about to take up his work.

So far, in England, there had been no attack on the religious doctrines of the old church; *and Henry wished none.* But his chief advisers, especially Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, who had pronounced his divorce, had strong Protestant leanings; and so *some additional measures were secured.* The doctrine of purgatory was declared false; an English translation of the Bible was placed in every church; and parts of the old Latin service were replaced by an English service. The use of the English Bible was even permitted to *private* persons, *except* "husbandmen, artificers, journeymen, and women below the rank of gentlewoman."

The "Pilgrimage of Grace"

Most of England accepted these changes calmly, and even the clergy made no serious resistance, as a class, to the overthrow of the pope's power. But the monasteries were centers of criticism, and the north of England, more conservative than the south, was restless. Finally Henry hung ten friars, who had spoken blunt words about his second marriage, and began to seize monastery property. Then *the northern counties rose,* to march upon London.

Henry's policy of "frightfulness"

Henry's generals broke up this "Pilgrimage of Grace" and *seventy-four leaders of the rising* were executed, — among them, *all the abbots in the north of England.* Then Henry determined to root out resistance, and to enrich himself, by the utter ruin of the monasteries. A commission, which had hastily pretended to investigate them, declared them grossly corrupt. The report was grossly unfair, but it had been determined upon in

advance; and, at the king's wish, Parliament dissolved the seven hundred such institutions in England.

Dissolution of the monasteries

A little of the wealth of the monasteries was set aside to found schools and hospitals (in place of the work in such lines formerly done by the monasteries themselves), but Henry seized most of the monastic lands for the crown. Then he parceled out parts of them, shrewdly, to new nobles and the gentry. Thousands of influential families were enriched by such gifts, and

Ruins of Tintern Abbey.

became centers of hostility to any reconciliation with Rome that would ruin their private fortunes.

This dissolution of the monasteries was a deed of terrible cruelty. Eight thousand monks and nuns were driven, penniless, from their homes, and some eighty thousand other people lost their means of livelihood. But Henry had destroyed hostility to his "reform," and had planted it deep in the interests of the country gentry and nobles. It is true, too, that, when things finally adjusted themselves to the revolution, the prosperity of England was increased by having the former property of the monasteries in lay hands.

Henry burns Protestants and hangs Catholics

These changes were as far as Henry would go. He had permitted little change in doctrine; and, to the close of his long reign, he beheaded "traitors" who recognized papal headship, and burned "heretics" who denied papal doctrines. In one day, in 1540, three "heretics" and three "traitors" suffered death. One Protestant martyr was Anne Askewe, a gentlewoman of good family, who was burned for insisting, "The bread of the communion cannot be God." The most famous among the many noted Catholic martyrs was Sir Thomas More, the greatest Englishman of the day (p. 599). More had been Henry's chief minister, for a time. He was willing to allow the king's power over the church, so far as all temporal matters were concerned; but he could not take an oath denying the pope's authority in spiritual matters. He was beheaded, and his head was impaled to wither on London Bridge.

Sir Thomas More. — After a copy by Rubens of Holbein's portrait.

Every effort had been made to induce More to yield, and he had been plied with argument by subtle logicians. He was a broad-minded man and a statesman, — not disposed to die for a quibble. But conscience, not verbal quibble, was at stake. And when he had taken his stand, and the boat was bearing him down the Thames to prison, he was heard to exclaim, — "I thank the Lord, the field is won!" He had indeed won a supreme victory, not only for his own soul, but for the spiritual freedom of all the world.

Henry was succeeded by his son Edward VI (1547–1553).

Edward VI: persecution of Catholics

The new king was a boy of nine, and during his short reign the government was held by a rapacious clique of Protestant lords. Partly to secure fresh plunder from the ruin of the church, this government tried to carry England into the full current of the Protestant movement. Priests were allowed to marry. The use of the old litany, and of incense, holy water, and the surplice, was forbidden. Commissioners to carry out these commands throughout England sometimes broke the stained-glass windows of sacred buildings and tore from the pedestals the carved forms of saints. Rebellion broke out, this time in southwestern England, but was put down cruelly. Several Catholics were burned as heretics and conspirators, — among them Father Forest, who was roasted barbarously in a swinging iron cradle over a slow fire.

During this period, the *English Prayer Book* was put into substantially its present form, under the direction of Cranmer (p. 617); and articles of faith, which inclined toward Calvinistic doctrine, were adopted.

Queen Mary tries to restore Catholicism, 1553–1558

Henry had had Parliament fix the order in which his children should be entitled to succeed him; and so when Edward died at fifteen, the throne passed to his elder half-sister, Mary, a daughter of Catherine of Aragon. Mary was an earnest Catholic, and naturally she felt an intense personal repugnance for the Protestant movement which had begun in England by the disgrace of her mother. The nation, too, was still overwhelmingly Catholic. The Protestants were organized and influential, but few in numbers; and Mary had no difficulty in doing away with the Protestant innovations of her brother's time. But *Mary wanted* more than this. She wished to undo her father's work, and *to restore England to its allegiance to the pope*. Parliament readily voted the repeal of all anti-Catholic laws, but *it refused stubbornly to restore the church lands*. Finally the pope wisely waived this point. Then the nation was solemnly absolved, and received back into the Roman church.

But Mary destroyed her work: (1) *by marrying Philip of Spain*, son of the Emperor Charles V, and (2) *by a bloody perse-*

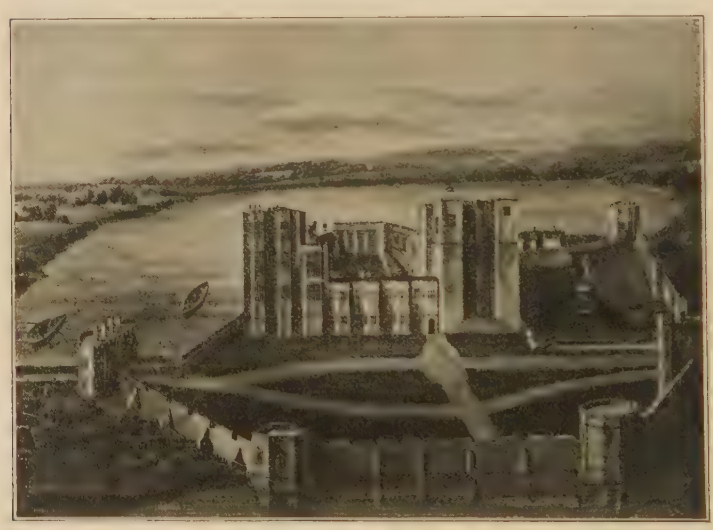
cution of Protestants. All English patriots dreaded, with much reason, lest little England be made a mere province of the world-wide Spanish rule; and even zealous Catholics shuddered at the thought of the Spanish Inquisition, which their imagination pictured looming up behind the Queen's hated Spanish bridegroom. Mary's persecutions

This dread made the people particularly sensitive to Mary's religious persecution. That persecution in itself was quite enough to rouse popular fear and hatred. *In a few months,* more than two hundred and seventy martyrs were burned, — nearly half the entire number that suffered death for conscience' sake in all English history. Catholics had died for their faith under both Henry and Edward; but *there had been no such piling up of executions;* and, moreover, most of those Catholic victims had been put to death, *nominally,* not for religious opinions, but as detested traitors; and the executions (with a very few exceptions) had taken place not by fire but by the more familiar headsman's ax. England had taken calmly the persecutions by these preceding sovereigns, but it was now deeply stirred.

Other causes, too, made Mary unpopular. To please her husband (Philip) she led England into a silly war with France, and then managed it blunderingly, even losing Calais, England's last foothold upon the continent. England had never seemed more contemptible to other nations or in greater perils. Apparently, it was doomed to become the prey of Spain or France. Mary had come to the throne amid a burst of popular enthusiasm. She was a pure-minded but narrow woman, seeking to do her duty; but, after a reign of five years, she died more universally detested than any other English sovereign had ever been except the tyrant John. As Henry's Parliament had arranged, she was succeeded by her half-sister, Elizabeth, then twenty-five years old. Mary's unpopularity

Elizabeth was the daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn. From her father, she had a strong body, powerful intellect, an imperious will, and dauntless courage; and Queen Elizabeth, 1558–1603

from her mother, vanity and love of display. From both parents she took a sort of bold beauty and a certain strain of coarseness. She had grown up in Henry's court among the men of the New Learning (p. 598), and was probably the best educated woman of her century, speaking several languages and reading both Latin and Greek. She has been called "a true child of the Renaissance," too, in her freedom from moral



KENILWORTH CASTLE. — From a fresco painting of 1620. The Earl of Leicester entertained Queen Elizabeth here in a splendid pageant described in Scott's *Kenilworth*. The walls enclosed seven acres.

scruple (p. 598). To Elizabeth, says a great historian, "a lie was simply an intellectual means of avoiding a difficulty."

She was often vacillating in policy; but she was a keen judge of men, and had the good sense to keep about her a group of wise and patriotic counselors. Now and then, in fits of passion, she stormed at these men like a common virago, but she never let them go; and her shrewd common-sense made her the real ruler even among such statesmen. Above all, she had a deep love for her country. After more than forty years of rule, she

said proudly, and, on the whole, truly, — "I do call God to witness, never thought was cherished in my heart that tended not to my subjects' good."

And England repaid her love with a passionate and romantic devotion to its "Virgin Queen." Except for her counselors, men knew little of Elizabeth's deceit and weaknesses. They saw only that her long reign had piloted England safely through a maze of foreign perils, and had built up its power and dignity abroad and its unity and prosperity at home, while her court was made glorious by splendid bands of states-

KENILWORTH CASTLE TO-DAY. From a photograph.

men, warriors, scholars, and poets. Amid the petty squabbles of succeeding reigns, England looked back with longing to "The spacious days of great Elizabeth."

The "Elizabethan Settlement"

When Elizabeth came to the throne, at least two thirds of England was still Catholic in doctrine. Elizabeth herself had no liking for Protestantism, while she did like the pomp and ceremonial of the old church. She wanted neither the system of her sister nor that of her brother, but would have preferred to go back to that of her father. But the extreme Catholic party did not

recognize her mother's marriage as valid, and so denied Elizabeth's claim to the throne. This forced her to throw herself into the hands of the Protestants. She gave all chief offices in church and state to that active, intelligent, well-organized minority; and the "Elizabethan Settlement" established the English Episcopal church much as it still stands. At about the same time, *John Knox* brought Calvinism from Geneva to Scotland, and organized *the Scotch Presbyterian church*.

Persecution of Catholic "traitors"

But after Catholic plots against her throne began, Elizabeth adopted stronger measures. Many leading Catholics were fined and imprisoned for refusing to attend the English church. And, under a new law, Catholic priests, and others who made converts from Protestantism to Catholicism, were declared guilty of *treason*. Many martyrs suffered torture on the rack and death on the scaffold — nearly as many as had died in the persecution of "Bloody Mary"; but Elizabeth, like her brother, succeeded in making such executions *appear* punishment of traitors for political plots, instead of religious persecution.

The Spanish Armada, 1588

England was constantly threatened by the two great powers of Europe, Catholic France and Spain. Neither, however, was willing to see the other gain England; and by skillfully playing off one against the other, Elizabeth kept peace for many years and gained time for England to become strong. Gradually it grew more and more clear that the real foe was Spain. Then Elizabeth secretly gave aid to the Dutch, who were in rebellion against Philip II of Spain (p. 628), and, for years, English adventurers like Francis Drake sailed away on their own account, half pirate fashion, to attack Spain in the New World.

Finally Philip turned savagely upon England. Drake ruined his first preparations for invasion by sailing daringly into the harbor of Cadiz and burning the Spanish fleet, — "singeing the beard of the Spanish king," as the bold sea-rover described it. But in 1588 the "Invincible Armada," blessed by the pope, at last set sail for England. English ships of all sorts — mostly little merchant vessels hastily transformed into a war navy —

gathered in the Channel; and, to the amazement of the world, the small but swift and better handled English vessels completely outfought the great Spanish navy in a splendid nine days' sea fight. As the shattered Spaniards fled around the north of Scotland, a mighty storm completed their overthrow. Spain never recovered her supremacy on the sea, — *and the way was prepared for the English colonization of America.*

England becomes Protestant

To the chagrin of Spanish king and Roman pope, the mass of English Catholics had proved more English than papal, and had rallied gallantly to the Queen; and, for *young* Englishmen, *the splendid struggle made Protestantism and patriotism seem much the same thing.* The rising generation became largely Protestant; and before Elizabeth's death (1603) even the Puritan doctrines from Geneva and from Presbyterian Scotland had begun to spread widely.

Ireland remains Catholic

Ireland, the third part of the British Isles, remained Catholic. Henry II (p. 510) had tried to conquer Ireland; but, until the time of the Tudors, the English really held only a little strip of land ("the English Pale") near Dublin. The rest of Ireland remained in the hands of native chieftains. In the seventh and eight centuries Irish schools had been the most famous in Europe; but now constant war had rooted out the old beginnings of Irish culture, and the Irish tribes were half barbarous.

Henry VIII established English authority over most of the island and destroyed the monasteries, the chief remaining centers of industry and learning. Shortly before the Armada, Spain made attempts to use the island as a base from which to attack England. Alarmed to frenzy by this deadly peril at their back door, Elizabeth's generals then completed the military subjugation with atrocious cruelties. Tens of thousands of men, women, and children were killed, or perished of famine in the Irish bogs; and great districts of the country were given to English nobles and gentry. Incessant feuds continued between the peasantry and these absentee landlords, and the Irish nation looked on the attempt to introduce the

Church of England as a part of the hated English tyranny. As English patriotism became identified with Protestantism, so, even more completely, *Irish patriotism became identified with Catholicism.*

Elizabeth's reign was part of a period of important change in industry which will be treated later (p. 639). The reign is best known, however, for: (1) the religious changes we have been tracing, and (2) for the "*Elizabethan Renaissance.*"

Except for the "Oxford Reformers" (p. 598), England had lagged behind in the early Renaissance. But now it took a leading place. *Edmund Spenser* created a new form of English poetry in his *Faerie Queene.* And the splendor of the Elizabethan age found a climax in English drama, with *Shakspere* as the most resplendent star in the glorious galaxy that counted such other shining names as *Marlowe, Greene, Beaumont, Fletcher,* and *Ben Jonson.* Not less glorious, possibly even more important, was the scientific progress, of *Harvey* (p. 612) and *Francis Bacon* (p. 637).

For Further Reading. — Green's *History of the English People* remains the best general account. Creighton's and Beesly's lives of *Elizabeth* are good short biographies.

CHAPTER LXI

A CENTURY OF RELIGIOUS WARS

SPAIN AND THE NETHERLANDS

Philip II of Spain

When Philip II succeeded his father (p. 610) as king of Spain and of the Sicilies, and master of the Netherlands, he was *the most powerful and most absolute monarch in Europe.* The Spanish infantry were the finest soldiery in the world. The Spanish navy was the unquestioned mistress of the ocean. Each year the great "gold fleet" filled Philip's coffers from the exhaustless wealth of the Americas. In 1580 the ruling family in Portugal died out, and that throne was seized by Philip — by virtue of a relationship to the extinct family. Portugal won back her independence by revolt, in 1640; but meantime her East India empire fell to Spain, and the Spanish boast that the sun never set upon Spanish dominions became literal fact. Philip himself was a plodding, cautious toiler, who worked like a clerk day after day in a bare room with a table and two stiff chairs. He was despotic, cruel, unscrupulous, ambitious, and an ardent Catholic.

The Dutch Rebellion

Charles V had disregarded the old liberties of the Netherlands (p. 587), and had set up the Inquisition in that country with frightful consequences. Protestant writers used to claim that from fifty thousand to one hundred thousand men and women were burned, strangled, or buried alive within the Netherlands during Charles' reign. These numbers appear to be mere guesses; but the actual facts were horrible. Still the great majority of the people had been attached to Charles as their native sovereign, and had felt a warm loyalty to his government. Philip continued all his father's abuses, without possessing any of his redeeming qualities in Dutch eyes. He was a foreign

master — not a Hollander by birth as Charles had been — and he ruled from a distance and through Spanish officers. Finally, Protestant and Catholic nobles joined in demands for reform and especially that they might be ruled by officers from their own people, according to their charter (p. 587).

Alva's Council of Blood

Philip's reply was to send the stern Spanish general, *Alva*, with a veteran Spanish army, to enforce submission. Alva's council is known as the *Council of Blood*. It declared almost the whole population guilty of rebellion, and deserving of death with confiscation of goods. Alva proceeded to enforce this atrocious sentence by butchering great numbers — especially of the wealthy classes — and in 1568 a revolt began.

The struggle between the little disunited provinces and the huge world-empire lasted forty years. In the beginning the conflict was for political liberty, but it soon became also a religious struggle. It was waged with an exasperated fury that made it a byword for ferocity even in that brutal age. City after city was given up to indiscriminate rapine and massacre, with deeds of horror indescribable. Over against this dark side stands the stubborn heroism of the Dutch people, hardly matched in history, — a heroism which saved not themselves only, but also the cause of Protestantism and of political liberty for the world, and made their little spot of sea-rescued land a true "holy land" to all who love freedom.

William of Orange

William, Prince of Orange, was the central hero of the conflict. Because he foiled his enemies so often by wisely keeping his plans to himself, he is known as *William the Silent;* and his persistency and statesmanship have fitly earned him the name "the Dutch Washington." Again and again, he seemed to be crushed; but from each defeat he snatched a new chance for victory.

The relief of Leyden

The turning point of the war was the relief of Leyden (1574). For many months the city had been closely besieged. The people had devoured the cats and rats and were dying grimly of starvation. Once they murmured, but the heroic burgomaster (mayor) shamed them, declaring they might have his body to eat, but while he lived they should never surrender

to the Spanish butchers. All attempts to relieve the perishing town had failed. But fifteen miles away, on the North Sea, rode a Dutch fleet with supplies. Then William the Silent cut the dikes and let in the ocean on the land. Over wide districts the prosperity of years was engulfed in ruin; but the waves swept also over the Spanish camp, and upon the invading sea the relieving ships rode to the city gates. Dutch liberty was saved.

Never again was Spain so near success, though the war lasted many years longer. In 1584, by a dastardly offer of immense reward, Philip II found an assassin to murder William the Silent; but another great antagonist was just ready to enter the conflict.

England aids Holland

Holland had been fighting England's battle as well as her own: only the Dutch war had kept Philip from attacking England. Englishmen knew this; and, for years, hundreds of English volunteers had been flocking to join the Dutch army. Elizabeth herself had many times helped the Dutch by secret supplies of money, and now in 1585 she sent a small English army to their aid. This was the immediate signal for the Spanish Armada; and the overthrow of Spain's naval supremacy by the heroic English sea dogs (p. 625) added tremendously to Holland's chances. True the ten southern provinces of the old Netherlands finally gave up the struggle, and returned to Spanish allegiance. They were largely French in race and Catholic in religion. Protestantism was now completely stamped out in them. After this time, they are known as the Spanish Netherlands, and finally as modern Belgium.

Dutch independence

The seven northern provinces — Dutch in blood and Protestant in religion — maintained the conflict, and won their independence as The United Provinces, or the Dutch Republic — though that independence was not formally recognized by Catholic Europe for half a century more. The government consisted of a representative "States General" and a "Stadtholder" (President). The most important of the seven provinces was Holland, by whose name the union was often known.

Holland's splendid period

The most marvelous feature of the struggle between the little Dutch state and Spain was that Holland grew wealthy during the contest, although the stage of the desolating war. The Dutch drew their riches not from the wasted land, but from the sea; and during the war they plundered the possessions of Spain in the East Indies. The little republic built up a vast colonial empire, and held almost a monopoly of the Asiatic trade for all Europe. One hundred thousand of their three million people lived constantly upon the sea.

Success in so heroic a war stimulated the people to a wonderful intellectual and industrial activity. Holland taught all Europe scientific agriculture and horticulture, as well as the science of navigation. In the seventeenth century the presses of Holland are said to have put forth more books than all the rest of Europe. Motley sums up this wonderful career,

> "The splendid empire of Charles V was erected upon the grave of liberty. . . . But from the hand-breadth of territory called Holland, rises a power which wages eighty years' warfare with the most potent empire upon the earth [Peace was not made, formally, until 1609], and which, during the struggle, becomes itself a mighty state, and, binding about its slender form a zone of the richest possessions of the earth, from pole to tropic, finally dictates its decrees to the empire of Charles."

Spain's decay

On the other hand, Spain sank rapidly into a second-rate power. The bigot, Philip III, drove into exile the Christianized Moors, the descendants of those Mohammedans left behind when the Moorish political power had been driven out. These Moriscoes numbered more than half a million, — perhaps a twentieth of the entire population, — and they were the foremost agriculturalists and almost the sole skilled artisans and manufacturers. Their pitiless expulsion inflicted a deadly blow upon the prosperity of Spain.

For a time the wealth she drew from America concealed her fall, and she continued to furnish money for the Catholic Powers through the Thirty Years' War (p. 633). But after the Armada she never played a great part in Europe. *Living on the plunder of the New World,* she failed to develop industrial life. The

Inquisition "sifted out the most flexible minds and stoutest hearts," and so stamped out intellectual life. And a once virile race sank into apathy and decay.

WARS OF THE FRENCH HUGUENOTS

The Huguenots

The French Protestants were Calvinists, and are known as Huguenots. By 1560, they counted one man out of twenty in the population; and (because Calvinism appealed by its logic mainly to intellectual people) their numbers were made up almost wholly from the nobles and the wealthy middle class of the towns. Francis I and his son, Henry II, persecuted the new faith, but not continuously enough to crush it.

Guises and Bourbons

Henry was followed by his three sons, — Francis II, Charles IX, and Henry III, — all weak in body and in mind. During their reigns (1559–1589), power was disputed between two groups of great lords. Each was closely related to the failing royal family, and each hoped to place a successor upon the throne. One was Catholic; the other Protestant. In the background was the chief figure of all, the crafty and cruel Queen-mother, *Catherine of Medici*, who played off one party against the other in whatever way might best promote her own control over her feeble sons.

The Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24, 1572

War between the two factions opened in 1562 and lasted, with brief truces, to 1598. Even more than the other struggles of the period, it was marked by assassinations and treacheries. The most horrible event of this character was the *Massacre of St. Bartholomew*.

An honest attempt had just been made to establish a lasting peace. A marriage had been arranged between the sister of King Charles IX and the young Henry, the Huguenot king of Navarre (a small border state on the south of France); and, too, the grandest Frenchman of the age, the Protestant *Coligny*, became one of Charles' chief counselors. But Catherine of Medici, jealous of his influence, soon roused the Catholic party to fresh strife.

An attempt to assassinate Coligny failed, and the king threatened vengeance for the attack. Then the conspirators, to save themselves, played upon his religious bigotry with a plot to cleanse France from heresy at one blow; and his consent was finally won for a general massacre of the Huguenots. Large numbers of that sect were assembled in Paris to witness the marriage of their chief; and at the appointed moment, the mob of Paris bathed in Huguenot blood. Ten thousand victims fell in France.

Henry of Navarre

Henry of Navarre escaped; and, on the death of the French king, in 1589, he was the heir to the throne. But he did not become king of France, as *Henry IV*, until after four years more of civil war. Philip II of Spain aided the Catholic League. He hoped to seat a puppet on the French throne and virtually add that country to the realms of Spain. But in Henry of Navarre he met the third of the three great leaders on whom his imperial schemes went to wreck. Henry drove the Spanish army in shameful rout from France in the dashing cavalry battle of *Ivry*. Then, to secure Paris, which he had long besieged (and to give peace to his distracted country), he accepted Catholicism, declaring lightly that "so fair a city" was "well worth a mass."

Becomes Henry IV

Edict of Nantes

In 1598 Henry's Edict of Nantes established toleration for the Huguenots. They were to have perfect liberty of conscience *in private*, and to enjoy the privilege of *public* worship except in the cathedral cities. And certain towns were handed over to them, to hold with their own garrisons, as a security for their rights. This last measure was no doubt needful, but it carried with it a political danger: it set up a state within a state, and threatened the unity of France.

Henry and Sully

Henry IV proved one of the greatest of French kings, and he was one of the most loved. With his sagacious minister, the *Duke of Sully*, he set himself to restore prosperity to desolated France. One of his treasured sayings was, that if he lived, the poorest peasant should have a fowl in the pot on a Sunday. Roads and canals were built; new trades were fostered; and

under the blessings of a firm government, the industry of the French people once more with marvelous rapidity removed the evil results of the long strife. In 1610 Henry was assassinated by a half-insane Catholic fanatic.

Cardinal Richelieu

Henry's son, Louis XIII, was a boy of nine years. Anarchy again raised its head; but France was saved by the commanding genius of *Cardinal Richelieu*, who became the chief minister of the young king. Richelieu was a sincere patriot; and, though an earnest Catholic, his statesmanship was guided by political, not by religious, motives. He crushed the great nobles and he waged war upon the Huguenots to deprive them of their garrisoned towns, which menaced the unity of France. But when he had captured their cities and held the Huguenots at his mercy, he kept toward them in full the other pledges of the Edict of Nantes. He also aided the German Protestants against the Catholic emperor, in the religious war that was going on in Germany, in order to seize territory from the emperor for France.

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR IN GERMANY (1618–1648)

The Thirty Years' War, 1618–1648

For sixty years after the Peace of Augsburg, while France and the Netherlands were torn by war, there was uneasy peace in Germany. Then, in 1618, came the last of the great religious wars, just a century after Luther posted his theses at Wittenberg. It is known as the *Thirty Years' War* (1618–1648) and it was the most destructive and terrible war in all history until the World War.

Bohemia rebels

The *signal* for the struggle was an attempt of Protestant Bohemia to make itself independent of the Catholic Hapsburg empire. Bohemian independence lasted only a few weeks; but this was long enough to call all Germany into two armed camps. The Protestant German princes, however, showed themselves disunited, timid, and incapable; and, had the war been left to Germany, a Catholic victory would soon have been assured. But *all over Europe sincere and religious Protestants*

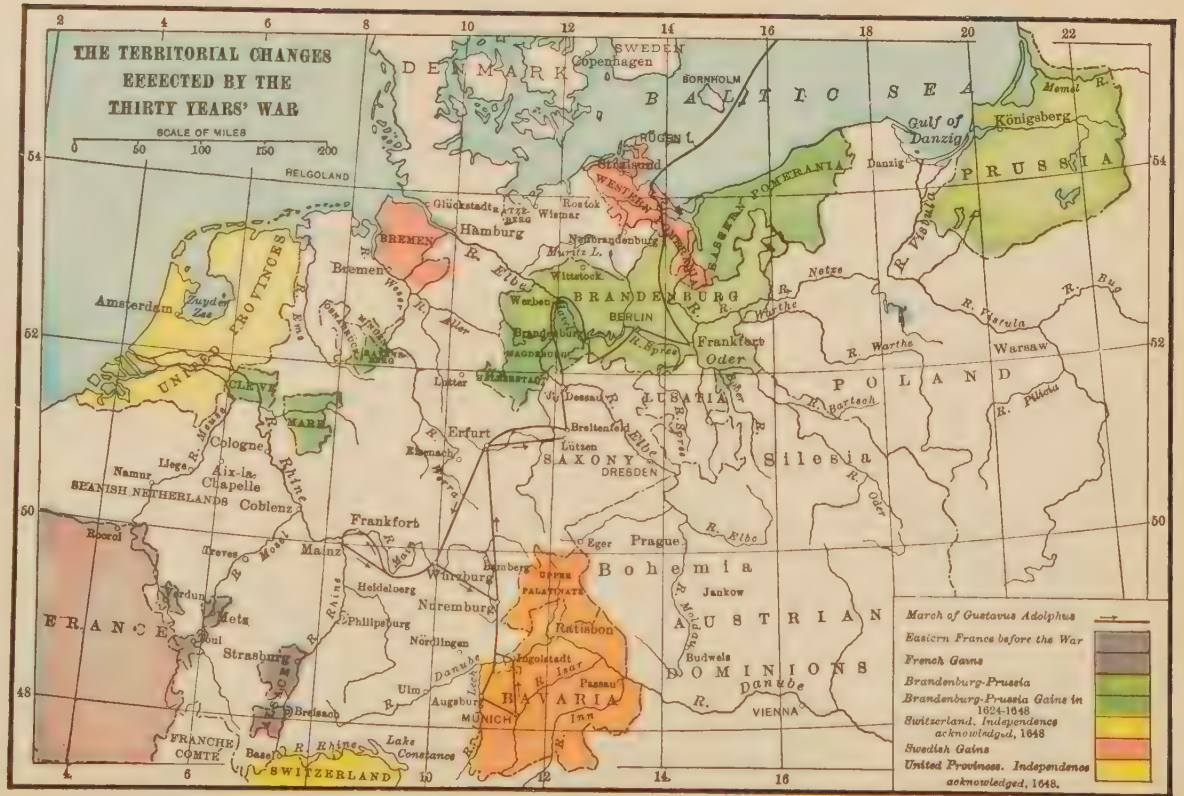
felt deeply and truly that the war against the Catholic Hapsburgs was their own war — much as all free peoples have felt in this last war when liberty was imperiled by Hohenzollern autocracy. First Denmark (1625–1629) and then Sweden (1630) entered the field in behalf of the Protestant cause; and at last (1635–1648) Catholic France under Richelieu threw its weight also against the Hapsburgs who so long had ringed France about with hostile arms.

Wallenstein and Gustavus Adolphus

The war was marked by the career of four great generals, — Tilly and Wallenstein on the imperial side, and Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, "the Lion of the North," and Mansfeld, on the side of the Protestants. Gustavus was at once great and admirable; but he fell at the battle of Lützen (1632), in the moment of victory; and thereafter the struggle was as dreary as it was terrible. Mansfeld and Wallenstein from the first deliberately adopted the policy of *making the war pay, by supporting their armies everywhere upon the country;* but during the short career of Gustavus, his blond Swede giants were held in admirable discipline, with the nearest approach to a regular commissariat that had been known since Roman times.

Devastation of Germany

The calamities the war brought were monstrous. It was a blasting ruin, from which Germany had not fully recovered in the middle of the nineteenth century. Season by season, for a generation of human life, armies of ruthless freebooters harried the land with fire and sword. The peasant found that he toiled only to feed robbers and to draw them to outrage and torture his family; so he ceased to labor, and became himself robber or camp-follower. *Half the population and two thirds the movable property of Germany were swept away.* In many large districts, the facts were worse than this average. The Duchy of Wurtemberg had fifty thousand people left out of five hundred thousand. In Bohemia, thirty thousand happy villages had shrunk to six thousand miserable ones, and the rich promise of the great University of Prague was ruined. Everywhere populous cities shriveled into hamlets; and for miles upon miles, former hamlets were the lairs of wolf packs. Land tilled for centuries


THE TERRITORIAL CHANGES
EFFECTED BY THE
THIRTY YEARS' WAR
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150 200
DENMARK
SWEDEN
Copenhagen
BORNHOLM
BALTIC SEA
RÜGEN I.
Stralsund
WESTERN POMERANIA
EASTERN POMERANIA
Gulf of Danzig
Königsberg
Memel R.
Danzig
PRUSSIA
RELGOLAND
Glückstadt
ATZEBERG
Wismar
Rostok
Hamburg
BREMEN
Bremen
Neubrandenburg
Wittstock
Werben
BRANDENBURG
BERLIN
Brandenburg
MAGDEBURG
Frankfort
Oder
Netze
R. Warthe
R. Vistula
R. Bug
Warsaw
POLAND
R. Pilicia
R. Bartsch
Amsterdam
Zuyder Zee
UNITED PROVINCES
CLEVE
MARK
Cologne
Liege
Namur
Aix-la-Chapelle
SPANISH NETHERLANDS
Coblenz
Rhine
Roorol
Treves
Mainz
Frankfort
Lutter
Dessau
LUSATIA
Breitenfeld
Lützen
Erfurt
Eisenach
SAXONY
DRESDEN
Silesia
Eger
Prague
Bohemia
Jankow
AUSTRIAN DOMINIONS
Budweis
VIENNA
Bamberg
UPPER PALATINATE
Würzburg
Heidelberg
Nuremburg
Philipsburg
Nördlingen
Ratisbon
Ingolstadt
Passau
BAVARIA
MUNICH
Augsburg
Ulm
Danube
Lech
Inn
Verdun
Metz
Toul
Strasburg
FRANCE
ALSACE
Breisach
FRANCHE COMTE
Basel
SWITZERLAND
Lake Constance
March of Gustavus Adolphus
Eastern France before the War
French Gains
Brandenburg-Prussia
Brandenburg-Prussia Gains in 1624-1648
Switzerland. Independence acknowledged, 1648
Swedish Gains
United Provinces. Independence acknowledged, 1648.

became wilderness. And men became savages. The generation that survived the war came to manhood without schools or churches or law or orderly industry. Not until 1850 did some sections of Germany again contain as many homesteads and cattle as in 1618.

Peace of Westphalia

The war was closed by the Peace of Westphalia. This treaty was drawn up by a congress of ambassadors from nearly every European Power. It contained three distinct classes of stipulations: provisions for religious peace in Germany; territorial rewards for France and Sweden; and provisions to secure the independence of the German princes against the Empire.

1. *The principle of the Peace of Augsburg was reaffirmed and extended.* Each sovereign prince in Germany was to choose his religion; and his subjects were to have three years to conform to his choice or to withdraw from his realm. Many of the South German Protestants were then driven into exile by their Catholic lords. This was the first cause of the coming to America of the "Pennsylvania Dutch."

2. *Sweden,* which was already a great Baltic power, extending around both the east and west shores of that sea (p. 55), *secured also on the south coast* Pomerania — with the mouths of the Oder, Elbe, and Weser. This gave Sweden control over German commerce. *France annexed most of Alsace,* with some fortresses on the German bank of the Rhine. The Congress also expressly recognized *the independence of Switzerland and of the Dutch Provinces.*

3. *The Empire lost more than mere territory. Various political rearrangements within Germany* made clear its weakness. The separate states were given the right to form alliances with one another *or even with foreign powers.* The imperial Diet became *avowedly* a gathering of ambassadors for discussion, but not for government: no state was to be bound by decisions there without its own consent.

Conditions at the close of the religious wars

The religious wars filled a century — from the struggle between the German princes and Charles V (1546) to the Peace of Westphalia (1648). *The Romance South was left Catholic, and the Teutonic North, Protestant.* France emerged stronger than ever, quite equal in power to any two states of Europe. England and Sweden had both risen into "Great Powers." Two new federal republics had been added to the European family of nations, — Switzerland and the United Provinces; and the second of these was one of the leading "Powers." The danger of a universal Hapsburg empire was forever gone. Spain, the property of one Hapsburg branch, had sunk from the first place in Europe to a third-rate power. The Holy Roman Empire, the realm of the other branch, was an open sham, — "neither Holy nor Roman nor even an empire." Far to the east loomed indistinctly a huge and growing Russian state.

Advances in physical science in the age of religious wars

This age of wars and persecution in religion, almost without notice at the time, was also an age of advance in science which was to change the life of men and women more than the wars of Wallenstein and Gustavus. The new methods which Erasmus had used in history began to be used now in the natural sciences.

A new scientific method

All men had believed the earth to be the center of the universe, with sun and stars moving around it. But in 1543 a Polish astronomer, *Copernicus*, published a book proving that the earth was only one member of a solar system which had the sun for its center. This discovery not only revolutionized astronomy: it helped also to revolutionize thought about man and the world, by opening up such immensities of worlds and such possibilities of other forms of life as had never before been dreamed of. Half a century before, Columbus had discovered "a New World": Copernicus revealed a new universe.

From fear of persecution, Copernicus had kept his discovery to himself for many years, until just before his death when the "religious wars" were just beginning. Those wars for a long time destroyed all chance of scientific development in much of

Europe; and, in another way, scientific thought was checked even more completely in the Catholic countries. At the opening of the Renaissance, the popes had been among the most active patrons of the new movement; but now the reaction against Protestant revolt threw control into conservative hands, and the church used its tremendous power for a time to stifle the new science.

"The world moves!"

Still, much was accomplished. In Italy, *Galileo* (1564–1642) discovered the laws of the pendulum and of falling bodies (as they are now taught in our high school text books), invented the thermometer, and, using a hint from a Holland plaything, constructed the first real telescope. He had adopted the Copernican theory of the universe, and with his telescope he was able to *demonstrate* its truth by *showing the "phases" of Venus* in her revolution about the sun. True, his teachings were considered dangerous and unsupported by Scripture. He was summoned to Rome, imprisoned, and forced publicly to abjure his teaching that the earth moved around the sun. But as he rose from his knees, he whispered to a friend, "None the less, *it does move.*"

The method of experiment

In other ways than around the sun, Galileo's world was moving swiftly. More important than any specific discovery about the sun or the human body was the discovery of a new way of finding out truth. For centuries scholars had tried to learn only by reading ancient *authorities*, and perhaps by *reasoning* a little further, in their own minds, upon what these authorities taught. But the new discoveries had been made in another way; and now, *Francis Bacon*, in England, set forth eloquently the necessity of *experiment* to discover new facts. And before 1700, in Italy, France, and England, great *scientific societies* were founded, to encourage scientific investigation. *Scientific method was born.*

Still, for more than a century, the new discoveries reached a very small part of even the most enlightened nations. The average Puritan, for instance, who settled Massachusetts just in Galileo's day, believed the earth a flat surface

lighted by sun and stars that moved around it. Francis Bacon himself, almost a century after Copernicus, never knew that the earth revolved around the sun; and, Englishman though he was, he had never heard of Harvey's discoveries — and believed that an ape's heart, worn on a man's breast, would make him brave. A new truth, in those times, did not get the world's attention in a day.

For Further Reading. — It is not worth while for the student to read on the wars, except for Holland. *The Student's Motley* is an admirable and brief condensation of Motley's great history of the Dutch Republic.

Exercise. — 1. *Dates* for rapid drill: 1520, 1588, 1648. 2. Review the Reformation as a whole in each country to the close of the religious wars.

PART X

ENGLAND IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER LXII

ENGLISH INDUSTRY IN 1600

Changes in England, 1450–1600

The century and a half from 1450 to 1600 (filled in England by the Wars of the Roses and the Tudor reigns) was a period of tremendous change. (1) The Renaissance created a new intellectual life, with the spontaneous energy and the abounding self-reliance that we associate with Shakspere and Elizabeth and Raleigh. (2) The reformation introduced new church organization and new religious feeling. (3) On the ruins of the two chief political forces of earlier times, — feudalism and the church, — the sovereigns built up a "New Monarchy" (p. 575). (4) Industry was revolutionized in town and country. The first three changes have been treated, but the industrial change was the most fundamental of all.

The change in English rural industry

The golden age for English peasants was the half century from 1450 to 1500, just after the disappearance of villeinage. The small farmer lived in rude abundance; and even the farm laborer had his cow, sheep, or geese on the common, his four-acre patch of garden about his cabin, and good wages for his labor on the landlord's fields. Sir John Fortescue (p. 573) boasts of this prosperity, as compared with that of the French peasantry: "They [English peasants] drink no water, unless at times by way of penance. They are fed in great abundance with all kinds of flesh and fish. They are clothed in good woolens. . . . Every one, according to his rank, hath all things needful to make life easy and happy."

The large landlords had been relatively less prosperous. Since the rise of their old laborers out of villeinage, they were "land-poor." They paid high wages, while, under the wasteful common-field system, crops were small (p. 486).

The "inclosures" after 1500 A.D.

But by 1500 a change had begun which enriched the landlords and cruelly depressed the peasants. This change was the process of "inclosures" for sheep raising. There was a steady demand for wool at good prices to supply the Flemish markets (p. 587), and enterprising landlords began to raise sheep instead of grain. Large flocks could be cared for by a few hands, so that the high wages mattered less; and profits proved so enticing that soon there was a mad rush into the new industry.

But sheep-raising called for large tracts of land. It was possible only for the great landlords; and even these were obliged to hedge in their share of the common "fields." Therefore, as far as possible, they turned out small tenants whose holdings interfered with such "inclosures," and often they inclosed also the woodlands and meadows, in disregard of ancient rights of common pasture. Sir Thomas More, in his *Utopia* (p. 600), lamented these conditions bitterly:

"A careless and unsatiable cormorant may compass about and inclose many thousand acres within one pale, and the husbandmen be thrust out of their own; *or else by fraud, or violent oppression, or by wrongs and injuries, they be so worried that they be compelled to sell.* . . . They [the landlords] throw down houses; they pluck down towns [villages], and leave nothing standing but only the church, to be made a sheep-house." Then of the peasants, driven from their homes:

"By one means or another, either by hook or by crook, they must needs depart, poor wretched souls — men, women, husbands, wives, fatherless children, widows, woeful mothers with young babes. . . . All their household stuff . . . suddenly thrust out, they be constrained to sell it for a thing of nought. And when they have wandered till that be spent, what can they then else do but steal, and then justly, pardy, be hanged, or else go about begging? And yet then also they be cast into prison as vagabonds, because they go about and work not, — whom no man will set to work though they never so willingly proffer themselves thereto."

Other statesman, too, bewailed that sheep should take the place of the yeomanry who had won Crécy and Poitiers, and who, Bacon said, were also "the backbone of the revenue"; and the government made many attempts to check inclosures. But law availed nothing. Nor did peasant risings and riots help. On the other hand, Henry VIII's transfer of monastery lands to greedy private landlords increased the inclosure movement tremendously; and it went on until the profits of sheep-raising and grain-raising found a level.

Decay of the free farmer

This came to pass before 1600. The wool market was supplied, and the growth of town populations raised the price of grain. These towns, as we shall explain (p. 642), became the basis for a new sort of prosperity for England, and the land changes created a wealthy landed gentry, to take a glittering part in society and politics.

But this new "prosperity" had a somber background. Half of the villages in England had lost heavily in population, and many had been wholly swept away. Great numbers of the peasants, driven from their homes, became "sturdy beggars" (tramps); *and all laborers were thrust down to a lower standard of life*, because the cost of food and clothing rose twice as fast as wages.

More than before even, rural England had become a landlord's country. One reason why wages stayed so low was that the gentleman "justices of the peace," *appointed* by the crown, were given power to fix wages for farm work. And when tramps spread terror through the rural districts, the justices hung them in batches. In fifty years, in the glorious day of Shakspere and Elizabeth, seventy thousand "beggars" were executed.

These conditions explain in part why so many Englishmen were eager to go to America. John Winthrop, the great Puritan leader of the Massachusetts colony (himself from the prosperous landlord class), declared "England grows weary of her inhabitants, so as man who is the most precious of God's creatures, is here more vile and base than the earth we tread upon and of less prize among us than a horse or an ox."

Growth of manufactures

Meantime, England was becoming a manufacturing country. From the time of the Yorkist kings, the sovereigns had made the towns their special care. Elizabeth welcomed gladly the skilled workmen driven from the Netherlands by the Spanish wars, and from France by the persecution of the Huguenots. Colonies of these foreign artisans were given their special quarter in many an English city, with many favors, and were encouraged to set up there their manufactures, of which England had previously known almost nothing. Raw English wool was no longer sold abroad. It was worked up at home. These new manufactures gave employment to great numbers of workmen, and finally absorbed the classes driven from the land.

And of commerce

This manufacturing fostered commerce. By 1600, England was sending to distant markets not merely raw materials as formerly, but her finished products. "Merchants" [1] increased in wealth and in numbers, so as to form a new class in society. In 1350 a royal inquiry could find a list of only 169 important merchants in England. In 1601 more than twenty times that number were engaged in the Holland trade alone.

By purchase of land and by royal gifts from the confiscated monastery property, many members of this class rose also into the new gentry; and their capital and energy helped greatly to restore landed prosperity.

[1] A "merchant" was a trader who sent goods to a foreign country. Companies were formed to trade with Russia, or India, or other distant parts of the world: and sometimes a single merchant owned a considerable fleet of ships for such trade (cf. Shakspere's Antonio, in *The Merchant of Venice*).

CHAPTER LXIII

PURITAN ENGLAND — UNDER THE FIRST STUARTS

At every moment some one country, more than any other, represents the future and the welfare of mankind. — EMERSON.

The English Church in 1600

For two generations after 1600, *the burning questions in English politics and religion had to do with Puritanism.* Within the established Episcopal church the *dominant* party had strong "High-church" leanings. It wished to restore so far as possible the ceremonial of the old Catholic church, and it taught that the government of the church by bishops had been directly ordained by God. This party was ardently supported by the royal "head of the church" — Elizabeth, James, Charles, in turn; but it was engaged in constant struggle with a large, aggressive Puritan party.

Puritanism

Puritanism was much more than a religious sect. It was an ardent aspiration for reform in many lines. In *politics* it stood for an advance in popular rights; in *conduct*, for stricter and higher morality; in *theology*, for the stern doctrines of Calvin; in *church matters*, for an extension of the "reformation" that had cut off the English church from Rome.

"Low-church" non-conformists

Two groups of Puritans stood in sharp opposition to each other, — the influential "Low-church" element within the church, and the despised Separatists outside of it. The Low-churchmen had no wish to separate church and state. They wanted one national church — a Low-church church — to which everybody within England should be forced to conform. They desired also to make the church a more far-reaching moral power. To that end, they aimed to introduce more preaching into the service, to simplify ceremonies, and to abolish altogether certain customs which they called "Romish," — the

use of the surplice, and of the ring in marriage, of the sign of the cross in baptism, and (some of them) of the prayer-book. Most of them did not care as yet to change radically the established *form of church government;* but they looked upon all church machinery not as divinely instituted, as the High-churchmen did, but as of human origin. Some of them had begun, indeed, to speak with scant respect of bishops, and there was *a subdivision among them inclined to the Presbyterian church government,* as it existed in Scotland. It is this large Low-church branch of Puritanism with which in the seventeenth century English history is mainly concerned.

The Separatists

The Independents (or "Puritans of the Separation") believed that there should be *no* national church, but that each local religious organization should be a little democratic society, wholly *separate* from the civil government, and even *independent* of other churches. These Independents were the Puritans of the Puritans. They were the germs of later Congregationalism. To all other sects they seemed mere anarchists in religion. Elizabeth persecuted them savagely, and her successor continued that policy. Some of the Independent churches fled to Holland; and one of them, from Scrooby in northern England, after staying several years at Leyden, founded Plymouth in America (the "Pilgrims" of 1620), — and so pointed the way for the larger Low-church emigration to Massachusetts Bay ten years later.

Political conditions in 1600

Political liberty in England had fallen low under the Tudors. True, no law could be made without consent of Parliament; and that body controlled all new grants of money. But the monarch (or his ministers) prepared nearly all measures that came before Parliament; he could veto any act of Parliament; and, after a law had been made, he sometimes nullified it by special proclamations. Moreover, the monarch had so many ways of injuring a private man that it was extremely hazardous for any one persistently to oppose him.

But, *after all, Henry VIII and Elizabeth had ruled absolutely,*

only because they made use of constitutional forms (p. 576) and because they possessed a shrewd tact which taught them just where to stop. Moreover, toward the close of Elizabeth's reign, when foreign perils were past, *the tone of Parliament began to rise again.* Men spoke boldly of checks upon the royal power; and Parliament and the courts forced the great queen to give up her pet practice of granting trade monopolies to her favorites. It was plain to keen observers that only the reverence for Elizabeth's age and sex, and the gratitude due her for her great services to the kingdom, held off an open clash between sovereign and Parliament. Upon her death, the clash began, — to last eighty-five years.

The "divine-right" Stuart kings

Elizabeth was succeeded by *James I* (James Stuart), already king of Scotland (footnote, p. 616). James was learned and conceited, — "the wisest fool in Christendom," as Henry IV of France called him. He believed sincerely in the "divine right" of kings. That is, he believed that the king, as God's anointed, was the source of law and could not himself be controlled by law. He wrote a pompous and tiresome book to prove this. He and his son after him not only *practiced* absolutism, but they also *preached* it on every occasion. They were despots *on principle.* The nation had been growing restive under the cloaked, beneficent, elastic tyranny of the strong Tudors: naturally it rose in fierce opposition against the noisy, needless, and uncompromising tyranny of the weak Stuarts. *From 1603,* when the first James mounted the throne, *until 1688,* when his grandson, the second James, ignominiously ran away from it, *England was engaged in strife between this "divine right" of kings and the right of the people.*

And the English people

England the world's hope

Through all that seventeenth century, too, this little patch of land was the last remaining battle ground for liberty. In all other important states, — in Spain, in France, in Austria, in the Scandinavian lands, in the petty principalities of Germany and Italy, — despotism was supreme. In England both sides recognized this fact. Said the second Stuart king, Charles I, in a crisis of his reign, "I am ashamed that my cousins of

France and Spain should have completed what I have scarce begun." And at the same time a patriot exclaimed in exhortation to his party, "England is the last country which retains her ancient liberties; let them not perish now."

There were, as yet, no organized political parties. But there was a "court party," devoted to the royal power, consisting of most of the nobles and of the "High Church" clergy, and an opposition "country party," consisting of the mass of country gentry, some Puritan nobles, and the Puritan element generally.

Now the issue between the two was promptly stated. In the first few weeks of his new sovereignty, James gave several practical proofs of his disregard for law and of his arbitrary temper. On his royal entry from Scotland, he ordered a thief to be hanged *without trial;* and when he summoned his first Parliament he ordered that contested elections should be settled, *not by Parliament* as formerly, but by his courts. And then in a famous utterance, he summed up his theory: "As it is atheism and blasphemy in a creature to dispute what God can do, so it is presumption and high contempt in a subject to question what a king can do." This became the tone of the court party.

Struggle between James I and Parliament

Parliament took the first chance to answer these despotic claims. The king, as usual, opened the session with a "speech from the throne." In reply, in place of the usual thanks to his Majesty, the Speaker of the Commons reminded James bluntly of his limited powers. "New laws," said the Speaker, "cannot be instituted, nor imperfect laws reformed . . . by any other power than this high court of Parliament." The Commons backed up this speech by a long paper, setting forth popular rights in detail and asserting that the privileges of Englishmen were their inheritance "no less than their lands and goods." James seldom called Parliaments after this, and only when he had to have money. Whenever he did, *there was wrangling between Parliament and king.*

Fortunately, the regular royal revenues had never been much increased, while the rise in prices and the wider duties

of government called for more money than in former times. *Both Elizabeth and James were poor.* Elizabeth, however, had been economical and thrifty. James was careless and wasteful, and could not get along without new taxes.

Thus Parliament was able to hold its own. It insisted stubbornly on its control of taxation, on freedom of speech, and on its right to impeach the king's ministers. In the Parliament of 1621, the Commons expressed dissatisfaction with a marriage that James had planned for his son Charles with a Spanish princess. James roughly forbade them to discuss such "high matters of state." "Let us resort to our prayers," said one of the members, "and then consider this great business." The outcome of the consideration was a resolution, "(1) that the liberties, privileges, and jurisdictions of Parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright of the subjects of England; and (2) that the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the king, the state, the church, the defense of the realm, the making and maintenance of laws, and the redress of grievances, which happen daily within this realm, are proper subjects for debate in Parliament; and (3) that in the handling and proceeding of those businesses, *every member of the Commons . . . has freedom of speech* . . . to bring to conclusion the same."

James tore out this page of the records and dissolved Parliament. But Charles was personally insulted by the Spanish court, where he had gone to visit the princess; and in the last year of James' life the prince succeeded in forcing him into war with Spain — to the boundless joy of the nation.

The early Parliaments of Charles I

In 1625, in the midst of shame and disgrace because of mismanagement of the war, James died. In May, *Charles I* met his first Parliament. He quarreled with it at once, dissolved it, and turned to an eager prosecution of the war, trusting to win the nation to his side by glorious victory. Shameful failure, instead, forced him to meet his second Parliament in 1626.

It is now that Sir John Eliot stands forth as leader of the patriots. Eliot is the "first great Commoner." In her earlier struggles with her kings, England had depended upon nobles

for leaders. The Tudor monarchs had begun to use members from the rising gentry as ministers of the crown. Now one of this class was to *lead the opposition* to the crown.

Sir John Eliot

Eliot was a Cornish gentleman, thirty-three years of age, courtly in manner, ardent and poetic in temper. His mind was enriched by all the culture of the "New Learning," and afterward in weary years of imprisonment he found consolation in his Tacitus, Livy, Epictetus, and Seneca. He was an athlete and a courtier, and at the same time a deeply religious Puritan; but his mind was never tinged with the somber feeling of later Puritanism.

CHARLES I. — After a famous portrait by Van Dyck.

And the "responsibility" of the king's ministers

Eliot stood for the control of the king's ministers by Parliament. Everything else, he saw, was likely to prove worthless, if the executive could not be held responsible. The *king's person* could not be so held, except by revolution, but *his ministers* might be *impeached* and, under fear of this, they might be held in control. So Eliot persuaded the Commons to impeach the Duke of Buckingham, the king's favorite and the instrument of much past tyranny. Charles stopped the proceedings by casting Eliot into prison — in plain defiance of parliamentary privileges — and dissolving Parliament.

The king tries "benevolences"

The king fell back upon "benevolences" to raise a revenue. This was a device that *originated* during the Wars of the Roses two centuries before. During those long struggles, Parliament

could not meet regularly and taxes could not be collected. A king *had* to depend therefore, for long intervals, not upon parliamentary taxes, but upon "good-will" gifts (*benevolences*) from men of wealth in his party. The first king after the war, the Yorkist Edward IV, continued from choice to collect benevolences *as he met rich men* in his progresses through the kingdom; and the first Tudor, Henry VII, reduced the thing to a system. Through his minister, Morton, he *sent out written demands* to rich men over all England.[1]

England deeply resented this method of "supply," because thereby a king was *plainly* made independent of parliamentary control. And so the young Henry VIII at his accession, despot as he was, sought popularity by formally giving up the evil practice and even handing over Morton, the tool of his father's extortion, for execution.

Now, a century later, Charles revived the evil practice, and *had his sheriffs in the county courts ask benevolences from all* taxpayers. But county after county refused to give a penny, often with cheers for Parliament. Some sheriffs refused to *ask* for the "free gift." The County of Cornwall (Sir John Eliot's county) answered "that if they had but two kine, they would sell one to supply his majesty, — *in a parliamentary way.*"

The "forced loan"

Then Charles tried a "forced loan." This was really a tax levied by the usual tax machinery, — a tax thinly disguised by the false royal promise to repay it. The king's party used both force and persuasion. Pulpits, manned now by the anti-Puritan party, rang with the cry that to resist the king was eternal damnation. As a patriot of the time put it, the "High-church" clergy "improved the highwayman's formula into 'Your money or your life *eternal.*'"

[1] To some Morton said that their luxurious living showed that they were easily able to supply their king's needs; to others, that their economy of life proved that they must have saved wherewith to aid their sovereign. Thus every man of consequence found himself impaled, the people said, on one prong or the other of "Morton's Fork." Perhaps the most important point of this story is that it reminds us of the recent introduction of forks (*two*-pronged instruments) at table. Cf. p. 490.

England resists

And Charles made use of more immediate penalties. Poor freeholders who refused to pay were "pressed" into the navy, or a turbulent soldiery was quartered in their defenseless homes; and two hundred English gentlemen were confined in disgraceful prisons, to subdue their obstinacy. One young squire, John Hampden, who had based his refusal to pay upon a clause in Magna Carta, was rewarded with so close an imprisonment that, his kinsman tells us, "he never did look the same man after." Equal heroism was shown by hundreds of unknown men. George Radcliffe wrote from his prison to his "right dear and loving wife" (who was eager to have him submit in time to have Christmas with her), "Shall it be thought I prejudice the public cause by *beginning* to conform, which none yet hath done of all that have been committed [imprisoned], save only two poor men, a butcher and another, — *and they, hooted at like owls among their neighbors!*"

Parliament of 1628

The forced loan raised little revenue; and with an armament poorly fitted out, Buckingham sailed against France, with which his blundering policy had brought England into war. For the third time in four years an English army was wasted to no purpose; and, sunk in debt and shame, Charles met his third Parliament in 1628. Before the elections, the imprisoned country gentlemen were released, and *some seventy of them* (all who appeared as candidates) *sat in the new Parliament*, in spite of the royal efforts to prevent their election.

And the "Petition of Right"

Charles asked for money. Instead of giving it, the Commons debated the recent infringements of English liberties and some way to provide security in future. The king offered to give his *word* that such things should not occur again, but was reminded that he had already given his *oath* at his coronation. Finally the House passed "the Petition of Right," a document that ranks with Magna Carta in the history of English liberty. This great law first recited the ancient statutes, from Magna Carta down, against arbitrary imprisonment, arbitrary taxation, quartering of soldiery upon the people in time of peace, and against forced loans and benevolences. Then

it named the frequent violations of right in these respects in recent years. And finally it declared all such infringements illegal.

The Lords tried to save the king's dignity by adding a vague clause to the effect that Parliament did not intend to interfere with "that sovereign power wherewith your majesty is intrusted." But the Commons rejected the amendment after a striking debate. "Sovereign power," said one, "would mean power above condition; they could not leave the king that, for he had never had it." "The king's *person* I will call sovereign," said another, "but not his power"; and a third added, "Magna Carta is such a fellow that he will have no sovereign." Finally, the Lords, too, passed the Petition, and Charles, after evasive delays, felt compelled to sign it.

In form, the document was a petition: *in fact*, when passed, and assented to by the king, *it became a revision of the constitution down to date*, so far as the personal rights of Englishmen were concerned. Almost at once, however, in recess of Parliament, Charles broke its provisions regarding taxes.

Eliot's Resolutions

Parliament reassembled in bitter humor. Heedless of the king's plea for money, it turned to punish the officers who had acted as his agents in the recent infringements of the Petition of Right. Then the Speaker stopped business by announcing that he had the king's command to adjourn the House.[1] Men knew that it would not be permitted to meet again, and there followed a striking scene. Two of the patriots (Holles and Valentine) bounded to the Speaker, thrust him back into his chair and held him there.[2] Sir Miles Hobart locked the doors against the king's messenger, putting the key in his pocket; and Eliot in a ringing speech moved a series of resolutions which were to form the platform of the liberal party in the dark years to come. Royalist members cried, Traitor! Traitor! Swords were drawn. Outside, an usher pounded at the door

[1] The king could *adjourn* the Parliament from time to time, or he could *dissolve* it, so that no Parliament could meet until after new elections.

[2] If the Speaker left the chair, business was at an end.

with a message of dissolution from the king. But the bulk of the members sternly voted the resolutions, declaring *traitors to England* (1) any one who should bring in innovations in religion without the consent of Parliament, (2) any minister who should advise the illegal levy of taxes, (3) any officer who should aid in their collection, and (4) every citizen who should voluntarily pay them.

Eliot's death

And in the moment's hush, when the great deed was done, Eliot's voice was heard once more, and for the last time, in that hall: "For myself, I further protest, as I am a gentleman, if my fortune be ever again to meet in this honorable assembly, where I now leave off, I will begin again." Then the doors swung open, and the angry crowd surged out. Eliot passed to the Tower, to die there a prisoner four years later. But his friends remembered his words; and when another Parliament did meet, where he had left off, *they began again*.

Eliot could have had his liberty if he had bent to acknowledge himself wrong. His wife died; friends fell away; consumption attacked him, and his enemies knew that he must yield or die. His son petitioned for his release, on the ground that doctors had certified that without it he could not live. The king refused: "Though Sir John be brought low in body, yet is he as high and lofty in mind as ever." A month later, Eliot was dead. His son presented another petition, that he might have his father's body for burial. This request too was refused, and there was inscribed on the paper, — a mean act of a mean king, — "Let Sir John's body be buried in the church of that parish where he died." So Eliot's body rests in the Tower in some unmarked and unknown spot — which matters little, since free government in England and America is his monument.

The "No-Parliament" years

On the dissolution of the third Parliament of Charles, England entered a gloomy period. The king issued royal edicts in place of laws, and no Parliament met for eleven years (1629–1640). During this period, in many ways, the government sought the welfare of the nation, and it gave particular attention

to the needs of the poor; but its methods were thoroughly despotic. To avoid the necessity of calling Parliaments, Charles began to practice rigid economy. He sought, too, ingeniously to find new ways to get money, and, among other devices, his lawyers invented "ship-money." In time of invasion, seaboard counties had now and then been called upon by the kings to furnish ships for the national navy. Charles stretched this custom into a precedent for collecting a "*ship-money* tax" from *all* England in *time of peace.*

John Hampden and the "ship-money" tax

John Hampden (p. 650) refused to pay the twenty shillings assessed upon his lands, and the famous *ship-money case* went to the courts (1637). James, in his time, had turned the courts into servile tools by dismissing the only judge (Sir Edward Coke) who dared oppose his will. And now the slavish judges decided for the king — as had been expected. The king's friends were jubilant, seeing in the new tax "an everlasting supply on all occasions"; but Hampden had won the moral victory he sought. The twelve-day argument of the lawyers attracted wide attention, and the court in its decision was compelled to state the theory of despotism in its naked hideousness. It declared that there was *no power to check the king's authority* over his subjects, — their persons or their money, — "For," said the Chief Justice, "*no act of Parliament makes any difference.*" If England submitted, she would deserve slavery.

Laud and Wentworth

The chief servants of the crown during this period were Archbishop Laud and Thomas Wentworth. Wentworth had been one of the leaders in securing the Petition of Right, but soon afterward he passed over to the side of the king and became Earl of Strafford. His old associates looked upon him as a traitor to the cause of liberty.

Laud was an extreme High Churchman and a conscientious bigot. He reformed the discipline of the church and ennobled the ritual; but he persecuted the Puritan clergy cruelly, with imprisonment and even by the cutting off of ears. (As a result of this and of the political discouragement, that sect founded the colony of Massachusetts Bay. Practically all the

immigration this colony received, before the American Revolution, came in the ten years 1630–1640, while Charles ruled without Parliament.)

The Scottish Covenanters

In 1638 Laud tried to force Episcopacy on Presbyterian Scotland.[1] But when the clergyman of the great church at Edinburgh appeared first in surplice, prayerbook in hand, Jenny Geddes, a servant girl, hurled her stool[2] at his head, crying, — "Out, priest! Dost say mass at my lug [ear]!" The service broke up in wild disorder, and there followed a strange scene in the churchyard where stern, grizzled men drew blood from their arms, wherewith to sign their names to a "Solemn Oath and Covenant" to defend their own form of religion with their lives. This Covenant spread swiftly over all Lowland Scotland, and the grim Covenanters rose in arms and crossed the border.

The Long Parliament

Charles' system of absolutism fell like a house of cards. He could get no help from England without a Parliament; and (November, 1640) he called *the Long Parliament*. The great leaders of that famous assembly were the commoners *Pym*, *Hampden*, *Sir Harry Vane*,[3] and, somewhat later, *Cromwell*.

John Pym's leadership

Pym took the place of Eliot, and promptly indicated that the Commons were the real rulers of England. When the Lords tried to delay reform, he brought them to time by his veiled threat: he "should be sorry if the House of Commons had to save England *alone*."

And Eliot's old program

The Scots remained encamped in England; so the king had to assent to Parliament's bills. Parliament first made itself safe by a law *that it could be dissolved only by its own vote*. Then it began where Eliot had left off, and sternly put into action the principles of his last resolutions. Laud, who had "brought in innovations in religion," and Wentworth, who had advised

[1] Scotland had been joined to England when her King James had become king of England, but each country had its own parliament, laws, and church. The union was "personal," and consisted in the fact that the two countries had the same king. This remained the theory until 1707 (p. 668).

[2] Churches had no pews. People stood, or carried their own stools.

[3] Vane had lived in Massachusetts and had been governor there.

and helped carry out the king's policy, were condemned to death as traitors. The lawyers who had advised ship-money, and the judges who had declared it legal, were cast into prison or driven into banishment. And forty committees were appointed, one for each county, to secure the punishment of the lesser officers concerned in the illegal acts of the government. Then Parliament abolished the Court of the Star Chamber and the High Commission, — two rather new courts which worked without juries and which, therefore, Charles had been able to use as instruments of tyranny. Meanwhile, the many martyrs whom Laud had imprisoned were freed from their dungeons, and welcomed to London by a joyous multitude that strewed flowers beneath the feet of their horses. These measures filled the first year, and so far the Commons had been united — in punishing and redressing past grievances.

Parliament hesitates

But now a split began. Moderate men, led by the broad-minded Hyde and the chivalrous Falkland, thought enough had been done. Parliament had taught the king a stern lesson: to do more would mean danger of revolution and anarchy, for which these men had no wish. So they drew nearer to the king. On the other hand, more far-sighted leaders, like Pym and Hampden, saw the necessity of securing safeguards for the future, since to them it was plain that the king's promises were worthless. Moreover, a small Presbyterian and Independent party ("Root and Branch" men), under Vane and Cromwell, wanted to overthrow Episcopacy.

Pym's "Remonstrance"

Pym brought matters to a head by introducing a Grand Remonstrance, — a series of resolutions which appealed to the country for support in further measures against the king and the High-church party. In particular it proposed (1) that a synod of clergy should meet to reform the church; and (2) that the king's choice of ministers (his chancellor, and so on) should be subject to the approval of Parliament. After an all-day and almost all-night debate, marked by bitter speech and even by the drawing of swords, the Commons adopted the Remonstrance *by the narrow majority of eleven votes*, amid a scene of wild con-

fusion (November 22, 1641). Said Cromwell, as the House broke up, "If it had failed, I should have sold all I possess tomorrow, and never seen England more."

Charles' attempt to seize "the five members"

Charles tried to reverse this small majority against him by destroying Pym, Hampden, and three other leaders, on a charge of treasonable correspondence with the invading Scots. No doubt they had been technically guilty of treason. But such "treason" against Charles was the noblest loyalty to England. The Commons paid no attention to the king's charges; and *so Charles entered the House in person, followed to the door by a body of armed cavaliers, to seize "the five members."*

News of his coming had preceded him; and, at the order of the House, the five had withdrawn. Charles did not know this, and ordered the Speaker to point them out. The Speaker protested that he had "no eyes to see, nor tongue to speak," but as the House should direct him. "Well, well!" said the king; "my eyes are as good as another's"; and standing in the Speaker's place he looked over the room. "I see the birds are flown," he added, in a different tone, — and walked out baffled, followed by angry shouts of "Privilege! Privilege!" [1]

Charles' despotic attempt, and weak failure, consolidated the opposition. London rose in arms, and sent trainbands to guard Parliament. And Parliament now demanded that the king give it *control of the militia and of the education of the royal princes.* Charles withdrew to the conservative North, and unfurled the standard of civil war (1642).

For Further Reading. — Green's *English People* (or his *Short History*) is thrillingly interesting for this and the following periods.

[1] Referring to the privilege of members of Parliament to be free from arrest, except on the order of the House itself (p. 573).

CHAPTER LXIV

THE GREAT REBELLION AND THE COMMONWEALTH

The Civil War, 1642–1645

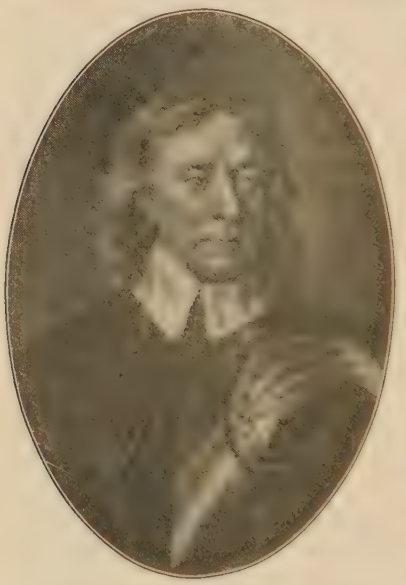
Many men who had gone with Parliament in its reforms, now chose the king's side rather than rebellion and the danger of anarchy. The majority of the gentry sided with the king, while in general the trading and manufacturing classes and the yeomanry fought for Parliament. At the same time, the struggle was a true "civil war," dividing families and old friends. The king's party took the name "Cavaliers" from the court nobles; while the parliamentarians were called "Round Heads," in derision, from the cropped hair of the London 'prentice lads.[1]

Cromwell's Ironsides

And at first Charles was successful. The shopboys of the city trainbands could not stand before the chivalry of the "Cavaliers." But *Oliver Cromwell*, a colonel in the parliamentary army, had raised a troop known as *Ironsides*. He saw that the only force Parliament could oppose to the habitual bravery of the English gentleman was the religious enthusiasm of the extreme Puritans. Accordingly, he drew his recruits from the Independents of the east of England, — mostly yeomen farmers. They were men of godly lives, free from the usual license of a camp. They fell on their knees for prayer before battle, and then charged with the old Hebrew battle psalms upon their lips. By this troop the great battle of Marston Moor was won. Then Cromwell was put in chief command. He reorganized the whole army upon this "*New Model*"; and soon after, the victory of *Naseby* virtually closed the war (1645).

[1] The portraits of Cromwell and Vane (pp. 658, 660) show that Puritan *gentlemen* did not crop their hair. Short hair was a "class" mark.

There is an instructive contrast between the civilized nature of this war and the character of the Thirty Years' War in Germany, which was going on at the same time. In England noncombatants were rarely molested, and there was little needless destruction of property. And says John Fiske: "If we consider merely its territorial area or the number of men slain, the war of the English Parliament against Charles I seems a trivial affair . . . but if we consider the moral and political issues involved, and the influence of the struggle on the future welfare of mankind, we soon come to see that there never was a conflict of more world-wide significance than that from which Oliver Cromwell came out victorious. . . . If ever there were men who laid down their lives in the cause of all mankind, it was those grim old Ironsides, whose watchwords were texts from Holy Writ and whose battle cries were hymns of praise."



CROMWELL. — After Lely's portrait.

Quarrel between Independents and Presbyterians

When the war began, many Episcopalians in Parliament withdrew to join the king. This left the Presbyterians almost in control. Before long this party was strengthened still further by the need of buying the aid of Presbyterian Scotland. *Then Parliament made the English church Presbyterian*, and soon it began to *compel* all men to accept this form of worship. On this point, the Presbyterian Parliament and the Independent

"New Model" quarreled. Charles, now a prisoner, tried to play off one against the other, — intending, with shameless duplicity, to keep promises to neither. "Be quite easy," he wrote his wife, "as to the concessions I may grant. When the time comes, I shall know very well how to treat these rogues; and, instead of a silken garter [the badge of an honorary order of knighthood] I will fit them with a hempen halter."

These dissensions and intrigues led to a "Second Civil War." But now the real government of England was in the army. A council of officers, with Cromwell for their head, prepared plans; and the whole army "sought the Lord" regarding them in monster prayer-meetings.

The army quickly stamped out the royalist and Presbyterian risings. Then, under order from the council of officers, Colonel Pride "purged" the House of Commons by expelling 143 Presbyterians. After "Pride's Purge" (December, 1648), Parliament rarely had an attendance of more than sixty (out of an original membership of some five hundred). The "Rump" were all Independents, and their leader was Vane. Pym and Hampden had died some time before.

The Commonwealth, 1649–1654

This remnant of Parliament, backed by the army, *abolished monarchy and the House of Lords*, and brought "Charles Stuart, that man of blood," to trial for treason to England. Charles was executed, January 20, 1649, dying with better grace than he had lived. Then the "Rump" Parliament abolished Presbyterianism as a state church, and *declared England a republic*, under the name of the Commonwealth. "*The people*," said a famous resolution, "*are, under God, the original of all just power;* and the Commons of England in parliament assembled, being chosen by the people, have the supreme power in this nation."

Battle of Worcester

The Scots were not ready for such radical measures, and they were angry at the overthrow of Presbyterianism. So they crowned the son of the dead king as Charles II, and invaded England to place him on the throne. Cromwell crushed them at Worcester, and the young "King of Scots" escaped to the continent.

Cromwell and the Rump

The Rump continued to rule for four years more. But it was only a shadow of the Parliament elected thirteen years before. Cromwell and the army grew anxious to see the government put on a permanent basis, and they felt that this could be done only by a real Parliament. The Rump was unwilling to dissolve; but at last, under Cromwell's insistence, it agreed to do so.

But Cromwell learned that it was hurrying through a bill which would make its members a part of the new Parliament *without reëlection*, and which, indeed, would give them power to reject elected members if they chose. Cromwell felt that he was being tricked. Hurrying to the House with a file of musketeers, he dispersed it (1653) with an unusual burst of passion. "Come," he said, "I will put an end to your prating. You are no Parliament! I say, you are no Parliament!" His old friend, Vane, reproached his violence loudly. Cromwell turned with savage contempt: "Harry Vane! Sir Harry Vane! The Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane!" And after his officers had led the Speaker from the chair, Cromwell added to the remaining members, — "It's you that have forced me to this. I have sought the Lord, night and day, that he would slay me rather than put me upon the doing of this work."

HARRY VANE.

Cromwell's outburst of temper at the Rump was natural. He saw that it was going to be almost impossible for him to preserve the form of parliamentary government, when the

only representatives of the nation had failed him — poor representatives though they were. There was no power that could even claim the right to *call* a Parliament. Cromwell and the army, however, summoned a *national convention*, to make a new constitution, and he made two other sincere attempts at parliaments. But all these bodies proved dilatory and factious; and Cromwell grew more and more hasty and arbitrary.

The Protectorate, 1654–1660

Finally he and the army officers impatiently took the construction of new machinery of government into their own hands. Cromwell assumed the title of *Lord Protector* (1654); and the following six years are the period of the Protectorate.

The real difficulty was that the Independents were only a small fraction of the nation. They had won mastery by war, and they kept it through the discipline of the army. Cromwell became practically a dictator, with greater power than Charles had ever had. His rule was stained by cruelties in Ireland; but in other respects it was wise and firm. He made England once more a Great Power, peaceful at home and respected abroad; and he gave freedom of worship to all *Protestant* sects, — a more liberal policy in religion than could be found anywhere else in that age except in Holland and in Roger Williams' little colony just founded in Rhode Island.

At the best, however, Cromwell's rule was the rule of force, not of law. The noble experiment of a Republic had failed miserably in the hands of its friends; and, on Cromwell's death, the nation, with wild rejoicings, welcomed back Charles II in *"the Restoration" of 1660.*

For Further Reading. — Green's histories as before (cf. p. 656 above). Carlyle's *Cromwell* (in his *Heroes and Hero-worship*) may well be read. George MacDonald's *St. George and St. Michael* and Scott's *Woodstock* are excellent fiction for the Civil War, and they present somewhat different views.

Exercise. — The dates in English seventeenth-century history are important for an understanding of early American history: especially, 1603 (accession of James I); 1629–1640 (No-parliament period); 1648–1660 (Commonwealth); 1660 (Restoration); 1688 (Revolution).

CHAPTER LXV

THE RESTORATION AND THE REVOLUTION

The Restoration of 1660

With the Restoration, the great age of Puritanism closed. The court, and the young cavaliers all over the land, gave themselves up to shameful licentiousness. Of course, among the country gentry and the middle class of the towns, there continued to be large numbers of religious, God-fearing homes; and in places even the somber morality of the Puritans survived. But fashionable society followed largely the example of the court circle.

Court literature, too, was indescribably corrupt and indecent. But, in just this age of defeat, Puritanism found its highest expression in literature. *John Milton*, years before, had given noble poems to the world — like his *L'Allegro* — but for long now he had abandoned poetry to work in Cromwell's Council and to champion the Puritan cause in prose pamphlets. Now, a blind, disappointed old man, he composed *Paradise Lost*. And *John Bunyan*, a dissenting minister, lying in jail under the persecuting laws of the new government, wrote *Pilgrim's Progress*.

The Episcopal church restored

The established church became again Episcopalian, as it has since remained; and in the reaction against Puritanism, the new Parliament passed *many cruel acts of persecution*. Two thousand Puritan preachers were not only driven from their pulpits, but were forbidden to earn a living by teaching, or even to come within five miles of any city or borough in England. *All dissenters* — Catholic and Protestant — were excluded from the right to hold municipal office. And all religious worship except the Episcopalian was punished with severe penalties.

Political liberty preserved

In spite of all this, the great political principles for which the early Puritan Parliaments of Charles I had contended were victorious. Even their old enemies adopted them. The Parliament that was elected in the fervor of welcome to the restored monarch was wildly enthusiastic for king and for church. Charles knew he could never get another so much to his mind; and so he shrewdly kept this "Cavalier Parliament" through most of his reign — till 1679. But even the Cavalier Parliament insisted strenuously, and successfully, on Parliament's sole right to impose taxes, regulate the church, and control foreign policy. And Charles' second Parliament adopted the great Habeas Corpus Act, which still secures Englishmen against arbitrary imprisonment — such as had been so common under Charles' father. The *principle* of this act was older than Magna Carta; but the law of Charles' time first provided *adequate machinery*, much as we have it in our States to-day, *to enforce the principle.*

Charles II, 1660–1685

Charles II was careless, indolent, selfish, extravagant, witty. He is known as the "Merry Monarch." One of his courtiers described him in jesting rhyme as a king "who never said a foolish thing, and never did a wise one." But though lazy, Charles had real ability. He said lightly that he "had no mind to go on his travels again," and at any cost he avoided a clash with Parliament. However, in return for secret grants of money from Louis XIV of France, he shamefully made England a mere satellite of that country in foreign affairs; and at home he cautiously built up a standing army. There is reason to think that beneath his merry exterior Charles was nursing plans for tyranny far more dangerous than his father's; but he died suddenly (1685) before he was ready to act.

Beginning of political parties

Real political parties first appeared toward the close of this reign. Charles had no legitimate son; and his brother and heir, James, was a Catholic of narrow, despotic temper. The more radical members of Parliament introduced a bill to exclude him from the throne; and their supporters throughout England sent up monster petitions to have the bill made law. The

Catholics and the more conservative part of Parliament, especially those who believed that Parliament had no right to change the succession, sent up counter-petitions expressing horror at the proposal. These "Abhorrers" called the other petitioners *Whigs* (Whey-eaters), a name sometimes given to the extreme Scotch Calvinists with their sour faces. The Whigs called their opponents *Tories* (bog-trotters), a name for the ragged Irish rebels who had supported the Catholic and royal policy in the Civil War.

Whigs and Tories

The bill failed; but the rough division into parties remained. It was a long time before there was any regular organization, or precise platform; but, in general, *the Whigs believed in the supremacy of Parliament*, and sought on every occasion to limit the royal authority; while *the Tories* sustained the royal authority and *wished to prevent any further extension of the powers of the people.*

James II, 1685–1688

James II lacked his brother's tact. He arbitrarily "suspended" the laws against Catholics, tried to intimidate the law courts, and rapidly increased the standing army. It was believed that he meant to make the established church Catholic; and this belief prepared England for revolution. The Whig leaders called for aid to *William of Orange*, the Stadtholder of Holland, who had married James' daughter Mary. William landed with a few troops. James found himself utterly deserted, even by his army, and fled to France.

The "Glorious" Revolution

The *story* of this Revolution of 1688 is not a noble one. Selfishness and deceit mark every step. William of Orange is the only fine character on either side. There is no longer a patriot Eliot or Pym or Hampden, or a royalist Hyde or Falkland. As Macaulay says, it was "an age of *great measures* and *little men*"; and the term "glorious," which English historians have applied to the Revolution, must be taken to belong to results rather than to methods.

Those *results* were of mighty import. A Convention-Parliament declared the throne vacant, drew up the great Declaration

of Rights, the "third great document in the Bible of English Liberties," and elected William and Mary joint sovereigns *on condition of their assenting to the Declaration*. The supremacy of Parliament over the king was once more firmly established. *The new sovereigns*, like the old Lancastrians, *had only a parliamentary title* to the throne. **The Bill of Rights**

The next regular Parliament enacted this *Declaration* of Rights into a "Bill of Rights." *The Bill of Rights* stated once more the fundamental liberties of Englishmen, as Magna Carta and the Petition of Right had done, and fixed the order of succession (1) in the children of William and Mary, if any; (2) in Mary's sister *Anne*.

The most important results of the Revolution appeared in the next century. William III was a great-grandson of William the Silent. He ranks among England's greatest kings, but he was unpopular as a foreigner. (He spoke only his native Dutch, not English.) His reign (1688–1702) was spent mainly in war against the overshadowing might of Louis XIV of France. While only Stadtholder of Holland, William had already become the most formidable opponent of Louis XIV's schemes (p. 678); and now the French king undertook to restore James II. **William III, 1688–1702**

This began a series of wars between France and England — the "Second Hundred Years' War." With slight intervals of peace, the struggle lasted from 1689 to 1815. The story will be told in future chapters. Here it is enough to note that the long conflict turned the government's attention away from progress at home. Just in the first years, however, some remarkable reforms were made by Parliament, both in politics and in religion. These were properly part of the Revolution.

The religious reform was embodied in the *Act of Toleration of 1689*. The Revolution of 1688 was essentially the work of the English church. But the persecuted Protestant dissenters had rallied to its aid — against the Catholic James; and William insisted that Parliament should now grant them freedom of worship. This was done — a great step forward. The law, **Act of Toleration**

however, did not apply to Catholics, Jews, or Unitarians. These three classes remained excluded not only from all right to worship in their own way — under severe penalties — but also from the right to hold office or attend the universities. Indeed the *Protestant* dissenters were not allowed to do either of these last things.

Gains in political liberty

The chief gains in political liberty, connected with the Revolution, come under four heads:

1. The Stuart kings had frequently interfered shamelessly with the independence of the courts. Now the judges were made removable only by Parliament, not by the king.

2. A triennial bill ordered that a new Parliament should be elected at least once in three years. This put an end to such abuse as the long life of the Cavalier Parliament. In 1716 the term was changed to *seven years*, and in 1911, to *five*.

3. Parliament hit upon a simple device which, indirectly, has put an end completely to the old way in which kings abused their power of dissolving Parliaments. After the Revolution, *Parliaments determined to pass "revenue bills"* (furnishing money for government expenses) only for a year at a time — instead of for the life of the sovereign, as had been customary — and *not to pass such bills at all until other business had been attended to.* In like fashion, the Mutiny Act, which gives officers authority over soldiers, was passed henceforth only for short periods. That is, Parliament adopted the regular policy of *delegating power of purse and sword for only one year at a time.* Thenceforward, Parliaments have been assembled each year, and they have practically fixed their own adjournments.

4. The greatest problem of parliamentary government (as Sir John Eliot had seen) was to control the "king's ministers" and make them really the ministers of Parliament. Parliament could remove and punish the king's advisers; but such action could be secured only by a serious struggle, and against notorious offenders. Some way was wanted to secure ministers acceptable to Parliament *easily* and *at all times.*

This desired "Cabinet Government" was secured *indirectly*

through the next century and a half; but the first important steps were taken in the reign of William. At first William tried to unite the kingdom, and balance Whigs and Tories, by keeping the leaders of both parties among his ministers. But he was much annoyed by the jealousy and suspicion which Parliament felt toward his measures. Sometimes, too, there were dangerous deadlocks between king and Parliament at critical times.

Beginning of cabinet government

Then a shrewd political schemer suggested to the king that he should choose *all* his advisers and assistants from the Whigs, who had a majority in the House of Commons. Such ministers would have the confidence of the Commons; and that body would support their proposals, instead of blocking all measures. William accepted this suggestion; and a little later, when the Tories for a time secured a majority, he carried out the principle by replacing his "cabinet" with leading Tories. This was the beginning of ministerial government.

William, however, was a powerful ruler. He was not a tyrant in any way; but he believed in a king's authority, and *he succeeded for the most part in keeping the ministers the "king's ministers"* — to carry out his policy. Queen Anne (1702–1714) tried to maintain a similar control over her ministry. But, like William and Mary, she too died without leaving children; and the crown passed by a new *Act of Settlement* to a great-grandson of James I, the German George I, who was already Elector of Hanover. (This law excluded nearer heirs because they were Catholics; and it makes the title of every English sovereign since Anne.)

Growth of cabinet government under the Georges

Neither George I nor his son George II spoke English; and so far as they cared for matters of government at all, they were interested in their German principality rather than in England. During their half-century (1714–1760), the government of England was left to the group of ministers, or the cabinet. For nearly half the period (or from 1721 to 1742) the leading man in the cabinet was the Whig *Sir Robert Walpole*. Walpole selected the other ministers, and put before Parliament his own

plans under the king's name. He is properly called "the first Prime Minister." Thus the reigns of these two stupid German Georges gave a great impetus to true cabinet government. *The "king's ministers" were fairly on the way to become the "ministers of Parliament."*

Sir Robert Walpole

Unhappily, Parliament itself did not yet really represent the nation. Walpole sought earnestly, and on the whole wisely, to advance the material prosperity of England, and especially to build up her trade. Accordingly he clung tenaciously to a policy of peace. *But he ruled largely by unblushing corruption.* Said he cynically, "Every man has his price." Certainly he found it possible to buy many members of Parliament with gift of lucrative offices — oftentimes offices with no duties attached to them. During his rule, *it was not a parliamentary majority that made the ministry, but the ministry that made the parliamentary majority.* The same method, used only a little less shamelessly, was the means by which the ministers of George III in the next generation managed Parliament and brought it to drive the American colonies into war.

England grows into Great Britain

Meantime England had become Great Britain. In 1707 the "personal union" between Scotland and England was made a true consolidation by the "Act of Union," adopted by the parliaments of both countries. Scotland gave up her separate legislature, and became part of the "United Kingdom," with the right to send members to the Parliament at Westminster and to keep her own established Presbyterian church. Cromwell, too, had completed the conquest of Ireland. And the same seventeenth century had seen also another and vaster expansion — to which we now turn.

For Further Reading. — It is desirable for reading students to continue Green at least through the Revolution of 1688. Blackmore's *Lorna Doone* is a splendid story of the period.

CHAPTER LXVI

EXPANSION INTO NEW WORLDS

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries — the age of the English Renaissance, of the Protestant Revolt, of the beginnings of scientific experiment, of the Puritan movement, and of the growth of political liberty in England — saw also the expansion of Europe into New Worlds east and west. Columbus and Da Gama (pp. 602–603) had doubled the size of the known earth, added a new stir to European thought, and revolutionized the distribution of wealth in Europe. The center of historical interest shifted westward once more. The Mediterranean, for two thousand years the one great highway between Europe and the Orient, gave way to the Atlantic and the "passage round the Cape." And with the decay of Mediterranean trade, the cities of Italy lost their leadership both in commerce and in art, while vast gain fell to the seaboard countries on the Atlantic.

The center of historical interest shifts westward

For a hundred years, it is true, the direct material gains were confined to the two countries which had begun the explorations. Portugal built up a great and rich empire in the Indian Ocean and in the Pacific, and an accident gave her Brazil. Otherwise, the sixteenth century in America belongs to Spain.

The story of Spain's conquests is a tale of heroic endurance, marred by ferocious cruelty, — "all horrid transactions," as an old Spanish chronicler said. Not till twenty years after the discovery did the Spaniards advance to the mainland of America for settlement; but, once begun, her handful of adventurers swooped north and south. By 1550, she held all South America (save Portugal's Brazil), all Central America, Mexico, the Californias far up the Pacific coast, and the Floridas.

Spain in America

The gold from Mexico and Peru helped to give Spain her proud place as the mightiest country in Europe, and she guarded these American possessions jealously. The Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea were Spanish lakes, and the whole Pacific was a "closed sea." Frenchman or Englishman, caught upon those waters, found his grave beneath them.

Defeat of the Armada, 1588

Nor was Spain content with this huge empire on land and sea. She was planning grandly to occupy the Mississippi valley and the Appalachian slope in America, and to seize Holland and England in Europe; but in 1588 she received her fatal check, at the hands of the English sea dogs, in the ruin of her Invincible Armada (p. 625).

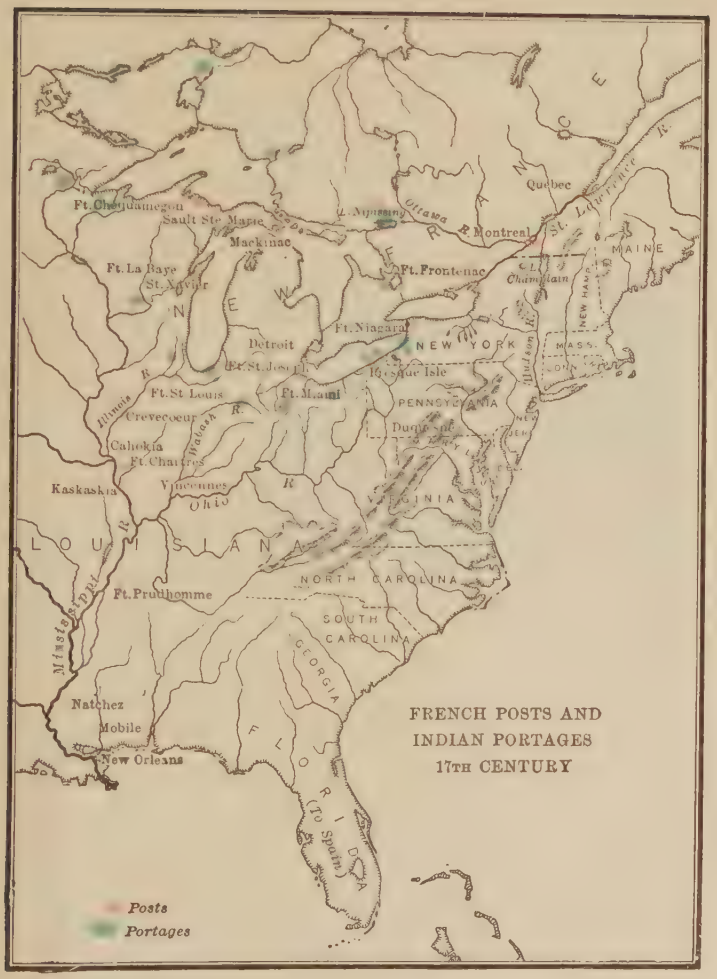
That victory was a turning point in *world* history. Spain never regained her old supremacy on the sea; and so the other seaboard countries of Western Europe were free to try their fortunes in America. But Holland, in her half-century of rebellion against Spain, turned her chief energies to seizing Portugal's old empire in the Orient, which had now become Spain's (p. 627). The Swedish colonies on the Delaware were never formidable to the claims of other nations, after the death of Gustavus Adolphus (p. 634). And so *North America was left to France and England.*

France in America

For a time, France seemed most likely to succeed Spain as mistress in *North* America. A quarter of a century, it is true, went to exploration and failure; but in 1608 Champlain founded the first permanent French colony at Quebec. Soon canoe-fleets of traders and missionaries were coasting the shores of the Great Lakes and establishing stations at various points still known by French names. Finally, in 1682, after years of gallant effort, La Salle followed the Mississippi to the Gulf, setting up a French claim to the entire valley.

From that time New France consisted of a colony on the St. Lawrence, in the far north, and the semi-tropical colony of New Orleans, joined to each other by a thin chain of trading posts and military stations along the connecting waterways.

It is easy to point out certain French advantages in the race



FRENCH POSTS AND
INDIAN PORTAGES
17TH CENTURY

French advantages

with England for North America. At home French statesmen worked steadily to build a French empire in the New World, while the English government for the most part ignored English colonies. The thought of such empire for their country, too, inspired French explorers in the wilderness — splendid patriots like Champlain, Ribault, and La Salle. France also sent forth the most zealous and heroic of missionaries to convert the savages. These two mighty motives, patriotism and missionary zeal, played a greater part in founding New France than in establishing either Spanish or English colonies. Moreover, the French could deal with the natives better than the stiffer, less sympathetic English could; and the French leaders were men of far-reaching views.

La Salle Taking Possession of the Mississippi Valley for France, at the mouth of the river. From a painting by Marchand, at the St. Louis Exposition in 1904.

Weak points in French colonization

But though the French colonies were strong in the leaders, they were weak in some vital matters that depended on the mass of the colonists. They lacked homes, individual enterprise, and political life.

Lack of homes

1. New France was not a country of agriculture. Except for a few leaders and missionaries, the settlers were either unprogressive peasants or reckless adventurers. For the most part they did not bring families, and, if they married, they took Indian wives. Agriculture was the only basis for a permanent colony; but these colonists turned instead to trapping and the fur trade, and adopted Indian habits.

2. The French government sought, in vain, to remedy this by sending over cargoes of "king's girls," and by offering bonuses for early marriages and large families. The easiest remedy

would have been to let the Huguenots come. They were skillful artisans and agriculturists, and, while they held towns for themselves (p. 632), they had shown some fitness for self-government. But Louis XIV of France, while he lavished money in sending undesirable immigrants, refused to let heretics found a new state. In large part, it was religious bigotry which lost France her chance.

Exclusion of the Huguenots

Paternalism in industry

3. Paternalism smothered private enterprise in industry. New France was taught to depend, not on herself, but on the aid and direction of a government three thousand miles away. Trade was shackled by silly restrictions, and hampered by silly encouragements. The rulers did everything. "Send us money to build storehouses" ran the begging letters of the colonial governors to the French king. "Send us a teacher to make sailors. We want a surgeon." And so, at various times, requests for brickmakers, iron-workers, pilots. New France got the help she asked; but she did not learn to walk alone.

Lack of political life

4. Political life, too, was lacking. France herself had become a centralized despotism; and, in New France, as a French writer (Tocqueville) says, "this deformity was seen as though magnified by a microscope." No public meetings could be held without special license from the governor; and, if licensed, they could do nothing worth while. The governor's ordinances (not the people) regulated pew rent, the order in which dignitaries should sit in church, the number of cattle a man might keep, the pay of chimney sweeps, the charges in inns, and so on. "It is of greatest importance," wrote one official, "that the people should not be at liberty to speak their minds."

Worse than that — the people had no minds to speak. In 1672, Frontenac, the greatest governor of New France, tried to introduce the elements of self-government. He provided a system of "estates" to advise with him, — a gathering of clergy, nobles, and commons (citizens and merchants); and he ordered that Quebec should have a sort of town meeting twice a year to elect aldermen and to discuss public business. The home government sternly disapproved these mild innova-

tions, reminding Frontenac that at home the kings had done away with the old States General (p. 524), and directing him to remember that it was "proper that each should speak for himself, and no one for the whole." The plan fell to pieces; *the people cared so little for it that they made no effort to save it.*

England's rivalry with Spain in America

Very different was the fringe of English colonies that grew up on the Atlantic coast, never with a king's subsidies, often

QUEEN ELIZABETH KNIGHTING DRAKE on board the *Golden Hind*, on his return from raiding Spanish America in his voyage round the globe (1581). From a contemporary drawing by Sir John Gilbert.

out of a king's persecution, and asking no favor but to be let alone.

During the last quarter of the sixteenth century, when Elizabeth's reign was half gone, England entered openly on a daring rivalry with the overshadowing might of Spain. Out of that rivalry English America was born — by the work not of sovereigns, but of individual adventurous patriots. Reckless and picturesque freebooters, like Drake and Hawkins, sought

profit and honor for themselves, and injury to the foe, by raiding the wide-flung realms of New Spain. More farsighted men, like Raleigh, saw that English colonies in America would be "a great bridle to the Indies of the Kinge of Spaine," and began attempts so to "put a byt in the anchent enemy's mouth."

Motives of English promoters at home

Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Raleigh, in Elizabeth's reign, made the first attempts. These came to nothing, because just then the energies of the nation were drained by the exhausting struggle with the might of Spain in Europe. Then James became king, and sought Spanish friendship; and Englishmen began to fear lest their chance for empire was slipping through their fingers. Men said that a terrible mistake had been made when Henry VII refused to adopt the enterprise of Columbus, and all the more they insisted that England should not now abandon Virginia, — "this one enterprise left unto these days."

Motives of colonists

Moreover, population had doubled in the long internal peace since the Wars of the Roses, rising to some four million people. This was still only a tenth as many people as the island supports to-day; but, under the industrial system of that time, England needed an outlet for this "crowded" population (p. 641). The more enterprising of the hard-pressed yeomanry were glad to seek new homes; and this class furnished most of the manual labor in the early colonies.

But captains and capitalists, too, were needed; and a new condition in England just after the death of Elizabeth turned some of the best of the middle class toward American adventure. Until James made peace with Spain (1604), the high-spirited youth, and especially the younger sons of gentry families, fought in the Low Countries for Dutch independence (p. 629) or made the "gentlemen-adventurers" who under commanders like Drake paralyzed the vast domain of New Spain with fear. Now these men sought occupation and fortune in colonizing America, still attacking the old enemy, and in his weakest point. These young adventurers were not used to

steady industry, and they were restless under discipline. But when they had learned somewhat of the needs of frontier life, their pluck and endurance made them splendid colonists.

Such were the forces in English life that established Virginia, early in the reign of James I. Toward the close of that same reign, *Puritanism was added to the colonizing forces*, and, before the Long Parliament met, there was a second patch of English colonies on the North Atlantic shore. After this, the *leading* motive for colonization was a desire to better one's worldly state — to win a better home or more wealth than the Old World offered — though, late in the century, religious persecution in England played its part again in founding the great liberal colony of Pennsylvania. And so, from one cause and another, at the time of the "Revolution of 1688," the *English settlements in America had expanded into a broad band of twelve great colonies, reaching from the Penobscot to the Savannah, with a total population of a quarter of a million.*

Puritanism

England's success

These colonies all enjoyed the English Common Law, with its guarantees for jury trial, freedom of speech, and other personal liberties (such as were known in no other people's colonies for two hundred years); and almost as soon as founded, they developed also a large degree of political liberty. They all possessed their own self-governing representative assemblies, modeled on the English Parliament.

Transfer of English freedom to America

Moreover, not all England, but only the more democratic part of English life, was transferred to America. No hereditary nobles or monarch or bishop ever made part of colonial America. And that part of English society which did come was drawn toward still greater democracy by the presence here of unlimited free land. When the Puritan gentlemen, who at first made up the governing body in Massachusetts colony, tried to fix wages for carpenters by law, as the gentry did in England (p. 641), the New England carpenters simply ceased to do carpenter work and became farmers. Thus wages rose, spite of aristocratic efforts to hold them down. Free land helped to maintain equality in industry, and so in politics; and the Eng-

Democratic tendencies intensified

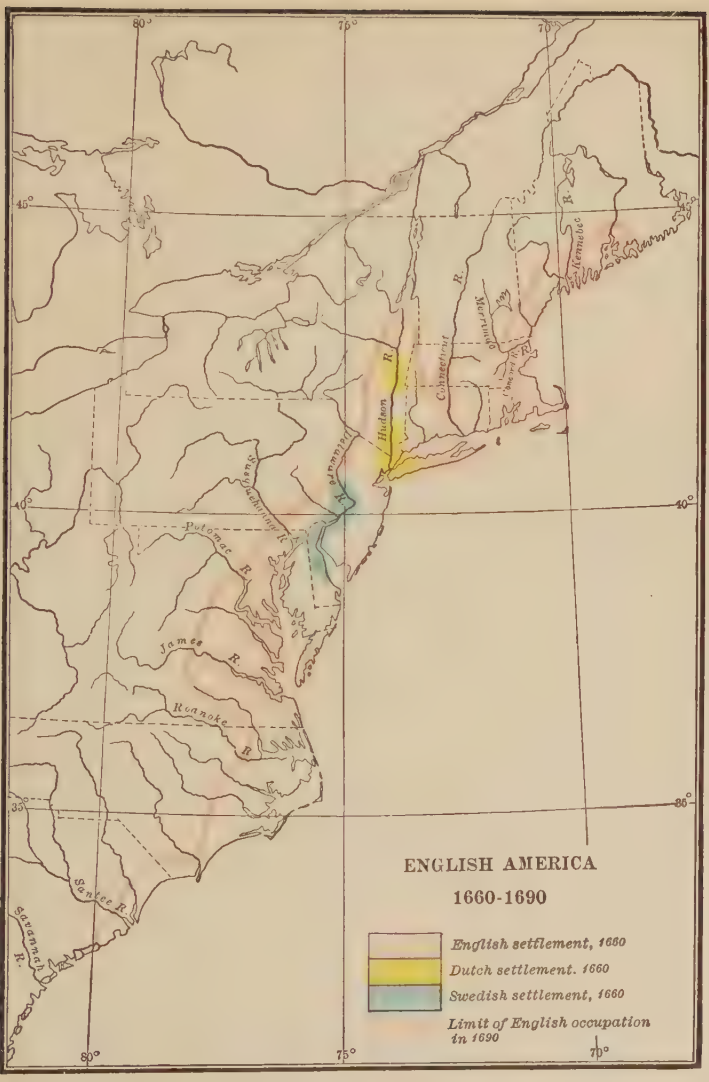
English origin of American Liberties

lish colonies from the first began to diverge from the old home in the direction of even greater freedom.

At the same time, *the colonists were essentially English. Their free institutions were all English in origin;* and they themselves were Englishmen on a distant frontier. Free land did not make New France democratic and self-governing. *Frenchmen and Englishmen in the New World developed along lines of despotism or freedom upon which their old homes had started them.*

In the next chapter we shall see how the story of American colonization merged with the story of European wars. The conflict in Europe (p. 665) between William III of England and Louis XIV of France became a hundred years' conflict (1690–1815) for empire in America and Asia.

For Further Reading. — The student should study the expansion of Europe in Woodward's *Expansion of the British Empire*, I, 1–263; Seeley's *Expansion of England;* or Caldecott's *English Colonization.*


80°
75°
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35°
Hudson R.
Connecticut R.
Merrimac R.
Kennebec R.
Susquehanna R.
Delaware R.
Potomac R.
James R.
Roanoke R.
Neuse R.
Savannah R.
ENGLISH AMERICA
1660-1690
English settlement, 1660
Dutch settlement. 1660
Swedish settlement, 1660
Limit of English occupation in 1690

PART XI

LOUIS XIV AND FREDERICK II: 1648-1789

CHAPTER LXVII

FRENCH LEADERSHIP

The last part of the Thirty Years' War, we saw, was something besides a religious conflict. Catholic France aided Protestant Germany and Holland to break the power of Catholic Austria and Spain. Such attempts to destroy a too powerful neighbor are characteristic of the next hundred years of war. The chief object of statesmen became to keep any one country from growing too strong for its neighbors' safety. This was called maintaining the Balance of Power. *For many years after 1648 France was the country that threatened that balance,* and so league after league of other countries was organized against her. International morality was low and selfish, however, and commonly the nations were willing to let a strong Power rob a weaker neighbor if they could find "compensation" by themselves robbing some other weak state. Moreover, these wars were *dynastic* wars (in the interests of ruling *families*) more than any that Europe had ever seen. And the personal likings and hatreds of kings interfered sometimes with their devotion to the "balance of power." During most of the long period, the stage is held by one or another of three great rulers, Louis XIV of France (1643–1715), Peter the Great of Russia (1689–1725), and Frederick the Great of Prussia (1740–1786).

The "Balance of Power"

Threatened by France

Dynastic wars

In the early years of Louis XIV his great minister, *Colbert,* introduced economy into the finances, encouraged new manu-

Early years of Louis XIV

factures, built roads, introduced canals, and watched zealously over the growth of New France in America. But in 1667 Louis began a series of wars that filled most of the next forty years. During that half-century, despotic France threatened freedom for the world, as Spain had done a century before, and as Hohenzollern Germany has recently been threatening it.

First series of wars of Louis XIV

In the first twelve years of war, Louis sought to seize territory on his northeastern frontier. The Dutch Republic was his chief obstacle. Finally, Louis dropped all other plans, in order to crush that little state. In 1672, without warning, he seized the duchy of Lorraine — much as the Germans seized Luxemburg at the opening of the recent World War — and so won access to Holland's frontier, which he crossed with a splendid army of 100,000 men. The Dutch intrusted their government to William of Orange (who afterward became William III of England). William was not a supreme genius; but he was faithful and heroic. More than any other man he foiled the ambition of France. Friends urged upon him that conflict with the mighty power of Louis was hopeless, and that he could only see his country lost. "There is a way never to see it lost," he replied quietly; "that way is to die on the last dike." With such grim determination, he finally let in the North Sea to drive out the French armies. Meantime he toiled ceaselessly in building up against France an alliance of European powers, until Louis was compelled to accept peace with only slight gains of territory from the Spanish Netherlands.

The Edict of Nantes revoked

During ten years of truce that followed, Louis continued to seize bits of territory along the Rhine — including the "free city" of Strassburg. But the important event of this period was his treatment of the Huguenots. In 1685 he revoked the Edict of Nantes, and tried to compel the Huguenots to accept Catholicism. Dragoons were quartered in the Huguenot districts, and terrible persecutions fell upon those who refused to abandon their faith. Protestantism did finally disappear from France. But, though Louis tried to prevent any heretic from

leaving France alive, tens of thousands (perhaps 300,000 in all) escaped to Holland, Prussia, England, and America.[1] The effect on France corresponded in a measure to the effect of the expulsion of the Moriscoes (p. 630) on Spain. The rest of Louis' reign was a period of failure.

Later wars of Louis XIV

The second series of wars began in 1689 (p. 665). As before, the French armies were invincible in the field; but, as before, William checked Louis by building up a general European alliance. England had now taken Holland's place as the center of opposition to French despotism. Louis fought mainly to get more Rhine territory; *but this time he kept no gains.* This war is known in American history as "King William's War." *The struggle had widened from a mere European war into a Titanic conflict between France and England for world-empire.*

The war-methods of France in this struggle were horrible. French armies deliberately depopulated large districts. A striking passage of Macaulay tells the fate of one Rhine province: "The commander announced to near half a million human beings that he granted them *three days grace.* . . . Soon the roads and fields were black with innumerable men, women, and children, fleeing from their homes. . . . Flames went up from every market place, every parish church, every county seat." Many of these fugitives finally came to America.

The "Spanish Succession"

Next, Louis eagerly seized a chance to put one of his grandsons on the vacant Spanish throne, as Philip V, exclaiming exultantly, "The Pyrenees no longer exist." But Europe united against France and Spain in the "War of the Spanish Succession," known in American history as "Queen Anne's War." In this struggle, for the first time, success in the field lay with the Allies. The English *Marlborough* and the Haps-

[1] In America the Huguenots went mainly to the Carolinas; but some old Virginia families trace their origin to this immigration. In New York John Jay and Alexander Hamilton were both of Huguenot descent. And in Massachusetts the Huguenot influence is suggested by the names of Paul Revere, Peter Faneuil, and Governor Bowdoin.

burg *Prince Eugene* won terrible victories over the armies of France, at *Blenheim* in Bavaria, and at *Ramillies*, *Oudenarde*, and *Malplaquet* in Belgium, the suffering battleground of the rival kings.

Peace of Utrecht

The Peace of Utrecht (1713) left Philip king of Spain, but he had to renounce for himself and his heirs all claim upon the French throne. *France gained no territory in Europe*, and in America *she lost Newfoundland and Nova Scotia to England. England also acquired command of the Mediterranean*, by securing from Spain the fortress of *Gibraltar* and the island of *Minorca. Spain lost all her European possessions outside her own peninsula*, ceding her *Netherland provinces, the kingdom of Sicily*, and *Naples*, and *the great Duchy of Milan* in North Italy, *to Austria.*

Exhaustion of France

Louis XIV dazzled the men of his age, and won the title of the Great King (*Grand Monarque*); but his wars exhausted France. At the close of his reign, the industry of France was declining under a crushing taxation, of which *more than half went merely to pay the interest on the debt he had created.* And in his unjust attacks upon petty properties of his neighbors in Europe, he had wasted strength that might have intrenched France peacefully as mistress in Asia and America. Intellectually, however, France was now the acknowledged leader of Europe. The court of Louis XIV was the model on which every court in Europe sought to form itself. French thought, French fashions, the French language, became the common property of all polite society.

French leadership in Europe

The age of despots

"*I am the state*" is a famous saying ascribed to Louis XIV. Whether he said it or not, he might have done so with perfect truth. So might almost any monarch of his day, outside of England. Monarchs were everything; the people, so far as government was concerned, were nothing. Louis called the English parliament "an intolerable evil." If England and Holland had not withstood his ambitious dreams of empire, free government would then have perished from the earth.

CHAPTER LXVIII

THE RISE OF RUSSIA

Russia and the Tartar Conquest of 1223

Early Russian history is a blank or a mass of doubtful legends. We know only that before the year 900, there was a prince at Moscow ruling over the Russian Slavs from Novgorod to Kiev. Toward the close of the next century, Greek Christianity was introduced from Constantinople, and Greek civilization began slowly to make progress among the Russians. But geographically Russia is merely a small part of the vast plain stretching across northern Asia, peopled in that day by savage nomad tribes of Tartars. About 1200, a great military leader appeared among those heathen. Taking the title *Genghis Khan* (Lord of Lords) he organized the scattered nomad tribes into a terrible fighting machine, and set out to conquer the world. The ancient Scythian and Hunnish invasions were repeated upon a larger scale and with greater horrors. Genghis turned fertile countries into deserts and populous districts into tombs, marked by enormous pyramids of blackened corpses. He conquered China, northern India, and Persia, while his son invaded Europe. In 1223 the rising Christian state of Russia was crushed, and the Mongol empire reached from Peking and the Indus to Crimea and the Dnieper.

The death of the Great Khan (1227) recalled his son to Asia; but ten years later the assault on Europe was renewed. Moscow was burned, and northern Russia became a tributary province. These new Huns even crossed the Danube; but again Western Europe was saved by the death of a Mongol emperor. Soon after, the huge Tartar realm fell into fragments. But for three centuries a Tartar state, the Golden Horde, maintained itself in southern Russia; and the whole Russian

realm has felt ever since the baleful influence of the long Tartar dominion.

Ivan the Terrible

In 1480 a tributary Russian prince threw off the Tartar yoke, and one of his near successors, Ivan the Terrible, took the title *Tsar* (from *Caesar*, the old Roman title for an emperor). Under this Ivan, by 1550, when the religious wars were beginning in Western Europe, Russia reached from the inland Caspian northward and westward over much of the vast eastern plain of Europe, stretching even into Asiatic Siberia. But it had no seacoast except on the ice-locked Arctic, and no touch with Western Europe. Tartars and Turks still shut it off from the Black Sea; the Swedes shut it from the Baltic (p. 635); and the Poles prevented any contact with Germany.

Thus the Russians were really Asiatic in geography. The tsars imitated the Tartar khans in their rule and court. The people were Asiatic in dress, manners, and thought. They belonged to the Greek church; but they had no other tie with European life.

Peter the Great

To make this Russia a *European* Power was the work of Peter the Great. Peter was a barbaric genius of tremendous energy, clear intellect, and ruthless will. He admired the material results of Western civilization, and he determined to Europeanize his people. As steps toward this, he meant to get the Baltic coast from Sweden, and the Black Sea from the Turks, so as to have "windows to look out upon Europe."

Early in his reign, the young Tsar decided to learn more about the Western world he had admired at a distance. In Holland, as a workman in the navy yards, he studied shipbuilding. He visited most of the countries of the West, impressing all who met him with his insatiable voracity for information. He inspected cutleries, museums, manufactories, arsenals, departments of government, military organizations. He collected instruments and models, and gathered naval and military stores. He engaged choice artists, goldbeaters, architects, workmen, officers, and engineers, to return with him to Russia, by promises, not well kept, of great pay.

With these workmen Peter sought to introduce Western civilization into Russia. The manners of his people he reformed by edict. He himself cut off the Asiatic beards of his courtiers and clipped the bottoms of their long robes. Women were ordered to put aside their veils and come out of their Oriental seclusion. Peter "tried to Europeanize by Asiatic

Peter "Europeanizes" Russia

THE KREMLIN, MOSCOW. — A view from across the Moskva river. The ancient fortress dates back to the 14th century. Its walls inclose 98 acres. This view gives a good idea of the peculiar Russian architecture of sacred and official buildings of early times.

methods." He "civilized by the cudgel." *The upper classes did take on a European veneer. The masses remained Oriental.*

Peter was more successful in starting Russia on her march toward the European seas. On the south, he himself made no permanent advance, despite a series of wars with Turkey; but he bequeathed his policy to his successors, and, from his day to the opening of the World War, Constantinople was a chief goal of Russian ambition.

Expansion toward the open seas

The "Baltic window" Peter himself secured, by victory over Charles XII of Sweden, "the Glorious Madman of the North." Sweden was a thinly populated country with no great natural resources. For a century a line of great kings and the disciplined bravery of her soldiery had made her a leading power in Europe; but such leadership could hardly be permanent. She had grown at the expense of Russia, Poland, Denmark, and Brandenburg; and when Charles XII came to the Swedish throne (1697) as a mere boy of fifteen, these states leagued against him.

Charles was a military genius, and for a long time he was victorious against this overwhelming coalition. But he wore out his resources in winning victories that did not destroy his huge antagonists. Early in the struggle he defeated Peter the Great at *Narva*, with an army not more than an eighth as large as the Russian force; but while Charles was busied in Poland and Germany, Russia recovered herself, and in 1709 Peter crushed Charles at *Pultava*.

Peter reaches the Baltic

Peter had said that the Swedes would teach him how to beat them. Now this had come to pass. *Sweden never recovered her military supremacy.* Russia secured the Swedish provinces on the east coast of the Baltic *as far north as the Gulf of Finland.* These districts had been colonized, three centuries before, by German nobles (pp. 524, 541), and German civilization was strongly implanted there. It was in this new territory that Peter founded St. Petersburg, recently renamed *Petrograd.*

Later growth to 1800

The next important acquisition of territory was under the Empress Elizabeth, daughter of Peter, who seized part of Finland from Sweden. Toward the close of the century, under Catherine II, Russia made great progress on the south along the Black Sea and on the west at the expense of Poland (p. 691). This last change can be understood only in connection with the rise of Prussia.

CHAPTER LXIX

PRUSSIA IN EUROPE — ENGLAND IN NEW WORLDS

Frederick of Hohenzollern, Elector of Brandenburg

One of the German "marks" established in the tenth century as bulwarks against the Slavs (p. 524) was Brandenburg. Under a race of fighting margraves it grew from century to century, and about 1200 its ruler became one of the "Electors" of the Empire. In 1415, the first line of Brandenburg Electors ran out; and *Frederick of Hohenzollern*, a petty count in the Alps (like the Hapsburgs a century and a half before), *bought* Brandenburg from the *Emperor*.

The Hohenzollerns gain Prussia

Shortly after 1600 came the next important Hohenzollern acquisition. By family inheritance, the Elector of Brandenburg fell heir to two considerable principalities, — the duchy of Cleves on the extreme west of Germany, and the *duchy of Prussia outside the Empire* on the extreme east. Prussia was the name of a district which the Teutonic Knights had conquered in the fourteenth century from the heathen Slavs (map after p. 550), and which they held as vassals of the king of Poland. Its people remained for the most part a mass of Letts and Slavs.

The "Great Elector" and the Thirty Years' War

Toward the close of the Thirty Years' War, Frederick William, "the Great Elector," came to the throne of Brandenburg — a coarse, cruel, treacherous, shrewd ruler. The Protestants were getting the upper hand in the war. Frederick William joined them, and, as his reward, at the Peace of Westphalia he secured eastern Pomerania (p. 635). *This brought Brandenburg to the sea.*

Paternal despotism

The "Great Elector" now crushed out all local assemblies of nobles in his provinces, and all local privileges. Then he built up an army among the largest and best in Europe, much more costly than his poor realms could well support. He was

shrewd enough, however, to see the need of caring for the material welfare of his subjects, if they were to be able to support his selfish plans; and so *his long reign* (1640–1688) *marks the beginning of the boasted Hohenzollern policy of "good government."* He built roads and canals, drained marshes, encouraged better agriculture, and welcomed to his realms, with their manufactures, the Huguenot fugitives from France, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

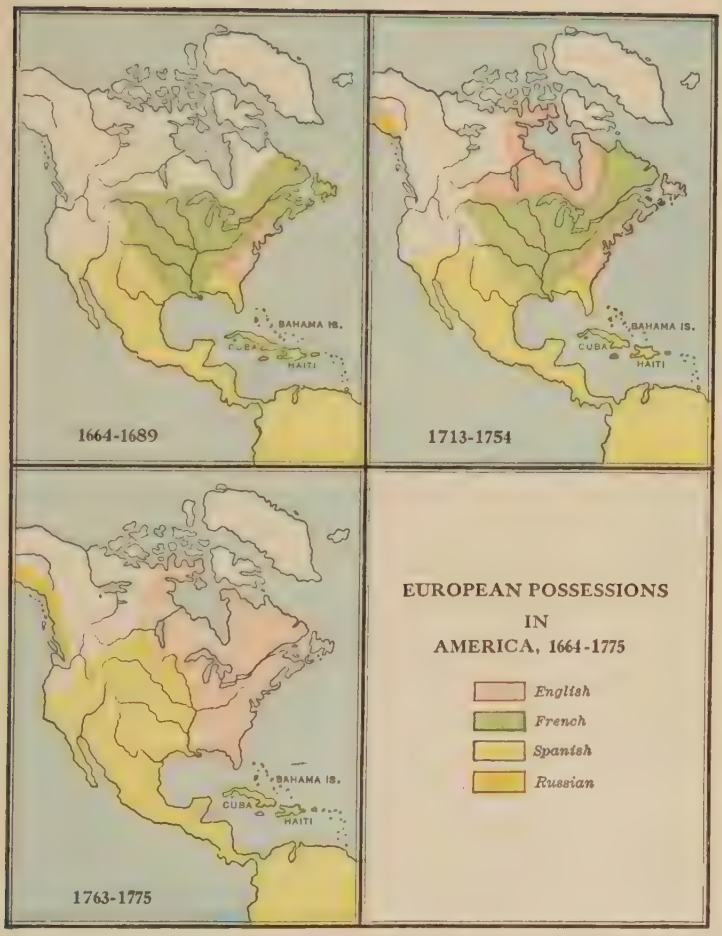
The kingly title

Frederick, son and successor of the Great Elector, was besought by Austria to join the alliance against Louis XIV (p. 679). In reward for his aid, he then secured the Emperor's consent to his changing the title "Elector of Brandenburg" for the more stately one of "King in Prussia" (1701). The second king of Prussia, Frederick William I, was a rude "drill sergeant," memorable only as the stupid father of Frederick the Great. He did, however, expend what intellect he had, and what money he could wring from his subjects, in enlarging the Prussian army; and he had a curious passion for collecting "*tall* soldiers" from all over Europe.

Frederick the Second's wars

Frederick II ("the Great") ascended the Prussian throne in 1740. In the same year the Hapsburg Emperor, Charles VI, died without a male heir, and Frederick began his long reign by an unjust but profitable war. The Emperor Charles had secured solemn pledges from the powers of Europe, *including Prussia*, that his young daughter, Maria Theresa, should succeed to his Austrian possessions. But now, with his perfectly prepared army, *without having even declared war*, on a trumped-up claim, Frederick seized Silesia, an Austrian province.

This high-handed act was the signal for a general onslaught to divide the Austrian realms. Spain, France, Savoy, Bavaria, each hurried to snatch some morsel of the booty. But Maria Theresa displayed courage and ability. Her subjects, especially the gallant Hungarian nobles, rallied loyally to her support, and, a little later, England and Holland added their strength to the Austrian side. This "War of the Austrian Succession" closed in 1748. Frederick had shown himself greedy and un-


BAHAMA IS.
CUBA
HAITI
1664-1689
BAHAMA IS.
CUBA
HAITI
1713-1754
BAHAMA IS.
CUBA
HAITI
1763-1775
EUROPEAN POSSESSIONS
IN
AMERICA, 1664-1775
English
French
Spanish
Russian

scrupulous, but also the greatest general of the age. He kept Silesia. Prussia now reached down into the heart of Germany and had become the great rival of Austria.

England and France rivals for world empire

Much more important, though less striking, *was the contest outside Europe*. In America a New England expedition captured the French fortress of Louisburg. In India the French leader, Dupleix, saw the chance to secure an Asiatic empire for his country, and captured the English stations in that country.

The treaty of peace restored matters to their former position, both in America and Asia, but *the war made England and France feel more clearly than ever before that they were rivals for vast realms outside Europe*. Whether Prussia or Austria were to possess Silesia, whether France or Austria were to hold the Netherlands, were questions wholly insignificant in comparison with the mightier question as to what race and what political ideas should hold the New Worlds.

The "Seven Years' War," 1756–1763

In 1756 Austria began a war of revenge. Maria Theresa had secured the alliance of Russia, Sweden, and even of her old enemy, France. Four great armies invaded Prussia from different directions, and Frederick's throne seemed to totter. His swift action and his supreme military genius saved his country, in the victories of *Rossbach* and *Leuthen*. And the next year England entered the struggle as his ally. England and France had remained practically at war in America and India through the brief interval between the two European wars;[1] and now that France had changed to Austria's side, England saw no choice but to support Prussia.

In America this "Seven Years' War" is known as the "French and Indian War." The struggle was literally world-wide. Red men scalped one another by the Great Lakes of North America, and Black men fought in Senegal in Africa; while Frenchmen and Englishmen grappled in India as well as in Germany, and their fleets engaged on every sea. The most tremendous and showy battles took place in Germany; and,

[1] Braddock's campaign in America (1754) took place during this interval.

though the real importance of the struggle lay outside Europe, still the European conflict in the main decided the wider results. William Pitt, the English minister, who was working to build up a great British empire, declared that in Germany he would conquer America from France. He did so. England furnished the funds and her navy swept the seas. Frederick and Prussia, supported by English subsidies, furnished the troops and the generalship for the European battles. The striking figures of the struggle are (1) Pitt, the great English imperialist, the directing genius of the war; (2) Frederick of Prussia, the military genius, who won Pitt's victories in Germany; (3) Wolfe, who won French America from the great Montcalm; and (4) Clive in India.

England wins America and India from France

Dupleix (p. 687) had built up a powerful league of native states on the side of the French, and had almost driven the English out of India. But now he had been recalled by the short-sighted French government, and so the ground was cleared for a great English leader. Clive was an unknown English clerk at Madras. The native Nabob of Bengal treacherously seized the English post at Calcutta, induced the garrison to surrender on the promise of good treatment, and then suffocated them horribly by packing the one hundred and forty-six Europeans in a small close dungeon — the famous Black Hole of Calcutta — through the hot tropical night. The young Clive was moved to vengeance. He organized a small expedition of a thousand Englishmen and two thousand faithful native troops, and at *Plassey* (1757) he overthrew the Nabob's Oriental army of sixty thousand men. Soon after, English supremacy in India was thoroughly established.

The Peace of 1763

The treaty of peace, in 1763, *left Europe without change*. But *in India* the French retained only a few unfortified trading posts. *In America*, England received Florida from Spain, and Canada and the eastern half of the Mississippi Valley from France. France ceded to Spain the western half of the Mississippi Valley, in compensation for the losses Spain had incurred

as her ally; and, except for her West Indian islands, *she herself ceased to be an American power.* Spain still held South America and half North America; but her vast bulk was plainly decaying day by day. Holland's wide colonial empire, too, was in decline. *England stood forth as the leading world-power.*

Why England won America

The struggle in America had really been a war, not between Montcalm and Wolfe, but between two kinds of colonization. The better kind won. Man for man, the French settlers were more successful woodsmen and Indian fighters than their English rivals; but *they could not build a state so well.* They got a good start first, and they had much the stronger position. But, after a century of such fostering care as we described on p. 672, *the French colonies did not grow.* When the final conflict began, in 1754, *France, with a home population four times that of England, had only one twentieth as many colonists in America as England had* — 60,000 to about 1,200,000.

Moreover, despite her heroic leaders, the mass of French colonists had too little political activity to care much what country they belonged to, so long as they were treated decently. French centralization did make it possible for a capable governor to wield effectively all the resources of New France;[1] while among the English there were interminable delays and disastrous jealousies. *But the English needed to win only once.* If Montcalm had conquered Wolfe, and had then been able to occupy Boston and New York, he could never have held them even as long as King George did a few years later. The colonists would have fought the French with vastly more determination than they did England in the Revolution. But Wolfe's one victory at Quebec settled the fate of the continent.

The lack of political vitality and of individual enterprise in industry was the fatal weakness of New France. The opposite qualities made England successful. Says John Fiske: "*It*

[1] The advantage was offset by a tendency to corruption which always threatens a despotic system. Says Parkman (*Montcalm and Wolfe*, II, 30), "Canada was the prey of official jackals." Of this his volumes give many illustrations.

is to the self-government of England, and to no lesser cause, that we are to look for the secret of that boundless vitality which has given to men of English speech the uttermost parts of the earth for an inheritance."

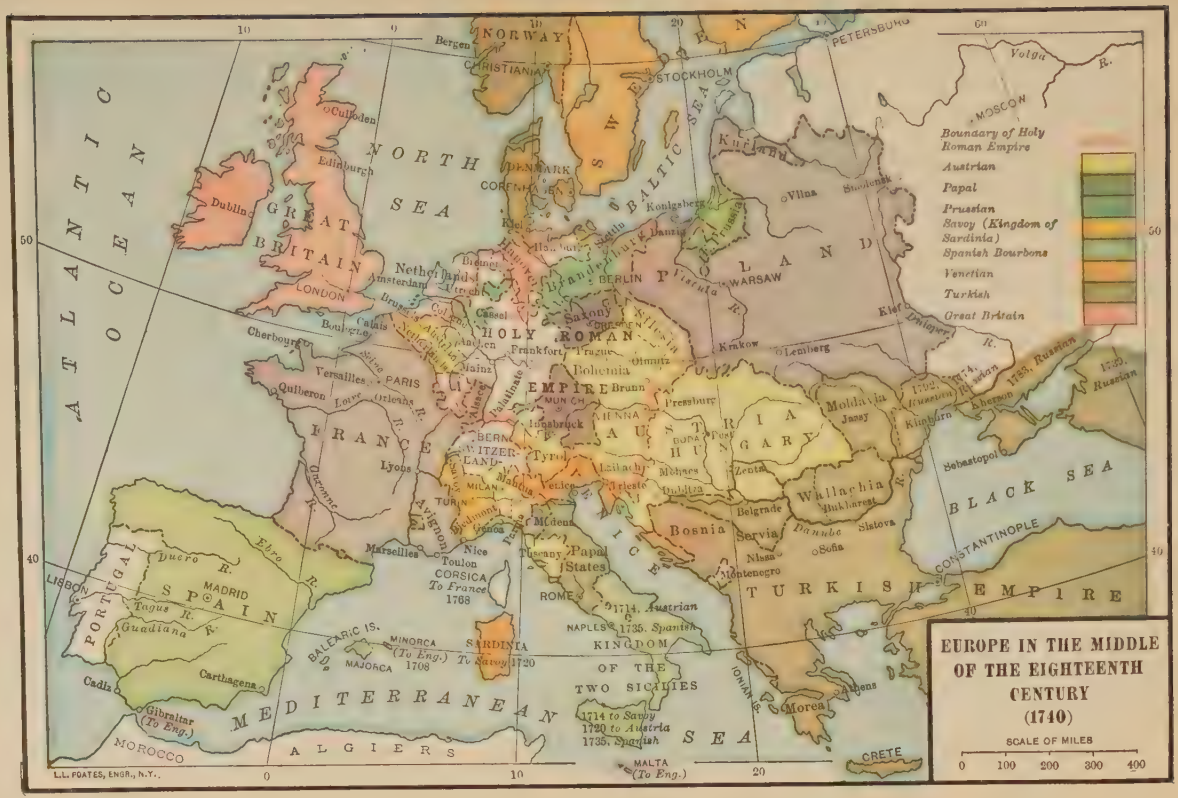
The American Revolution

The American Revolution is the next chapter in this series of wars. That war began because the English government unwisely insisted upon managing American affairs after the Americans were quite able to take care of themselves. Its real importance, even to Europe, lay in the establishment of an independent American nation and in teaching England, after a while, to improve her system of colonial government.[1] But at the time, France and Spain saw in the American Revolution a chance to revenge themselves upon England by helping the best part of her empire to break away.

England did lose most of her empire in America; but she came out of the war with gains as well as losses, and with glory little tarnished. She had been fighting, not America alone, but France, Spain, Holland, *and* America. Theodore Roosevelt has put finely the result and character of this wider struggle (*Gouverneur Morris*, 116):

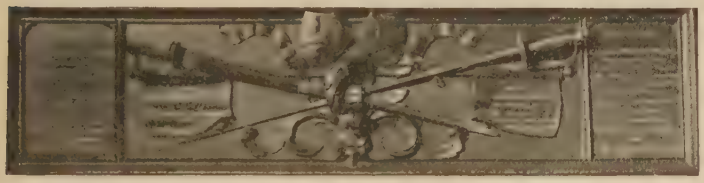
"England, hemmed in by the ring of her foes, fronted them with a grand courage. In her veins the Berserker blood was up, and she hailed each new enemy with grim delight, exerting to the full her warlike strength. Single-handed she kept them all at bay, and repaid with crippling blows the injuries they had done her. In America, alone, the tide ran too strong to be turned. But Holland was stripped of all her colonies; in the East, Sir Eyre Coote beat down Hyder Ali, and taught Moslem and Hindoo alike that they could not shake off the grasp of the iron hands that held India; Rodney won back for his country the supremacy

[1] The English colonial system in America had not been cruel or tyrannical nor *seriously* hampering in industry. Indeed, on both the industrial and political side, it was vastly more liberal than was the colonial policy of any other country in that age. But after Canada fell to England (p. 688), so that the colonists in the English colonies no longer feared French conquest, they began to resent even the slight interference of the English government. The freest people of the age, they were ready and anxious for more freedom. Cf. West's *American People*, pp. 185–191.


EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (1740)
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400
Boundary of Holy Roman Empire
Austrian
Papal
Prussian
Savoy (Kingdom of Sardinia)
Spanish Bourbons
Venetian
Turkish
Great Britain
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BLACK SEA
GREAT BRITAIN
IRELAND
NORWAY
SWEDEN
DENMARK
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
FRANCE
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
BOHEMIA
SAXONY
PRUSSIA
POLAND
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
TURKISH EMPIRE
SWITZERLAND
ITALY
Papal States
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES
Bergen
CHRISTIANIA
STOCKHOLM
PETERSBURG
MOSCOW
Volga R.
Kurland
Edinburgh
Culloden
Dublin
LONDON
Amsterdam
Utrecht
Bremen
Hanover
Kiel
Konigsberg
Danzig
Vilna
Smolensk
BERLIN
WARSAW
Dresden
Cassel
Calais
Boulogne
Cherbourg
Versailles
PARIS
Orleans
Loire R.
Rhine R.
Seine R.
Frankfort
Prague
Olmutz
Bohemia
Brunn
Pressburg
Munich
Augsburg
Innsbruck
Tyrol
Lyons
Milan
Turin
Genoa
Venice
Trieste
Modena
Nice
Marseilles
Toulon
CORSICA
To France 1708
Rome
Naples
1714. Austrian
1735. Spanish
Tuscany
Papal States
Ancona
Loretto
Bologna
Ferrara
Mantua
Parma
Leghorn
Florence
Pisa
Siena
Rhone R.
Durance R.
Ebro R.
Duero R.
Tagus R.
Guadiana R.
Lisbon
Madrid
Cadiz
Carthagena
Gibraltar (To Eng.)
BALEARIC IS.
MINORCA (To Eng.) 1708
MAJORCA
SARDINIA To Savoy 1720
1714 to Savoy
1720 to Austria
1735. Spanish
MALTA (To Eng.)
MOROCCO
ALGIERS
Kiev
Dniester R.
Lemberg
Cracow
Moldavia
Jassy
Wallachia
Bukharest
Danube R.
Belgrade
Bosnia
Servia
Nissa
Montenegro
Sofia
Silistria
Kinburn
Oczakow
1774. Russian
1783. Russian
1739. Russian
Sebastopol
CONSTANTINOPLE
Adrianople
Zenta
Mohacs
Buda
Presburg
Inspruck
Ionian Is.
Morea
Athens
CRETE
Aegean Sea
L.L. FOATES, ENGR., N.Y.

of the ocean in that great sea-fight where he shattered the splendid French navy; and the long siege of Gibraltar [p. 680] closed with the crushing overthrow of the assailants. So, with bloody honor, England ended the most disastrous war she had ever waged."

The secession of the American colonies did not injure England as her friends and foes had expected it to do. The commerce of the United States continued to be carried on mainly through England, and, very soon, the new nation, with its growing wealth, was buying more English goods than the old colonies



Crossed Swords of Colonel William Prescott and Captain John Linzee, who fought on opposite sides at Bunker Hill. A grandson of Prescott and a granddaughter of Linzee married, and their offspring mounted these heirlooms in this way "in token of international friendship and family alliance." Now in the rooms of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

had been able to pay for. For her territorial loss, England found compensation, too, to some degree, in the acquisition of Australia.

"Partition" of Poland

Just before the American Revolution began, Russia, Prussia, and Austria united to murder the old kingdom of Poland, so as to divide the carcass. The anarchy of Poland gave its neighbors excuse. The population consisted of about twelve million degraded serfs, and one hundred thousand selfish, oligarchic nobles. The latter constituted the government. They met in occasional Diets, and, when the throne became vacant, they elected the figurehead king. Unanimous consent was required for any vote in the Diet, — *each noble possessing the right of veto.*

Under such conditions, the Powers of Europe had begun to play with Poland at will. Catherine II of Russia determined

to seize a large part of the country. Frederick II persuaded Austria to join him in compelling Catherine to share the booty. The "First Partition," in 1772, pared off a rind about the heart. The Second and Third Partitions (1793, 1795), which completed the work and "assassinated the kingdom," had not even the pretext of misgovernment in Poland. The Poles had undertaken sweeping reforms, and the nation made an heroic defense under its hero-leader Kosciusko; but the great robbers wiped Poland off the map. *Russia gained far the greatest part of the territory, and she now bordered Germany on the east, as France did on the west.*

Plainly the true policy of the Germans, early and late, would have been the honest one of supporting the "buffer states" — Poland and Burgundy — against the greed of Russia and France. Failure to do so left Germany exposed to immediate attack by powerful enemies and compelled her to build up artificial frontiers of fortresses and bayonets. Frederick II's reign doubled Prussia in size, but at a terrible cost to future generations.

Frederick "the Great" in peace

Frederick II had shown himself a greedy robber and a military genius. With brutal cynicism he avowed absolute freedom from moral principle where a question of Prussia's power was at stake. Success, he declared, justified any means. This faithlessness he practiced, as well as taught; and his success made this policy the creed of later Hohenzollerns.

But there was another side to Frederick's life, which, more properly than his war or his diplomacy, earns him his title of "the Great." Most of his forty-six years' reign was passed in peace, and he proved a father to his people. The beneficent work of the Great Elector was taken up and carried forward vigorously. Prussia was transformed. Wealth and comfort increased by leaps. The condition of the peasantry was improved, though, of course, they remained serfs; and the administration in all its branches was made economical and efficient. Unlike all the earlier Hohenzollerns, Frederick was

also a patron of literature — though he admired only the artificial French style of the age — and he was himself an author.

The "benevolent despots"

Frederick is a type of the "crowned philosophers," or "benevolent despots," who sat upon the thrones of Europe in the latter half of the eighteenth century, just before the French Revolution. Under the influence of a new enlightened sentiment, government underwent a marvelous change. It was just as autocratic as before, — no more *by* the people than before, — but despots did try to govern *for* the people, not for themselves. Sovereigns began to speak of themselves, not as privileged proprietors, but, in Frederick's phrase, as "the first servants of their states."

Catherine of Russia, Charles III of Spain, Leopold, Archduke of Tuscany, Ferdinand of Naples, Joseph II of Austria, all belonged to the class of philosophic, liberal-minded, "benevolent despots," of this period. In Sweden and Portugal two great ministers sought to impose a like policy upon the kings. All these rulers *planned* far-reaching reforms, — the abolition of serfdom, the building up of public education, and the reform of the church.

Frederick's genius and tireless energy accomplished something for a time; but *on the whole the monarchs made lamentable failures.* One man was powerless to lift the inert weight of a nation. The clergy and nobles, jealous for their privileges, opposed and thwarted the royal will. Except in England and France, there was no large middle class to supply friendly officials and sympathy. The kings, too, wished no participation by the people in the reforms: everything was to come from above. When the "benevolent despots" had to choose between benevolence and despotism they always chose despotism.

The most remarkable, and in some ways the greatest of these philosophic despots, was *Joseph II of Austria,* the son of Maria Theresa. His task was harder than that of any of his fellows because his realms were so heterogeneous, — peopled by Germans, Hungarians, South Slavs, Poles, Bo-

hemians, Italians, Netherlanders. Joseph sought to abolish the ancient local distinctions in these varying districts, to introduce one orderly government, with one official language (German), and within his new state to foster education, abolish monasteries, establish freedom of religion, and even to do away with serfdom. All nobles and clerical classes, however, resisted him fiercely; and Joseph died disheartened, dictating for himself the epitaph, "Here lies a king who designed many benefits for his people, but who was unable to accomplish any of them."

The kings had failed to bring about sufficient reform; *and now, in France, the people were to try for themselves.* Our story closes in gloom; but there was soon to show the blood-streaked dawn of the French Revolution — which was to bring to Europe the beginnings of democracy and equality.

FURTHER READING upon the subject of the last three chapters may profitably be confined to the great struggle for the New Worlds. The student should read Parkman's Works, especially his *Montcalm and Wolfe* and his *Half Century of Conflict*. The following biographies, too, are good: Wilson's *Clive*, Malleson's *Dupleix* and *Lord Clive*, Bradley's *Wolfe*, Lyall's *Warren Hastings*, Morley's *Walpole*.

REVIEW EXERCISES

1. Fact Drills.
   a. Dates with their significance: 1520, 1618–1648, 1640–1649, 1660, 1688, 1713, 1740, 1763, 1783.
   b. List ten important battles between 1500 and 1789.
2. Review by countries, with "catch-words," from 1500, or from some convenient event of about that date, and review English history from Alfred the Great.
3. Make a brief paragraph statement for the period 1648–1787, to include the changes in territory and in the relative power of the different European states.

APPENDIX

A SELECT LIST OF BOOKS ON ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL HISTORY FOR HIGH SCHOOLS

Prehistoric Culture

Clodd, E., *Story of Primitive Man* (" Primer "). Appleton, New York.
—— *Story of the Alphabet.* Appleton.

Davenport, E., *Domesticated Animals and Plants.* Ginn, Boston.

Dodge, R. J., *Our Wild Indians.* Hartford.

Holbrook, F., *Cave, Mound, and Lake Dwellers.* Heath, Boston.

Joly, N., *Man before Metals.* Appleton.

Mason, O. T., *Woman's Share in Primitive Culture.* Appleton.

Starr, F., *Some First Steps in Human Progress.* Flood and Vincent, Meadville, Pa.

It is not suggested that a school library should own all the works above, until it is well supplied in other directions. But any of them will make entertaining reading. Before the recent rise in the cost of bookmaking they were cheap volumes — from 35 cents to $2.50. More costly, and beautifully illustrated volumes in the same field are Solas' *Ancient Hunters* and Osborn's *Men of the Old Stone Age.* For *Fiction*, on the same period, the best attempt is Stanley Waterloo's *Story of Ab.* Jack London's *Before Adam* is offensively brutal.

Oriental History

Baikie, James, *Story of the Pharaohs* (illustrated). Macmillan.

Breasted, J. H., *History of the Ancient Egyptians.* Scribner, New York.

The same author has a larger, finely illustrated work covering the same ground.

—— *History of Egypt.* Scribner, New York.

This is the most recent and scholarly work in English on Egypt (1909). But the smaller work is good; and Baikie's *Story* (above) is perhaps more readable than either.

** **Davis, William Stearns**, *Readings in Ancient History*. Allyn and Bacon, Boston. Two volumes: "Greece and the East" and "Rome and the West." (Each $1.20.)

The first volume contains sixty pages of "source material" on Oriental history, with valuable introductions. The *Readings* (unless bought by each student in the class) should be present in the library in multiple copies.

Hommel, F., *Civilization of the East* ("Primer"). Macmillan.

Jackson, A. V. W., *Zoroaster*. Macmillan.

Jastrow, M., *Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria*. Lippincott, Philadelphia.

* **Myres, J. L.**, *Dawn of History* (Home Universities Series). Holt, New York. An admirable and very cheap little book.

Petrie, W. Flinders, *Arts and Crafts of Ancient Egypt* (illustrated). McClurg, Chicago.

Valuable for students in industrial courses, but somewhat technical. Professor Petrie is the most famous Egyptian explorer of our times.

Sayce, A. H., *Assyria: Its Princes, Priests, and People* (illustrated). Revell, Chicago.

—— *Babylonians and Assyrians*. Revell, Chicago.

A somewhat later work than the preceding. One of the two is well worth while in a high school library. Very readable.

Winckler, Hugo, *Babylonia and Assyria*. Scribner.

Winckler and Jastrow are more recent in scholarship than Sayce, but hardly so readable.

Civilization in Ancient Crete

Baikie, James, *Sea Kings of Crete* (handsomely illustrated). Macmillan. The best single volume on the topic.

Hawes and Hawes, *Crete, the Forerunner of Greece*. Harper, New York.

Greek History

Source Material.

* **Davis, William Stearns**, *Readings in Ancient History*. This work is described in the list for Oriental history above. It is particularly valuable for Greek history and should be the first library material purchased on that subject. The use of it, however, will certainly lead many students to wish to know more of certain ancient authors quoted in it; and the small list below ought to be accessible.

Aristotle, *On the Constitution of Athens;* translated by Kenyon. Macmillan.

This is the least readable of the books mentioned in this list; but it can be used in parts, under a teacher's direction.

Herodotus, Rawlinson's translation, edited by Grant; two volumes; Scribner.

—— Macaulay's translation, two volumes. Macmillan.

* *Homer's Iliad*, translated by Lang, Leaf, and Myers. Macmillan.

* *Homer's Odyssey*, translated by Butcher and Lang. Macmillan. Translated by Palmer. Houghton.

Plutarch, *Lives;* translated by Clough; Everyman's Library (Dutton, New York); three volumes, each.

Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War.* Jowett's translation; Clarendon Press, Oxford; four volumes, or the same edited in one volume and published by Lothrop, Boston.

Everyman's Library (Dutton, New York) gives several volumes of these classics at cheaper rates. Constant additions are made to the Library. Herodotus and Thucydides can be obtained also in less desirable translations, but much cheaper, in Harper's Classical Library.

Modern Works.

* **Abbott, E.**, *Pericles* ("Heroes"). Putnam, New York.

Blümmer, H., *Home Life of the Ancient Greeks* (profusely illustrated). Cassell, New York.

(Still valuable; but if the library is buying a new book on the subject, it should get Gulick, below.)

* **Bury, J. B.**, *History of Greece to the Death of Alexander.* Macmillan.

* **Church, E. J.**, *Trial and Death of Socrates.* Macmillan.

A translation of four of Plato's Dialogues touching upon this period of Socrates' life. They are also the easiest of Plato's writings for young people to understand. It has valuable comments.

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* **Shepherd, W. R.**, *Historical Atlas.* Holt.

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Ward, *The Counter-Reformation.* Longmans.

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Woodward, W. H., *Expansion of the British Empire*, 1500–1902. Putnam.

Zimmern, H., *The Hansa* (" Nations "). Putnam.

These lists do not contain nearly all the books in these fields which may well be found in a large high school library. They represent only such volumes as *ought to be constantly accessible to a first-year class in the study.* When two books on the same field are named, one of them distinctly preferable to the other (as with Blümmer and Gulick on Greek Life), this is done because the library may already have the older work — in which case it is not worth while to buy the other until more pressing needs are well

supplied. *The starred volumes should be present in multiple copies.* It seems desirable to add the following supplementary list for the larger schools.

SOME ADDITIONAL BOOKS ON THE LAST PERIOD

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Beard, *Martin Luther.* London.

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Pronunciation, except for familiar names and terms, is shown by division into syllables and accentuation. When diacritical marks for English names are needed, the common marks of Webster's Dictionaries are used. German and French pronunciation can be indicated only imperfectly to those who are not familiar with the languages; but attention is called to the following marks: *ae* and $\bar{oe} = \bar{e}$; $\bar{ei} = \bar{\imath}$; the soft aspirated guttural sound *g* of the German is marked ɢ; the corresponding *ch* (as in *ich*) is marked ĸ; the sound of the nasal French *n* is marked *ñ*; for the German *ä* and *äu* the equivalents are indicated, to prevent confusion with English *ä*; *ö* is always the German letter; and *ü* is the German diphthong or the equivalent French *u*. In French words with an accent on the final syllable, that accent only is marked; but it should be understood that in such words the syllables as a rule receive nearly equal stress.

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